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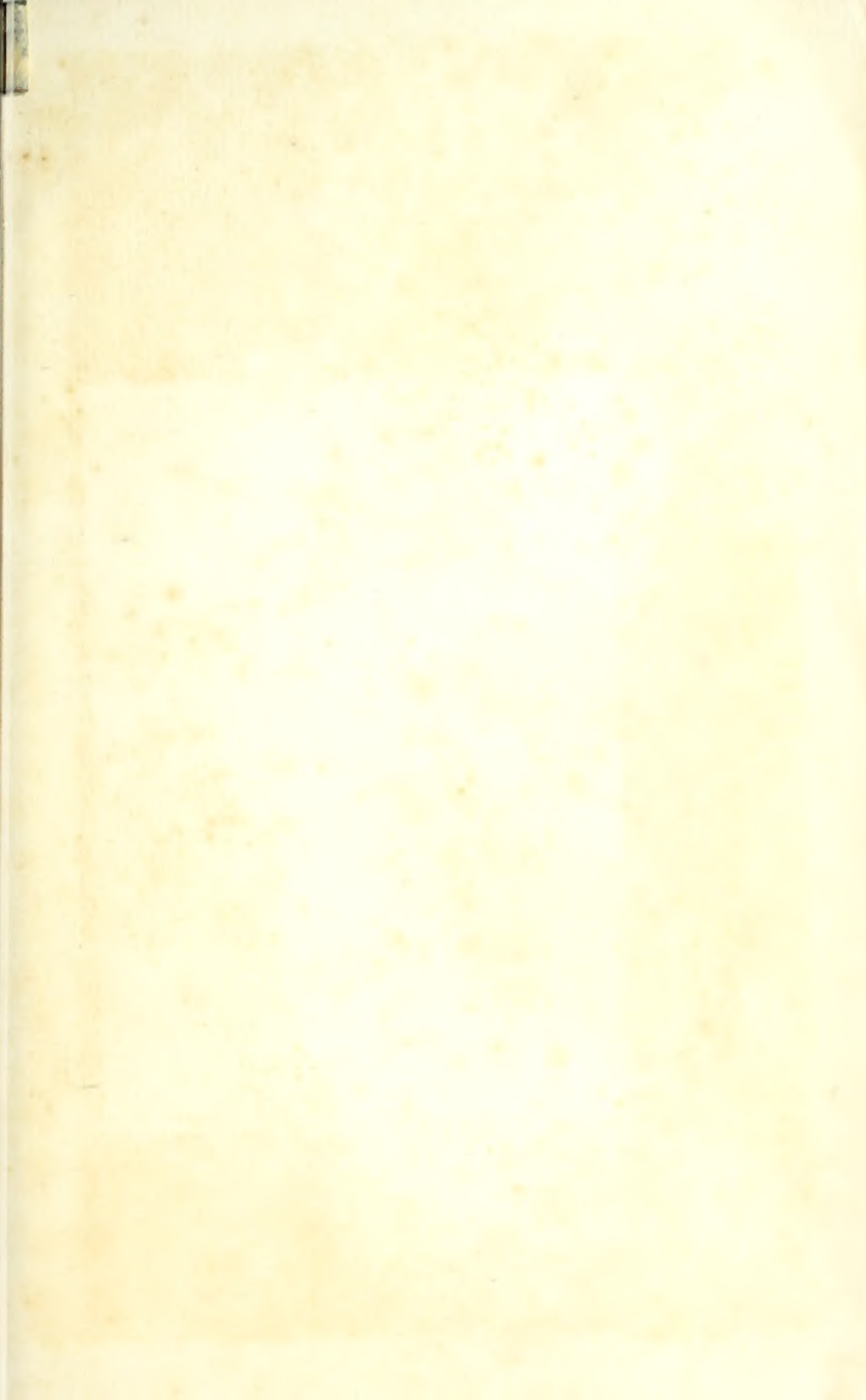
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GIRALDUS MOLLOY, S.T.D.,  
CENSOR DEP.

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✠ GULIELMUS,  
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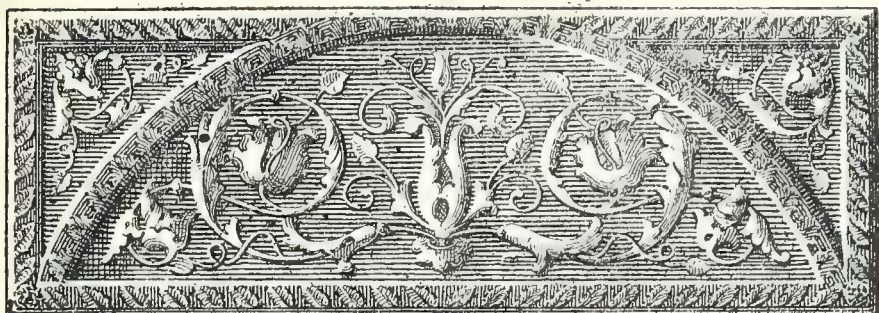
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## FÉNELON<sup>1</sup>

**I**T is remarkable that two English writers, neither of them a Catholic, should at the same time bring out serious studies of the life and writings of Fénelon. The famous Archbishop of Cambrai has, indeed, been always somewhat of a favourite, even outside his own country and his own creed; and the reason of this is not far to seek. He has been represented as a mild and gentle character, opposed alike to the tyranny and intolerance of Louis XIV. and the savage orthodoxy of Bossuet. His mystical and ascetical writings have commended him to the Evangelicals, and even to the Quakers; and when we add that these writings were condemned by Rome we need no further explanation of his popularity. Unfortunately his admirers, both in France and here in England, have been much more anxious to construct an ideal hero than to set before us the real man. Of late years, however, he has met with more judicial treatment, and now we are able to see that, without possessing every virtue under heaven, he was an honourable and enlightened man, a brilliant *littérateur*, a devout and zealous ecclesiastic, a sympathetic, if not always wise, director of souls, and a great archbishop.

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<sup>1</sup> *François de Fénelon*, by Viscount St. Cyres (Methuen, 1901); *Fénelon: his Friends and his Enemies*, by E. K. Sanders (Longmans, 1901); *Fénelon*, par Paul Janet (Hachette, 1892).

The materials for the following article are derived largely, though not exclusively, from the two books just mentioned. Both are well worth reading; but the palm must be given to Lord St. Cyres for his knowledge of his subject and for the truly Catholic spirit in which he generally writes. Miss Sanders is frankly Protestant, and has no pretension to any familiarity with Catholic doctrines and practices.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless she writes with an ease and grace which are decidedly lacking in Lord St. Cyres' learned volume.

1. Francis de Salagnac de Lamothe Fénelon was born in Périgord on August 6th, 1651. Of his parents little is known, save that they were of a noble though impoverished stock. One would like to learn more about his early training besides the mere facts that he was brought up in the paternal château and afterwards spent some time at the University of Cahors and the Collège Du Plessy. He possessed a charm, a grace, and a worldliness (in the good sense) not often displayed by those whose training has been wholly ecclesiastical. The Greek and Latin classics were his inseparable companions all through life: allusions to them constantly flow from his pen. His father's brother, the Marquis de Fénelon, who had lost his son at the siege of Candia, took the boy under his protection. The Marquis was a man of austere piety and had been on intimate terms with M. Olier, the founder of Saint-Sulpice. Accordingly, the young Fénelon was sent to that celebrated seminary at Paris. There seems to be no doubt that in his case this step was taken through no merely worldly motives. He had a real vocation to the priesthood, and never in after life did he regret that he had entered the ecclesiastical state. Saint-Sulpice was at this time presided over by M. Tronson, so well known to students by his *Examination of Conscience for Clerics*. Fénelon became a devoted admirer of the saintly superior and long continued to submit himself to his direction. In due course he finished

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<sup>1</sup> Fénelon 'was twenty-four when he received the tonsure [!], and for three years longer he worked as one of the community of priests of the parish of St. Sulpice' (Sanders, p. 14). This passage shows how small is her knowledge of matters ecclesiastical,



his theological studies and was ordained priest at the age of twenty-four. His first intention was to set out for the East to convert the Turks and instruct their Christian subjects. But just as St. Philip found his Indies in Rome, so Fénelon's missionary zeal was employed in the work of conversion in Paris itself. After three years' labour in the parish of Saint-Sulpice, he was appointed superior of the *Nouvelles Catholiques*, a position which exercised much influence on his career and his posthumous fame.

As soon as Louis XIV. had got into his own hands the reins of government he took steps to bring about religious union among his subjects. Terrible Huguenot wars had devastated France and had prevented her from occupying that commanding position among the nations which the Grand Monarque destined for her. At first he relied only on argument. At his bidding, Regulars and Seculars, Jesuits and Jansenists, vied with each other in entering into controversy with the heretics. The ablest of the Church's champions, it need hardly be said, was the great Bossuet. His *Exposition de la Doctrine Catholique*, written in 1668 and published in 1671, and his *Histoire des Variations*, published in 1688, are to this day the standard works on the questions at issue. To this same period belongs the well-known work *De la Perpétuité de la Foi*, composed by the solitaries of Port Royal. As a result of these discussions many conversions took place. A congregation of religious sisters was established for the education of young girls just received into the Church. This was the institution which became known under the name of the *Nouvelles Catholiques*.

No more congenial occupation could have been given to Fénelon than the care of these youthful converts. He was at this time (1678) twenty-seven years of age, full of sincere zeal for the propagation of the faith, and yet with a kind and gentle character which could not fail to win the hearts of those entrusted to him. And, on the other hand, the constant intercourse with refined ladies and tender children developed in him those fascinating qualities which gave him afterwards such influence with the gentler sex. He

presided over the little congregation more than ten years. A part of the time, however, was spent away from Paris in missionary labours. Louis XIV. had now resorted to forcible means for converting those who still held out against the arguments of Bossuet and his followers. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) dragoons were sent into the disaffected districts, and their rude violence was supplemented by the logic and oratory of eminent preachers :—

Father Bourdaloue [wrote Mme. de Sévigné] is going to preach at Montpellier, where so many have been converted without knowing why ; but the Father will explain it all, and will make good Catholics of them. Hitherto the dragoons have been excellent missionaries, but the clergy now to be sent will complete the work.

Fénelon's labours at the *Nouvelles Catholiques* naturally singled him out to be one of these preachers. So great was his reputation that he was sent to one of the worst districts—the neighbourhood of the notorious Protestant stronghold of La Rochelle. Thus his name became associated with the persecuting policy of Louis XIV., and his opinions and conduct in this difficult situation have been misunderstood and distorted both by friends and foes.

In the eighteenth century it was the custom to hold up Fénelon as the advocate of toleration and the rights of man, contending strenuously against the bullying bigotry of Bossuet. La Harpe's *Eloge de Fénelon*, a work crowned by the Académie Française, is written entirely in this spirit. La Harpe's unsuccessful rival, on this occasion, the Abbé (afterwards Cardinal) Maury, gave a far more accurate account of Fénelon. It was not until our own day that this legend of Fénelon's tolerance was demolished by the publication of M. Onésime Douen's *L'Intolérance de Fénelon* (1872). We now have also his own letters, giving an account of his missionary labours. What do we gather from these ? First, nowhere in any of his letters, or in any other of his writings, is there a single word condemning the revocation of the Edict ; on the contrary, he approves of the use of force. The Government should take care, he says, ' to combine with Christian persuasion vigilance against desertions



and penalties (*la rigueur des peines*) against deserters.' Moreover, he himself actively joined in the persecution; he denounced to the Secretary of State the would-be fugitives to foreign lands; he recommended that some of the leaders should be transported to Canada; and he complained of the remissness of the convert officials. Nevertheless there was some ground for the view that in his heart he believed that force was no remedy. In the same letters in which he approves of force he also recommends gentleness and patience:—

It would be easy enough [he says] to make them all go to Confession and Communion; but what a show to make people confess who do not yet believe in the true Church, or in her power to forgive sins! And how are we to administer Jesus Christ to those who do not believe that they receive Him? I know very well that, when missionaries and soldiers are combined, the new converts go together to Holy Communion. These stern, obstinate spirits, embittered against our religion, are, for all that, cowardly and with an eye to their worldly interests. At the least pressure they will commit sacrileges without number; but the only result will be to drive them to despair or utter indifference to all religion. We should bring down upon ourselves a horrible curse if we contented ourselves with hurrying on a work with no real foundation, and brilliant only to those who viewed it from afar.

Accordingly he begged for certain graces from the Government. 'Their clergy must be equal in capacity and learning to the ejected pastors; the State must furnish supplies and competent teachers for their schools; there must be free distribution of New Testaments and books of Catholic piety, printed in large type; alms should be given to the well disposed, according to the excellent system of the Consistories. And Fénelon even brought down suspicion on his head by leaving out of his sermons the customary Invocation to the Virgin, and by proposing that some special prayers and Bible-reading should be added to the religious services attended by the heretics.'<sup>1</sup> Fénelon's mission lasted from December, 1685, to July, 1686, and was renewed for a few months in the next year, 1687.

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<sup>1</sup> St. Cyres, p. 27.

2. In this year, 1687, Fénelon published his first work. Though it had some connection with his labours at the *Nouvelles Catholiques*, it did not deal with any of the religious questions of the day. His friends, the Duke and Duchess of Beauvillier, had a large family of daughters. In their anxiety to bring them up well, they applied to Fénelon for guidance. The rules which he laid down for them grew into a treatise, which is now known to us under the title *De l'Education des Filles*.

To estimate this book at its just value we must bear in mind that the most enlightened thinkers of that age maintained that a woman's education should embrace nothing more than her catechism, sewing, singing, dancing and deportment, and correct speech. Their view was based on the inferiority of her sex: her whole duty consisted in keeping house and doing her husband's bidding. Fénelon contends that even these occupations require intelligence and training. To parody a later saying, he insists that we must educate our mothers. If we devote so much attention to the education of boys in order to fit them for the important work which they have to do in the world, how can we neglect the education of the women to whose care they are entrusted in their tenderest and most impressionable years? It is no argument to say that the feminine mind is naturally weak: all the more reason for making it strong. But Fénelon takes higher ground. He is a firm believer in the dignity of woman, and he considers that the frivolity, vanity, and affectation of which she is constantly accused, and is so often guilty, are the result, not merely of her sex, but of her training. Give her a fair chance, such as, at least, her young brothers get, and she will no longer be a doll or a drudge, but a help meet for man.

The first part of his little work is devoted to early education generally—whether of boys or of girls. It will be sufficient here to remark that he insists on the importance of making lessons pleasant. They must be short, with frequent intervals of play: the actual things about which the children are learning must be brought before their eyes and put into their hands (object-lessons); the books must be



nicely printed and bound, with plenty of beautiful pictures. Above all, the teacher must be kind and gentle, so as to win the pupils' confidence and love.

Next he deals with the teaching of girls in particular. He observes that the great aim should be to strengthen their character—to correct their many little weaknesses.

They are born actresses: tears cost them nothing: their emotions are lively, their intelligence narrow. . . . They are excited about their dress: a hat, a ribbon, a lock of hair a bit higher or a bit lower—these are serious matters in their eyes. . . . They should be taught that it is a much greater honour to be good than to have nice hair and nice frocks.

Beauty, in fact, is of little use, 'except for the purpose of marriage'! Not that Fénelon despised attractions. He even lays down rules for dress, which he would have designed on the lines of the drapery of the ancient statues: simplicity and dignity should be the dominant notes. The programme of studies which he drew up, though far in advance of those days, may seem to us meagre enough. Spanish and Italian are forbidden, because the books written in those languages are dangerous and unsuitable for women. But he permits the study of Greek and Roman history, and 'even the history of France, which also has its beauties.' Works of poetry and eloquence are recommended, but great care is to be taken in the choice of them. A little law should also be taught—for instance, the difference between a will and a deed of gift, the nature of contracts, what goods are movable and what immovable—but nothing that would encourage chicanery, to which women are so prone.

On the whole, we may conclude that Fénelon did much for the education of women, though he did not do all.

He stood far ahead of all other contemporary reformers. . . . Gaps there are, and contradictions and extravagances. Fénelon is open to the charge, so often brought against the Jansenists, of first teaching girls to think for themselves, and then forbidding them to express their thoughts. . . . Within his own lifetime, his correspondent and admirer, Mme. de Lambert, was already chafing at its narrowness. . . . And it was long before another disciple, Mme. de Rémusat, broadened his timid

conception of a housewife, busied with much serving in the back ground, into the worthier ideal of a wife, whose glory it was to be the mother and the consort of a citizen, ready, though herself holding no cards in the game of life, to sit as a counsellor beside the players, to share in their victories, and console their defeats. Yet it was from the education of girls that these later reformers started; from Fénelon they learned to turn 'all their knowledge into character, all their wisdom into virtue.'<sup>1</sup>

The Duke de Beauvillier was able to make an ample return for the excellent advice given to him in the *Education des Filles*. In 1689 he was nominated governor of the little Duke of Burgundy, grandson of Louis XIV., and his first action was to secure the appointment of Fénelon as preceptor.

It was indeed a great promotion from the *Nouvelles Catholiques* to the charge of the education of the heir to the throne. During the long years spent by Fénelon in the former task, he had not however neglected to make friends at Court. Besides the Duke and Duchess de Beauvillier, he had become acquainted with Madame de Maintenon whose influence was already supreme with the king and who was soon to become his wife. With Bossuet he was on most intimate terms; and no one more highly approved of his selection than the great Bishop of Meaux. Louis XIV. is certainly deserving of high praise for his choice of two such men as Bossuet to teach his son, and Fénelon to teach his grandson. Yet in the former case the plan had resulted in utter failure. Bossuet had laid aside his sermons, his funeral orations, and his theological controversies, and had devoted himself entirely for ten long years to the instruction of the dauphin. But the pupil was not worthy of the master. The intellectual distance between them was too great to be bridged over. No doubt it would have been wiser to have selected some commoner type of mind to train up the sluggish and vulgar son of the great king. Fénelon was more fortunate in his pupil, and the pupil, too, more fortunate in his master. The Duke of Burgundy was a far superior character to his father. He was, indeed, of a fierce

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<sup>1</sup> St. Cyres, p. 70.



and even savage disposition ; his temper was violent and he was obstinate, but on the other hand his intelligence was of a high order, his memory was excellent, and he had a lively sense of the ridiculous. It was by appealing to this last, as well as by real kindness, that Fénelon was able to obtain control over his young charge ; and he also took care to make the prince see at once the relative position of teacher and pupil. The result was soon perceptible. Burgundy made rapid progress in his studies, and what was better still, he became gentle and affable. A tender affection grew up between the two which lasted until the younger was so prematurely cut off. Indeed Fénelon ultimately came to have too much influence over the duke, who depended more and more on his 'Mentor' for spiritual and even political direction.

In 1695, Fénelon was nominated to the Archbishopric of Cambrai. He had, therefore, sacrificed only half the time devoted by Bossuet to the education of the dauphin. We must bear in mind that Burgundy was still a mere boy when his dear preceptor was taken from him. It is not fair to lay upon Fénelon the blame of the failure which followed. Early in 1702 the duke was sent to the army in Flanders. On his road he called at Cambrai, and, to his great delight, was allowed to see the archbishop. But the king had given orders that the interview should not be in private. 'To-day, after five years of separation,' wrote Fénelon, 'I have seen my lord Duke of Burgundy, but God has seasoned this blessing with very great bitterness.' The prince went through the indecisive campaigns of 1702 and 1703 with some credit. Then for five years he was kept at the Court. His position there was a difficult one. His father, the dauphin, was completely in the hands of a set of profligate favourites, at the head of whom was the infamous Vendôme. Burgundy's gloomy disposition and austere manners continually annoyed this cabal, who did their best to undermine his popularity. Strangely enough, their conduct does not seem to have reached the ears of the king. When, after the terrible defeats of Blenheim (1704) and Ramillies (1706), he resolved to make a supreme effort

to restore the prestige of France, he appointed Burgundy commander-in-chief of the forces in Flanders. Marlborough and Eugene were the generals against whom the young prince was to contend. Some experienced leader, it was felt, should be sent as his adviser, and the king's choice fell upon Vendôme. Once more Burgundy had an opportunity of visiting his exiled master, but once again the king insisted on the same conditions as before. Some letters, however, have been preserved, which show how intimate were their relations more than ten years after they had been parted.<sup>1</sup>

The campaign, which followed, was most disastrous. Vendôme thwarted the duke in every way; the young officers sneered at his manners and devotions; even the common soldiers nicknamed him 'Télémaque.' The decisive defeat of Oudenarde and the loss of the great stronghold of Lille put an end for ever to his military career. Fénelon was heart-broken at the failure. He felt that he himself would be blamed. He wrote a manly, straightforward letter to the prince, pointing out the causes of the disaster, and at the same time holding out encouragement for further efforts.<sup>2</sup> But the king put no further trust in his grandson—it was not he, but Villars who fought the glorious defeat of Malplaquet in the following year. And now we must leave the Duke of Burgundy for a while, and turn to Fénelon's literary activity.

3. Most of us have made our first acquaintance with Fénelon as the author of *Télémaque*. It was his custom, while teaching the young prince, to throw some of his lessons into the form of fables. Though these were not meant for the public eye, they have been preserved, and they give us ample proof of his shrewdness and humour, and power of striking the imagination. They are naturally adapted to the special circumstances of his royal charge; hence they deal with the dangers of life at court, the evils of tyranny and

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<sup>1</sup> *Correspondence de Fénelon*, i. 76; i. 89.

<sup>2</sup> I wish I could give the letter in full. It is an admirable example of paternal correction. Part of it may be found in Sanders, p. 275, *seq.*



bad faith, the worthlessness of wealth and high station without virtue.<sup>1</sup>

As the prince grew older, his preceptor gave these moral lessons in a more serious and ambitious form. We have seen how thoroughly Fénelon's mind was steeped in the classics. Accordingly, he wrote for his pupil a classical romance. His own account of it is given in a letter to Père le Tellier :—

*Télémaque* is a fabulous narrative in the form of a heroic poem, like those of Homer or Virgil, in which I have set down the truths most necessary to be known by one who is about to reign ; there also are described the faults that cling most closely to sovereign power. But I have borrowed from no real persons. I have sketched no characters of our own time ; my book was written at odd moments hurriedly, bit by bit. It was sent to the press by a faithless copyist, and was never intended for publication.<sup>2</sup>

There seems no reason to doubt his sincerity in this matter. Indeed the appearance of the book shattered all hope of any reconciliation with Louis XIV.<sup>3</sup> It was impossible to convey any useful lesson without pointing out the defects of the existing ruler and his government ; and Fénelon's temperament no doubt caused him to do this in a form which looks rather like satire. But it was one thing to write for the prince's eye and quite another to hold up Louis to the ridicule of his subjects :—

I wrote it [he says] at a time when I was overwhelmed by evidence of the confidence and kindness of the king. I should have shown myself to be not only the most ungrateful but the most reckless of men if I had attempted to take satirical and insolent examples ; I shrink from the very thought of such a thing.

Nevertheless the public insisted on taking it as a satire, and as such it had a prodigious success. The year of its

<sup>1</sup> Here is an example. As the young Bacchus was one day learning to read, an old Faun kept laughing at his blunders. 'How dare you make game of Jupiter's son?' exclaimed the proud little god in a rage. The Faun replied calmly: 'How dare Jupiter's son make mistakes?' This fable referred to an occasion when the young prince had rebelled against Fénelon's authority.

<sup>2</sup> *Œuvres*, vii., p. 665.

<sup>3</sup> Lord St. Cyres' printer has here played him a little joke. 'The existence of *Télémaque* first became known in the autumn of 1698, just when the Quietest controversy was at its fiercest.'—Page 179.

publication (1699) was a time when Louis XIV. and his Court were the objects of hatred and jealousy to the rest of Europe, and when even in France there was considerable opposition to his despotic rule. No wonder that such passages as the following were read with delight by all the enemies of the Grand Monarque :—

A king should have no advantage over others, except what is necessary either to help him in his arduous duties or to exact from the people the respect due to the representative of law and order. Moreover, the king should be more sober, less prone to indolence, freer from arrogance and pride than others. He must not have a larger share of riches and pleasures, but of wisdom, of virtue, and of renown. He must be the defender of his country and the leader of his armies abroad, and at home the ruler of the people, who wins them goodness and wisdom and happiness. The gods did not make him a king for himself, but that he might belong to the people. All his time, all his care, all his love, is due to the people, and he is only worthy of royalty inasmuch as he forgets himself to devote himself to the public good. . . .

When kings allow themselves to recognise no law but their own sovereign will, and put no curb upon their passions, they can do what they please ; but by doing as they please they undermine the foundations of their power ; they have absolute laws no longer, nor traditions of government ; everyone will compete to flatter them ; they will not have a people ; there will be none but slaves remaining to them, and these will grow fewer daily.<sup>1</sup>

Fénelon's countless readers insisted that Idomeneus was meant for Louis ; Boccharis was the Dauphin ; Louvois, Protesilas ; Mme. de Montespan, Astarbe ; and William of Orange, Adrastus. Tyre was evidently Holland, and the League of Augsburg against Louis was represented by the coalition against Idomeneus. Telemachus is, of course, the Duke of Burgundy, and Mentor, Fénelon. Read in this light, the book will always be of interest. But it must be confessed that the characters themselves are utterly wanting in reality ; they are not beings of flesh and blood. As to its style, French critics are, of course, the best judges :—

The characteristic of Fénelon's style [says M. Paul Janet], especially in *Télémaque*, is grace. No French writer equals him in this respect ; no one else has so depicted all that is sweet and lovable and natural. When he describes nature it is always under

<sup>1</sup> Liv. v. ; Liv. xvii. See also Liv. xiv. Sanders, pp. 162-4.



the simplest and most familiar aspects. . . . Besides grace, there is in Fénelon much imagination, not, as in Bossuet, grand, sublime, profound, Hebraic, but lively, brilliant, coloured, Greek. His narrative, in the finest passages (*e.g.*, battles, struggles, shipwrecks) is rapid, made up of lifelike, forcible strokes. Grace does not exclude strength (*e.g.*, the combat between Adrastus and Telemachus), or pathos (Idomeneus' sacrifice), or terror (the death of Boccharis). Yet he is at his best in depicting what is noble, delicate, and pure. In contrast to other poets he has succeeded better in his description of Paradise than of hell.<sup>1</sup>

As a critic of other writers Fénelon stands in the first rank. In his *Lettre à l'Académie Française*, written in 1714, just before his death, he enters into the famous controversy concerning the comparative merits of the ancients and the moderns. Though he speaks with caution, for fear of hurting the feelings of his literary friends, he is decidedly in favour of the ancients. He reproaches the moderns with being studied and stilted, unreal, continually straining after effect; whereas in the ancients all is natural, simple, and easy.<sup>2</sup> He is especially severe on French poetry, and justly points out that rhyme, which is considered so essential to it, is in reality its stumbling-block. Then, again, he deplores the excessive importance which the passion of love occupies in modern tragedies. Æschylus and Sophocles he would place above Corneille and Racine. One is not surprised to find him disapproving of modern comedy; but this does not prevent him from giving the highest praise to Molière—

We must admit [he says] that Molière is a great comic poet. I do not fear to say that he has gone even further than Terence;

<sup>1</sup> *Fénelon*, pp. 131-2.

<sup>2</sup> Lord St. Cyres aptly quotes Cardinal Newman: 'Passages which to a boy are but rhetorical commonplaces . . . at length come home to him, when long years have passed and he has had experience of life, and pierce him, as if he had never before known them, with their sad earnestness and vivid exactness. Then he comes to understand how it is that lines, the birth of some chance morning or evening at an Ionian festival or among the Sabine Hills, have lasted, generation after generation, for thousands of years, with a power over the mind and a charm which the current literature of his own day, with all its obvious advantages, is utterly unable to rival. Perhaps this is the reason of the mediæval opinion about Virgil, as if a prophet or magician; his single words and phrases, his pathetic half lines, giving utterance to the voice of nature itself, to that pain and weariness, yet hope of better things, which is the experience of her children in every time.'—*Grammar of Assent*, pp. 78, 79.

he has embraced a greater variety of subjects; he has painted in strong colours all that is exaggerated and ridiculous; he has opened up an entirely new road. Once more I find him great.

It was something for an archbishop to speak in such glowing terms of a writer of comedies, after Bossuet's denunciations in the *Maximes et Réflexions sur la Comédie*. One of the last chapters of the *Lettre à l'Académie* is devoted to history. While insisting that a historian must be truthful and thoroughly impartial, he requires him also to be an artist. 'I prefer an inexact historian who bungles over names, but yet paints with *naïveté* all the details, as, for example, Froissart, to all the chroniclers of Charlemagne.' But he must not be an embroiderer; he must give us a faithful as well as lifelike picture of the past. He must not confine his attention to wars and the intrigues of courts: great importance should be attached to the history of institutions of all kinds. Herein Fénelon was anticipating the studies which, under the name of *Histoire de la Civilization* (*Kulturgeschichte*), have been cultivated with such success in our own day.

Eloquence is duly treated of in the *Lettre*; but Fénelon has also dealt with this subject in a special work entitled *Dialogues sur l'Eloquence*. Here we are chiefly interested in his views on preaching. The rival styles of the day were represented by Bossuet and Bourdaloue; and, strange as it may seem to us, Bourdaloue was the general favourite. It was against this popular judgment that Fénelon set his face. He contrasts the cold monotonous delivery, the elaborate divisions, the minute analysis of character, the long quotations and trains of reasoning of the great Jesuit, with the simple and yet sublime and majestic, because Scriptural, eloquence of Bossuet. He is strongly opposed to written sermons learnt by heart:—

A man who does not learn by heart is master of himself; he speaks naturally, his matter flows directly from its source, his expressions are full of life and movement; his very excitement provides him with phrases and figures which he could never have found in his study. All that comes in the heat of delivery is full of feeling and is natural—it has an air of being unstudied and



not being artificial. Moreover, a skilful orator regulates his materials according to the impression produced upon his audience.

This does not, of course, mean that the preacher should give no care to preparation. Fénelon insists on preparation, and even allows that certain brilliant passages and striking images might be elaborated beforehand. His own practice was in exact accordance with what he here lays down. We have only a few elaborate discourses from his pen ; and yet, both as a young priest and much more afterwards as archbishop, he possessed—

The secret of that purely Christian eloquence whose only law is sympathy, that speaks to the people not sternly as a prophet, but with the tenderness of a fellow-bondsman, who does not separate his lot from theirs ; and has himself first reached the spiritual haven into which he beseeches them to enter.<sup>1</sup>

Next to *Télémaque*, Fénelon's best known work is his *Traité de l'Existence de Dieu*. It consists of two parts : the first, popular and literary ; the second, scientific and metaphysical. It begins with the argument from design, and goes on to what is now known as the ontological argument ; then the nature of God is discussed at great length. The book is not likely to appeal much to English readers of the present day. In Paley's *Natural Theology* the argument from design is far more skilfully handled. There is, indeed, in Fénelon much subtle thought and fine writing about the nature of God—Who is 'Being,' without any sort of qualification, from Whom any sort of plurality or multiplication is absolutely excluded. But all this part savours of Neoplatonism, and is quite out of the orthodox beaten track.<sup>2</sup> As M. Paul Janet observes, 'his metaphysics and his theology border on heresy, in spite of his sincere desire to keep far from it.' But Fénelon's theological opinions and their tragic consequences must be reserved for a future article.

T. B. SCANNELL.

<sup>1</sup> St. Cyres, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Lord St. Cyres has a very learned chapter on 'Fénelon among the Philosophers,' dealing especially with his relation to Descartes and Malebranche. Page 248, *seq.*

## THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF HIGHER CRITICISM

### II.—THE FRAGMENT-HYPOTHESIS

**I**T is so-called, because it denies the essential unity of scope and purpose in the five books of Moses, and contends that they are made up of a number of originally unconnected fragments. This theory, too, is, sad to say, the invention of a Catholic, and a priest. His name was Geddes.<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of remark that he and Astruc were the only Catholics that contributed to the development of Higher Criticism, for Jahn, almost the only other Catholic writer of note that was imbued with its principles, contented himself with reproducing some of Eichhorn's ideas. The same is true of the ex-Catholic, Addis, in respect of contemporary critics. Geddes was original. While Astruc and Ilgen confined their speculations to Genesis, Geddes extended the critical analysis to the rest of the Pentateuch and to the Book of Josue. What is more, he carried the process of disintegration to a degree of which neither they nor even Eichhorn had ever dreamed. There is a radical difference between the Document and the Fragment-

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<sup>1</sup> Alexander Geddes was born in Bannfshire, in 1737, the son of an honest farmer. Like his elder brother, who subsequently became a bishop, he made his ecclesiastical studies in the Scots' College, Paris, where he gave proofs of rare ability. On his return home in 1764, he was ordained priest and entrusted with the charge of a mission in Dundee, and afterwards of one in Bannfshire. Owing, however, to his lax opinions and his unclerical behaviour he incurred the displeasure of Bishop Hay, who, finding repeated remonstrances of no avail, at length threatened to suspend him. Geddes then left the Lowland district, and in 1779 he settled in London. For a few months he acted as chaplain to the Austrian Embassy until the chaplaincy was suppressed by Joseph II. In 1782 Geddes ceased to officiate as a priest, and devoted himself exclusively to literature and to Biblical studies. He was a good Hebraist, and only too well acquainted with the work of the German rationalists, Rosenmüller, Dathe, etc., but especially with those of Eichhorn and Michaelis, from which he imbibed his notions about the Pentateuch. One good thing he did should be mentioned. He refuted Priestley's intolerable assertions about our Lord. But Priestley, in his reply, says that he doubts 'whether such a man as Geddes, who believes so little and concedes so much, can be a Christian.' Geddes may have still preserved some shreds of faith, but the levity and profaneness of his conversation could not pass unnoticed. Indeed, this had been the case even before he left Scotland. As his friend and biographer, the Unitarian, John Mason Good, says, 'he could ridicule the infallibility of the Pope, and laugh at



hypothesis. The latter is supported mainly by arguments drawn from the middle books (Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers). It does not assume that the only documents in the Pentateuch are documents used by Moses, or that any connected narratives are to be found in it. On the contrary it maintains that even the so-called E and J passages may be of a very composite nature. The only connecting links between the fragments are those supplied by the compiler.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes he forgets to join the fragments. Strack<sup>2</sup> gives the following as instances. The command to make the golden candlestick is found in Exodus xxv.; the description of its manufacture ten chapters further on. Again in Leviticus xxiv. there are three verses about the supply of olive oil for the lamps of the golden candlestick, there is a solitary verse about the same subject in Exodus xxvii., and there are three verses about lighting the lamps, and one verse containing a description of the candlestick in Numbers viii. The Pentateuch is, when carefully analysed, found to be a heap of similar incoherent heterogeneous fragments, many of which are mutually contradictory. Such, in a few words, was the blasphemous theory put forward by Geddes in the preface to his work—

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images and relics, at rosaries, scapulars, Agnus Deis, blessed medals, indulgences, obits and dirges, as much as the most inveterate Protestant in the neighbourhood.' When in 1792 the first volume of his projected translation of the Bible appeared (Pentateuch and Josue), it was at once prohibited by three Vicars Apostolic, and the only result of a protest on his part was that the Vicar of the London district, Bishop Douglas, suspended him from all priestly functions. Geddes is said to have asked for absolution the day before his death (20th February, 1806). A French *émigré* priest, the Abbé Saint-Martin, attended him, but could not say whether he was still conscious. Bishop Douglas would not allow Mass to be publicly offered for his soul. Such was the melancholy end of the founder of the Fragment-hypothesis. Of course Protestants, and especially the higher critics, regard him as a martyr for exegesis, and extoll his memory.

Addis has the hardihood to speak thus of Geddes:—'He was a man of blameless life and a sincere Christian, but his countrymen could not or would not understand him. His works, despite their faults of style, show real learning, and he understood far better than the dry rationalists, who then ruled in the German Universities, the spontaneous origin and the native simplicity of Hebrew myth and legend.'—*The Documents of the Hexateuch*, by W. E. Addis, p. xxxv., note,

N.B.—While a Catholic, Addis was co-editor of *A Catholic Dictionary*.

<sup>1</sup> In this hypothesis, the compiler or the 'Redactor' appears on the scene for the first time.

<sup>2</sup> *Einleitung in das A. T.*, p. 34.

' *The Holy Bible*, or the Books accounted Sacred by Jews and Christians : otherwise called the Books of the Old and New Covenants ; faithfully translated from the originals, with various readings, explanatory notes and critical remarks. Vol. I. (Pentateuch and Josue). London, 1792.' His notions about the authorship of Genesis, etc., will best be given in his own words :—

It has been well observed by Michaelis that all external testimony here is of little avail ; it is from intrinsic evidence only that we must derive our proofs. Now, from intrinsic evidence, three things, to me, seem indubitable. (1) The Pentateuch in its present form was not written by Moses. (2) It was written in the land of Chanaan, and most probably at Jerusalem. (3) It could not be written before the reign of David, nor after that of Hezekiah. The long pacific reign of Solomon (the Augustan age of Judea) is the period to which I would refer it ; yet I confess there are some marks of a posterior date, or at least of posterior interpolation. But though I am inclined to believe that the Pentateuch was reduced into its present form in the reign of Solomon, I am fully persuaded that it was compiled from ancient documents, some of which were coeval with Moses, and some even anterior to Moses. Whether all these were written records, or many of them only oral traditions, it would be rash to determine.<sup>1</sup>

Geddes ridicules the history of creation, the fall of man, etc., the miracles recorded in Exodus, etc. He denied also the inspiration of the Pentateuch. Here, again, it may be more satisfactory to quote one of his remarks :—

I will not pretend to say that its history is entirely unmixed with the leaven of the heroic ages. Let the father of Hebrew be tried by the same rules of criticism as the father of Greek history. Why might not the Hebrews have had their mythology as well as other nations ? And why might not their mythologists contrive or improve a system of cosmogony as well as those of Chaldea, or Egypt, or Greece, or Italy, or Persia, or Hindostan ?

No wonder that his edition of the Pentateuch was prohibited. We shall now consider him in another character ; not that of the vulgar scoffer, but that of the would-be *savant*. In his preface he says :—

To the Pentateuch I have joined the Book of Joshua, both because I conceive it to have been compiled by the same author and because it is a necessary appendix to the history contained in the former books.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Preface, p. viii.

<sup>2</sup> Page xxi.



Now, everyone knows the immediate relation which the Book of Josue has to the Pentateuch,<sup>1</sup> the simple reason of which is obvious to even the youngest member of a Bible-history class. Josue completed the work begun by Moses, hence the histories of their own times, which they respectively wrote, are intimately connected. But Geddes, and after him all the higher critics who accept as much of that history as pleases them, and no more, have their own theory to account for the connection, similarity of expressions, etc. The connection is due to the man who combined the fragments or the documents. The 'Hexateuch' is, among critics at the present day, the accepted title of this compilation.

So far as we know, the fashionable name was invented by Wellhausen; or, at least, owes it currency to its being used by him. There is a purpose in the name. In the mouths of the critics it connotes their rejection of the traditional authorship of the five books, by tacitly identifying their origin with that of a book, which Moses could not have written. As a contemporary critic<sup>2</sup> says:—

The object of the change of name is to show that the six, rather than the five, form a complete literary whole, and may be looked upon as one book in six parts.

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<sup>1</sup> The division into five books dates from time immemorial, and is, we may be sure, as old as Moses himself. The Jews employ the first word or words of each book (Bereshith, Veele Shemoth, etc.) as the name, just as, for example, we do in the case of Papal documents: 'Unam Sanctam,' 'Ascendente Domino,' 'Romani Pontifices.' The names indicative of the contents that we give to the five books, *i.e.*, Genesis, Exodus, etc., originated with the Septuagint. But neither prefixed to this version, nor to the original Hebrew, was there any collective name. We do, however, find one in the Peshitta (K'thaba durjatha d'Mushe n'bia—the book of the law of the prophet Moses); and in the New Testament we meet frequently with *vomos*, which is the translation of the Old Testament name 'Torah.' The name in the Talmud and in the Rabbinical books is rather peculiar; it means 'five-fifths of the law.'

The oldest writings extant in which the name 'Pentateuch' is found, are those of Origen (*Commentary on St. John's Gospel*), and of St. Hippolytus. St. Epiphanius used the word habitually, indeed he divides the Old Testament into four Pentateuchs. It is not, however, the only collective title. Cardinal Pitra has published in his *Analecta Sacra* an ancient Greek list in which Genesis-Ruth are ο Οκτατευχος. And St. Ambrose speaks of the 'Heptateuch': 'inveni Heptateuchum, inveni regnorum libros,' etc. The same mode of reckoning is found in the Cheltenham Canon (drawn up in A.D. 359): after 'liber judicum,' it has the remark 'fiunt libri vii.'

<sup>2</sup> Woods, in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*.

And he proceeds thus :—

It is not intended by the title either to exclude the possibility that the Hexateuch, like the rest of the Old Testament, was subject to constant revision, or to imply that the sources out of which it was compiled are necessarily to be found only in these books. A century ago it was a matter of common belief that the Pentateuch was written by Moses; but this belief never rested on anything but tradition, and will not bear examination. It will be shown that, in fact, these books are the result of complicated literary processes extending over a long period. As the Mosaic authorship will thus be disproved at the very outset, it requires no separate discussion.

Assuming, therefore, the late origin of the five books as a matter beyond dispute, the critics proceed to justify their pet appellation, or their watchword—for such ‘Hexateuch’ is—by proving to their own satisfaction that these five books are in reality only part of the first historical work in Jewish literature. This is their argument, in a condensed form.<sup>1</sup> It has, of course, been improved since Geddes’ time:—

The so-called Pentateuch (which is certainly the product of a comparatively recent period, *i.e.*, B.C. fifth century, after the return from the captivity) professes to contain the history of the ancient Hebrew people. Now, it does not give a complete description of their origin, for it does not inform us when the national existence began. It does not reach to the one event in which all the preceding occurrences converged and culminated. There is not a single word about the conquest of Palestine proper (*i.e.*, western), and the settlement there of nine and a-half tribes. Yet this is the supremely important fact of the first period. Surely if what had happened on the east of the Jordan, a comparatively insignificant incident, is narrated; *a fortiori*, what was accomplished on the western side of the river should have been recorded. Now, this is not done in the Pentateuch, but it is in Joshua, therefore the sixth book is an integral part, or rather the fitting and indispensable conclusion, of the first work on Hebrew history.

The argument is thus enforced :—

The promises made to the Patriarchs referred to the possession of Palestine by their descendants. Beside the predictions of prosperity, there is the announcement to Abram (xv. 13) of the future bondage in Egypt; and we may and must assume that the

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<sup>1</sup> Holzinger, *Einleitung*, p. 7.



same law holds good for the Biblical description of both. Now the announcement of the oppression in Genesis is accompanied by a description of it in Exodus, therefore the fulfilment of the promises should be recorded in the same work. The 'higher unities,' in fact all the laws of literary composition demand it. But this is done in Joshua, and only in Joshua. We are therefore led to the same conclusion as before. The Pentateuch without the book of Joshua is only a torso.

Obviously, this is very flimsy reasoning, but it is apparently the best that the critics have to offer. We need only observe that if the critics understood and believed the Bible, they would know that the national existence of the Israelites began at the Exodus,<sup>1</sup> and was ratified immediately before their entrance into the promised land.<sup>2</sup> As regards the remainder of their argument, the sophism it contains is obvious. The Pentateuch does not profess to continue the history down to what the critics are pleased to regard (in opposition to Scripture) as the origin of the Hebrew nation. It ends with the death of Moses, who was not permitted to enter the promised land. It could not describe the conquest of Palestine historically unless it was written after the event: for their own purpose consequently the critics assume, contrary to all proof, that it was written centuries later, and then they say it is incomplete! The *petitio principii* involved in their second argument is equally glaring. They assume the very point at issue—namely, that an analogy exists between the predictions of weal and of woe within the limits of one historical work.

We all know that Macaulay wrote a *History of England*

<sup>1</sup> See Exodus vi. 6, 7, xxix. 46; Ps. cxiii. 1, 2; Osee xi. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxvi. 18, xxvii. 9. It appears that the critics are not in the least disconcerted by the fact, that the great feast of the Pasch was the commemoration of the Exodus, and that the other two feasts, Pentecost and Tabernacles, were respectively instituted in honour of events that took place *before* the entrance into the Promised Land. Moses evidently did not take the same view of it as the critics do, else he ought to have established (*by anticipation*) a feast for what the critics are pleased to entitle 'the great event.' Solomon, too, is to blame, for though he made a feast at the dedication of his temple, he quite neglected 'the supremely important fact of the first period.' But the unkindest cut of all is, that in the post-exilic period, when the *Pentateuch* was being compiled; when, to speak seriously, no less than seven new feasts (Purim, Encenia, etc.) were added, none was instituted to commemorate Josue's conquest of Palestine, with which the national existence began!

and MacCarthy a *History of our Own Times*. But, perhaps, in the distant future some very superior critic (not the New Zealander) will say that both these productions were compiled from fragments by some individual belonging to the twenty-ninth century; then finding that the *History of England* does not contain a single word about the death of Lord Palmerston, or the result of Earl Beaconsfield's foreign policy, and discovering that the *History of our Own Times* does mention these events, our learned friend will conclude that in its detached state the *History of England* is incomplete, a torso in fact; so that he is certain that it and the *History of our Own Times* originally were parts of one and the same compilation. The 'higher unities,' in fact all the laws of literary composition demand it. Perhaps he will go on to say :—

A century ago it was a matter of common belief that one of these then divided books was written by Macaulay, and the other by MacCarthy: but this belief never rested on anything but tradition, and will not bear examination. It will be shown that, in fact, these books are the result of complicated literary processes extending over a long period. As the reputed authorship will thus be disproved at the very outset, it requires no separate discussion.

Enough by way of illustration, so to resume our description. Vater, in his *Commentar über den Pentateuch* (Halle, 1802-1805,<sup>1</sup>) brought Geddes' new theory under the notice of his fellow-rationalists in Germany. Indeed, it may be said with truth that what Eichhorn did for Astruc's hypothesis, Vater did for that of Geddes. The two Germans developed with the most perverse ingenuity and amazing perseverance what they received only sketched in outline. The authors of the *Oxford Hexateuch* say that :—

Vater carried out the Fragment-hypothesis to its fullest extent, and regarded the Pentateuch as a huge aggregate of separate compositions, varying naturally in extent, but not capable of classification into groups or of union into single wholes.

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<sup>1</sup> The full title is 'Commentar über den Pentateuch, mit Einleitungen zu den einzelnen Abschnitten der eingeschalteten Uebersetzung von Dr. A. Geddes' merkwürdigeren kritischen und exegetischen Anmerkungen, und einer Abhandlung über Moses und die Verfasser des Pentateuchs.'

He held that there were thirty-eight fragments in Genesis, which in detail he treated as a conglomerate of incompatible statements. To quote the sympathetic *Oxford Hexateuch* again:—

Even Deuteronomy, which presented ‘most appearance of unity,’ did not escape his dissection. He pointed, with penetrating insight, to the different titles traceable in i. 1-4, iv. 15-49, and xii. 1; he insisted that i.-iv. 40 was not written by the author of iv. 45-xi.; he declared that xii.-xxvi. was a piece by itself, subsequently united with the preceding discourses by xi. 32; he even affirmed that within this collection duplicates might again be discovered, such as xii. 13-16 and xii. 20-24; while xxxi. 1-8, 9-12, formed a parallel to xiii. 14-23, 24.<sup>1</sup>

To the objection that it was difficult to conceive so many disconnected compositions as circulating in a written form throughout Palestine, Vater replied:—

Difficult, to be sure, it is; but it is a difficulty inherent in the subject; that is, in the form of the Pentateuch as it now appears. And it is far less difficult and a great deal less artificial than the theory of two documents covering the same ground, the parts of which have been patched together to make up Genesis.<sup>2</sup>

Vater would grant that Moses was probably the author of some of the fragments now imbedded in the Pentateuch, but not that he was the compiler. As regards the time when these products of many minds were put together, Vater was inclined to assign a latter date than Geddes had done. He would say that from the period of David and Solomon a *corpus juris* was extant, which now forms part of Deuteronomy.

This is the ‘law,’ which was found in the temple in the

<sup>1</sup> To quote now a Protestant writer on the other side, R. Sinker, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge:—‘One of the leading representatives of this view [*i.e.*, Fragment-hypothesis] was J. S. Vater, who, in his *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, reduces Genesis to thirty-eight fragments of various lengths, and treats the other four books in similar style. This theory has well been called the Document Theory run mad. It is not necessary to enter into any discussion of it; it was long ago refuted and cast aside by the critics, who were themselves in turn to be the victims of their successors, *velut unda supervenit undam*. The essential fallacy of such a theory is at once seen if we are content to deal with a plain fact and not a mass of subjective fancies.’—*Higher Criticism: What is it, and where does it lead us?* 1899. Page 35.

<sup>2</sup> *Commentar*, p. 514.



reign of Josiah, but it was gradually enlarged during the reigns of his successors by the insertion of numerous passages, both legal and historical. It attained its present dimensions a short time before the kingdom of Judah came to an end. Vater was led to make this unreasonable hypothesis, in order to account for the apparent contradiction between the existence of a code of legislation, and that non-observance of it which forms so painful a feature in the history of Israel. He says:—

In later times we find the most important laws of the Mosaic constitution either unknown or at least unobserved, so that the conclusion may be drawn therefrom that either the Pentateuch was not there, or at least not yet in its present extent the book on religion that was regarded as generally obligatory, which it must have been if it had been esteemed as such from the time of Moses.

De Wette is the next rationalist that claims our attention. He was of opinion that the fragments had been so unskilfully patched together, as to make it impossible to discover which of them were originally connected. Antecedently speaking, it is of course conceivable that a connection did at one time exist between some of them, but it is quite useless now to attempt to restore order and sequence, as Eichhorn and Ilgen would fain have done, for who can any longer tell what has been omitted by the author of the present compilation? Moreover, in primitive compositions such as these, written by uncultured men, there are no characteristics of style, no sure marks to guide the literary critic in his investigations. Not even the constant diversity in the use of the Divine names will serve as a criterion, for instead of being a clue to the existence of two writers, it rather indicates different periods of history, or different schools of religious thought.<sup>1</sup> Lastly, even though they were all that the literary critics postulate, who can guarantee that either Elohim or Jehova was respectively written in all the places, and only in the places, where it now appears?

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<sup>1</sup> The admitted fact that in several passages the preferential use of either name could be satisfactorily explained by the context, had induced Vater to oppose the Document Theory. See the great Catholic *savant*, Kaulen (Professor in Bonn). *Einleitung*, p. 200. The question of the divine names, a fundamental one, will find a more fitting place for discussion, in the account of the Supplement-hypothesis.

It is evident from these few samples, that De Wette's system differed considerably from those of his predecessors, even from that of Eichhorn and Paulus, though these two professors had great influence over him while he was at Jena. The fundamental reason of this disagreement is to be found in his disregard of literary criticism. The conclusion he arrived at was, that the Pentateuch is from beginning to end one mass of myths and sagas. Besides the mythological element which enters so largely into the composition of the Pentateuch, there is a great deal of folk-lore made up of worthless and contradictory legends. Statements that indubitably bear the mark of having been derived from true traditions, must be regarded as non-Mosaic, but at any rate they are so disfigured by myths that they no longer possess any historical value. The so-called 'laws of Moses' belong to a comparatively late period, and the proper name for them would be 'the myths of the jurists.' To sum up, the Pentateuch may be of some interest as a literary curiosity, but it is not a reliable source of information.

Now let us see how some of these blasphemies are endorsed by the *Oxford Hexateuch*, and others suppressed, presumably because England has not advanced so far as Germany on the downward path of Rationalism.

The main strength of his work lay on the historical side. Putting aside the literary questions which had been raised concerning Genesis, De Wette turned to the examination of the institutions implied or described in the Pentateuchal codes. How far were these institutions, he asked in effect, consistent with each other, and how far did the history of Israel show evidence of their existence? Like another young student sixty years later, Graf, he opened his inquiry with an investigation of the differences between the Books of Chronicles and Kings; which ended in the rejection of the former as evidence for the religious usages of Israel under the early monarchy. The real testimony was to be found in the unconscious witness supplied by the indications of Judges, Samuel, and Kings. When these proved that the requirements of the Pentateuch were continually ignored or violated by the responsible leaders of the nation, did not such neglect or violation constitute good grounds for believing that the requirements in question had not yet been definitely imposed?

For example, the cultus enjoined at the Dwelling<sup>1</sup> assumed that sacrifice could be offered only in one place. That was also the fundamental law of Deuteronomy xii. Yet the whole history after the age of Joshua was one continuous demonstration that this principle had in no way controlled the religious practice of the nation. The Book of Judges showed that Mizpah, Bethel, and Shilo were all of them accredited sanctuaries. Samuel and the first kings had not been at all confined to a single altar. Mizpah, Bethel, Zuph,<sup>2</sup> Gilgal, Bethlehem, Nob, Hebron, Gibeon, each witnessed again and again the sacred acts which the law permitted on one spot alone. Even after the erection of the temple this freedom was still maintained. The worship of the royal sanctuary was in fact a court function, and by no means superseded that of the ancient centres of hallowed tradition. So far indeed as the description of the Levitical Dwelling was concerned, Exodus xxv., it could not be reconciled with that of the Tent of Meeting in xxxiii. 7; and it was plainly modelled on the edifice in Jerusalem. But with it was inseparably connected the Aaronic priesthood and the entire corpus of the Levitical law. That was indeed the product of a long development; the history of the removal of the ark in 2 Samuel vi. showed how free and even lawless (from the later point of view) were the proceedings of David. The Pentateuch, then, contained within itself indications of the successive development of legislation; and a comparison with history was the only satisfactory basis for conjectures concerning the origins of its different codes. In laying down this principle De Wette flung out a number of brilliant suggestions which were then little more than clever and courageous guesses, but have since become widely accepted.

The fundamental error in this assertion has been sufficiently refuted in the I. E. RECORD<sup>3</sup>: it is quite consistent with De Wette's canon of exegesis, viz., that Moses was to be interpreted as Homer is. De Wette's explanation of the origin of Genesis was equally irreverent. Genesis and Exodus was the national epic of the theocracy. It was concerned with the national religion, and its ceremonial expression. Leviticus is a comparatively recent collection of laws, authority for which was sought by boldly asserting that they had been given to Moses on Mount Sinai. Numbers is nothing more than an artless continuation of

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<sup>1</sup> Exod. xxv.-xxx., and Leviticus, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. ix. 12.

<sup>3</sup> December, 1901, p. 571.



the preceding three books. Deuteronomy is a body of laws enacted at a still later period. As, however, the myth about Mount Sinai was too well known to bear repetition, and the character of the Deuteronomic legislation was quite different from that contained in Leviticus, the jurists of the time invented another origin for it; they gave out that it was a second code of laws made by Moses just before his death. De Wette is especially honoured by the critics as the discoverer of the all-important fact that Deuteronomy was written in the reign of Josias. To quote the *Oxford Hexateuch* again:—

In a striking chapter he argued that the law of the unity of sanctuary in ch. xii. certainly referred to Jerusalem; before the temple there was no trace of a general national centre of religious worship. The book, therefore, belonged to the monarchy, and this was confirmed by its express sanction of the royal power, xvii. 14.—De Wette, then, assigned the book without hesitation to the seventh century, and by this result the majority of critics still to-day abide.<sup>1</sup>

This was his view at one time, but according to

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<sup>1</sup> The *Encyclopedia Biblica* (1901) speaks in the same strain. It sounds his praises thus:—De Wette's chief concern, however, was not with the literary but with the historical criticism of the Pentateuch, and in the latter he made an epoch.

In his *Dissertatio critica* of 1805, he placed the composition of Deuteronomy in the time of King Josiah (arguing from a comparison of 2 Kings xxii. with Deut. xii.), and pronounced it to be the most recent stratum of the Pentateuch, not, as had been previously supposed, the oldest.

In his *Kritischer Versuch über die Glaubwürdigkeit der Bücher der Chronik* (1805), he showed that the laws of Moses are unknown to the post-Mosaic history; this he did by instituting a close comparison of Samuel and Kings with Chronicles, from which it appeared that the variations of the latter are to be explained not by the use of other sources, but solely by the desire of the Jewish scribes to shape the history in conformity with the law, and to give the law that place in history which, to their surprise, had not been conceded to it by the older historical books.

Finally, in his *Kritik der Mosaischen Geschichte* (1807), De Wette attacked the method then prevalent in Germany of eliminating all miracles and prophecies from the Bible by explaining them away, and then rationalizing what remained into a dry prosaic pragmatism. De Wette refuses to find any history in the Pentateuch; all is legend and poetry. The Pentateuch is an authority not for the history of the time it deals with, but only for the time in which it was written; it is, he says, the conditions of this much later time which the author idealizes and throws back into the past, whether in the form of narrative or of law.

De Wette's brilliant *debut*, which made his reputation for the rest of his life, exercised a powerful influence on his contemporaries. For several *decennia*, all who were at all open to critical ideas stood under his influence.

Holzinger, in the third edition of his *Einleitung* De Wette was inclined to agree with Gesenius that the composition of Deuteronomy and the final revision of the Pentateuch was to be assigned to the time of the exile. De Wette was the first to observe that there is a radical difference of style between the preceding books and Deuteronomy, and this peculiarity may have suggested the notion that it must belong to a somewhat later date. In conclusion, we may remark that, like many other critics, De Wette subsequently gave up the Fragment-hypothesis, and accepted, as we shall see, the Supplement-hypothesis. But he remained to the end the strenuous advocate of real criticism, or of the attack on Scripture based not on linguistic considerations, but on alleged contradictions.

Before we leave this theory and pass on to a further development of the Fragment-hypothesis, we must mention that the first assault on the genuineness of the laws and the history of the Paschal feast was made by De Wette. He attempts to discredit the history by irreverent and impertinent remarks such as these :—

The whole ceremony is in one place represented as a protection against the death of the first born ; in another it is said to be commemorative of their deliverance. The Israelites were commanded (Exod. xii. 11) to eat the lamb in haste, in readiness for departure ; yet in v. 39 they are said to have been taken unawares and to have made no other preparations for their journey. Moses could not possibly have found time then to enact laws for the future observance of the Passover, indeed it would have been absurd to do so, for how could the people in the desert procure lambs sufficient for the feast ?

After flinging out a number of brilliant suggestions (to use the language of the *Oxford Hexateuch*), De Wette majestically proceeds, like Calpurnius, the oracular philosopher in *Fabiola*, to give *his* explanation of the origin of the Pasch :

It was at first, you perceive, only a family custom. In course of time, however, it came to be observed with elaborate ceremonial in the many sanctuaries which, as you are doubtless aware, were scattered all over the land. I refer to Mizpah, Gibeon, etc. The fictitious command to keep it 'in one place which the Lord shall

choose' was given for the first time in Deuteronomy, a book which, I may be permitted to observe, I have discovered to be a literary forgery of the time of King Josiah.

This is pre-eminently one of De Wette's 'clever and courageous guesses which have since become widely accepted.' It has, of course, been developed to a very high degree by Wellhausen in his theory of the festal legislation contained in the D and P Codes. One cannot, however, but regret that the writers of the *Oxford Hexateuch* believe in De Wette and Wellhausen. There is a great deal of truth in what Sayce, the Oxford Professor of Assyriology, says:—

The 'critics' who reject the authority of tradition and of the Church, display nevertheless a most remarkable respect for authority of another kind. Ancient tradition, the teaching of the Christian Church and its Founder, the facts which the Oriental archæologist ventures to put forward, all count for nothing, but to the authority of a few scholars of the nineteenth century, mostly of the German race, we are bidden unreservedly to submit ourselves. Graf and Wellhausen, or Ewald and Dillmann, are the gods of the new Israel. So far as I can gather from the articles I have been reading, the mere statement that a particular view of the Old Testament writings and history has been promulgated by one learned professor and accepted by another, is considered sufficient to settle the matter. I confess that if we are to have a Pope, I should prefer the successor of St. Peter to a bevy of German professors.<sup>1</sup>

Berthold is the next prominent figure among the supporters of the Fragment-hypothesis. Although he maintained that the Pentateuch itself is nothing more than a *répertoire* of pieces which were put together long after the death of Moses, nevertheless he admitted that in Exodus some fragments were written either by the Hebrew legislator himself or by one of his contemporaries, while in Genesis fragments were preserved that dated from an even earlier age. The Erlangen professor's fondness for purely imaginary arrangements of chronology and for explanations of facts appears perhaps still more prominently in his attempt to determine the period in which the Pentateuch received its present form. Before he begins, however, to construct his hypothesis, he mentions some well known facts which it

<sup>1</sup> *Contemporary Review*, November, 1896: 'Biblical Critics on the Warpath,' page 720.



may be said, *en passant*, have no connection whatever with his subjective edifice. He observes that Moses laid the book of the law by the side of the ark as a witness to the covenant (Deut. xxxi. 26), that Joshua added to it a record of the renewal of the covenant at Shechem (xxiv. 26), and that Samuel wrote the law of the kingdom 'and laid it up before the Lord' (1 Sam. x. 25).<sup>1</sup> Berthold accepts these statements simply because it suits his theory; if they created any difficulty, they would summarily be condemned as fictions. It would be in vain to ask him to prove that either Josue's or Samuel's compositions were ever regarded as part of the Pentateuch or attributed to Moses. But the man who got a chair of theology for his essay written to show that the Book of Daniel was the work of several authors, was not to be restrained by considerations such as these.<sup>2</sup> Instead of attempting to make good his supposition, Berthold goes on to assert that this practice of adding to the law was quite unknown in the time of the kings, when, however, legislation still continued to be made. Now, here again we may

<sup>1</sup> The law (*nishpat*) of the kingdom seems to be identical with the law of the king (*nishpat hammelech*), eight verses long, viii. 11-18. It is true that Hummelauer in his *Commentary on Deuteronomy*, p. 296, gives very ingenious reasons in order to induce his readers to accept his own opinion that *nishpat* in v. 11 means only the practice of the king: (it has this meaning of 'practice' in Judges xiii. 12, and 2 Kings i. 7: see Gesenius *Thesaurus*, p. 1465), and that in x. 25, *nishpat* means the provisional enactment made for the kingdom, which enactment Hummelauer holds to be none other than Deut. xii. 1 xxvi. 15, a passage which according to him Samuel inserted into the law. Hence a large part of his *Commentary*, pp. 279-426, treats of what he calls the 'Collectaneum Samuelis,' and he gives for the most part, in agreement with Driver, elaborate tables of 'Leges et Novellae.' Driver, however, thinks that the relation of the Deuteronomic to the JE, P, and H Codes, shows with certainty that Deuteronomy is a work of the seventh century. Whatever may be thought of Hummelauer's theory, it is necessary to bear in mind that it differs in this respect from Driver's, and that it is maintained by arguments very different from those of Berthold. It is almost needless to remark that it is diametrically opposed to the theory which Cornill and Wellhausen have made so popular among the critics—viz., that ch. xii.-xxvi. are the original Deuteronomy, or the real nucleus of the composite book which goes by that name.

<sup>2</sup> Berthold maintained that the book consisted of nine fragments, written by as many authors. This was considered a great advance on Eichhorn, who was unable to discover more than five. Both critics started from the study of the 'contradictions' in the book. The 'unity of authorship' has been denied since their time by Reuss and Lagarde, but on the whole 'the critics' are favourable to it. What they deny at present is the traditional authorship and date. See a popular description of the state of the question in Anderson's interesting work *Daniel in the Critics' Den*.

remark that there is not the slightest warrant for saying positively that during the royal period no prophet did what Josue and Samuel had previously done. For all we know, Elias may have been inspired to make an addition, distinct from the law. All that can be safely affirmed is that Scripture does not record any further instance, but its silence cannot justly be considered as coincident with Berthold's confident *dictum*, much less be regarded as an antecedent approval of his theory. Like other critics, he was sorely in need of a course of logic. The second part of his adventurous statement is still more faulty. Not only is there nothing in Scripture that could be construed into a *tacit nil obstat* of the statement that Pentateuchal legislation was made in the kingly period, but on the contrary the whole authority of Scripture is against it. If anything is made plain in the sacred books, not only in those of Kings, but in all from Josue to Machabees (or to Malachias, when discussing the matter with a critic), it is that the law was given by Moses, once for all.

According to Berthold, as long as the practice of adding enactments continued, the Pentateuch, such as we now have it, could not exist. This is obvious, but Berthold's inference is not obvious. He concludes that the Pentateuchal collection is not older than the period of the kings; while, on the other hand, since it is received by the Samaritans, it cannot have been made at a date posterior to that of the schism of the ten tribes. The latter statement may pass. Therefore, says Berthold, the Pentateuch was compiled some time between the beginning of Saul's reign and the end of Solomon's. He is inclined to think that the work of putting the numerous fragments together was done about the commencement of Saul's reign, partly by the prophet Samuel and partly under his direction. And he would see a promise to undertake the task in the prophet's words to the people, 'I will teach you the good and right way.' Here we have an example of how little satisfies a higher critic who is looking out for a support for his fanciful theory. It is also deserving of attention that Berthold refers to Samuel as to an authority, when it suits him. Nevertheless the

meaning he puts on the aged prophet's words is not admissible. The good and right way of which Samuel, the first great reformer, speaks, is the law of Moses. He had been reared in the service of the tabernacle established by Moses, and now, at the end of his days, it is to the provisions of the Mosaic law he refers in his speech of self-defence.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the incident narrated in 1 Kings (1 Samuel) xv. shows that he regarded Exodus xvii. 14 and Deuteronomy xxv. 17-19, as obligatory. But without dwelling on such incidents, the whole tenor of Samuel's mission makes it evident that all his energies were directed to promote the observance of a law which he looked upon as ancient and as well known to the people.

But Berthold has not done with the Pentateuch yet. His study of the intrinsic character of Genesis i.-iv. lead him to regard it as of post-Mosaic origin : v.-xxxiii. he held to have been put together by Moses or by one of his contemporaries : xxxiv.-xlviii., xl., to be post-Mosaic, as is evident from the language, and from the allusions which they contain : while xlix. was inserted by the compiler of Genesis.

As regards the four other books, they were from the beginning four distinct collections, but it does not follow that they owe their existence to one person. Rather it would appear that the fragments which now constitute Exodus and Numbers—with the exception of Numbers i.-vi.—were gathered by one man, and that another put together the fragments that we call Leviticus. For if one individual had made the entire collection, he would certainly have incorporated Numbers i.-vi. into Leviticus, as an appendix. Lastly, Deuteronomy, which is so distinct in character from the preceding books, must be the work of another collector. In opposition to De Wette's view that Deuteronomy was written at a late period, and that it had no connection with the other books, Berthold held that unity of plan was visible throughout the Pentateuch, even though Deuteronomy contained for the most part only post-Mosaic, or revised and

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xii. 3 with Exod. xxiii. 4, 5 and Deut. xxii. 1.



enlarged Mosaic laws and speeches. To sum up: there were four or five collectors—three respectively, of Exodus-Numbers, of Leviticus, and of Deuteronomy, of whom two at least belonged to the school of prophets<sup>1</sup> that existed under Samuel's presidency.<sup>2</sup> Besides these Moses put together what is now Genesis v.-xxxiii. ; so there were four collectors, and if the collector of the other part of Genesis be distinct

<sup>1</sup> The phrase, 'school of the prophets,' is a favourite expression of the earlier critics. They use it for their own purpose, *e.g.*, to imply that prophecy was not supernatural, that—whatever it was—it could be taught, that the prophets who inculcated the spirit of the law were opposed to the priests whose interests lay in the material worship of the temple, etc. The expression itself is a harmless one, but it must be borne in mind that there is no Scriptural authority for it. The word 'school' does not occur even once in the Old Testament. Kennedy says with truth (*Hastings' Bibl. Dict.*, s. v. Education): 'A single word must suffice for the *schools of the prophets* (an expression with no Scriptural authority) of which so much was made by the scholars of former days. All that the Scripture warrants us in holding is that in a few centres, such as Bethel, Jericho, and Gilgal, men of prophetic spirit formed associations or brotherhoods, for the purpose of stimulating their devotion to Jehovah, through the common life of these schools. Edification, not education, was the main purpose of these so-called schools.'

In the first place where mention is made of a company of prophets such as is contemplated (1 Kings x. 5, 10; *Hebrew*, 'hebel'; *Sept.*, *χορος*; *Vulg.*, 'grex,' 'cuneus') it is quite evident that they formed a choir. Indeed, though the verb 'naba' (from which 'nabi,' prophet, is derived) usually means to foretell, to speak through inspiration, in 1 Par. xxv. 1-3 it signifies to chant the divine praises with a musical accompaniment (perhaps through inspiration), and it is possible that it has this connotation in what is related of Saul, who was filled with extraordinary devotion and fervour. Mangenot remarks:—'Nous pouvons en conclure légitimement que ces prophètes prophétisaient, non pas en prédisant l'avenir, mais en parlant et en chantant sous une impulsion surnaturelle et avec accompagnement musical.' The prophets spoken of here could be called a 'schola,' in the sense only of a 'schola cantorum.' In the second place where they are spoken of (in 1 Kings xix. 20), they are collectively designated as 'lahaqah,' *εκκλησια*, cuneus (here they are under the presidency of Samuel).

When they reappear in the third and fourth books of Kings, they are called the 'sons of the prophets'—prophets, or belonging to the prophetic order. To quote Mangenot again:—'Quant aux manifestations extraordinaires, qui se produisaient au milieu des chants et des louanges divines, et sur la nature desquelles nous sommes peu renseignés, elles n'avaient rien de commun avec la manie des devins antiques ni avec la névrose; c'étaient de charismes, analogues à ceux dont l'Esprit Saint favorisa les premiers Chrétiens.'—'Ils se proposaient un but pratique, celui de former de véritables adorateurs de Dieu, des observateurs fidèles de la loi mosaïque, qui par leurs exemples agiraient, sur la foule, arrêteraient les progrès de l'idolâtrie et ramèneraient leurs frères au culte de vrai Dieu.' (*Vigouroux Dict. de la Bible*, s. v. *Ecoles de prophètes*). Kaulen takes the same view. He says in the *Kirchenlexicon*:—'Da aber der Regel nach bestimmte natürliche Fähigkeiten voraussetzte, so sammelten die Propheten seit Samuel auch Schüler um sich und bereiteten diese auf die mögliche Berufung zum Prophetenamt vor. So entstanden Prophetenschulen, in welchen ein heiligmässiges, abgetödtetes Leben geführt, die Kenntniss des Gesetzes vertieft und die heilige Tonkunst geübt wurde.'

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings xix. 24.

from the collector of Exodus-Numbers (which Berthold leaves an open question) there is a possible fifth.

Our readers will have noticed the gradual advance in error made by these four critics—Geddes, Vater, De Wette, Berthold. The denial of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch has by this time become a necessary condition of scholarship. An indispensable qualification for critical fame consists in attributing Deuteronomy to a compiler that lived at a comparatively late period of Jewish history. But even Berthold was, as might have been anticipated, soon surpassed by other adherents of the Fragment-hypothesis, whose erroneous views will form the subject of a succeeding article.

*(To be continued.)*

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

## DR. SALMON'S 'INFALLIBILITY'

**D**R. SALMON is a theologian of unlimited resources, and this is shown conspicuously by his triumphant vindication of his rule of faith. It has been already shown, and on the clearest evidence, that the rule begets contradictory creeds almost without number; but, in this somewhat discouraging fact, the Doctor actually finds a proof of its divine origin.

The fact is [he says], what the existence of variations of belief among Christians really proves is, that our Master, Christ, has not done what Roman Catholic theory requires He should have done, namely, provided His people with means of such full and certain information on all points on which controversy can be raised, that there shall be no room for difference of opinion among them. But it is ridiculous to build on these variations an argument for the superiority of one sect over another.—(Page 87.)

The Doctor is quite correct in this last remark. 'It is ridiculous' to infer from these variations that one sect is better than another, for all are equally bad, all alike are blind leaders of the blind, and tend to the same abyss. The Church of God alone is the ark of salvation. She alone is proof against the gates of hell,—unchanged and unchangeable as a teacher and guardian of divine truth.

So anxious was our Blessed Lord Himself for unity of faith amongst men, that He prayed to His Eternal Father that His disciples should be one, even as He and the Father are one; and He established His Church and endowed it with supernatural attributes to generate and preserve that unity. 'He gave some apostles, and some prophets, and others some evangelists, and others pastors and doctors, for the perfecting of the saints, and for the edifying of the body of Christ, until we all meet in the unity of faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God . . . that henceforth we be no more children tossed to-and-fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine.'<sup>1</sup> His Apostles exhorted their followers to

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<sup>1</sup> Ephes. iv. 11-14.



‘preserve the unity of Spirit in the bond of peace.’ They preached ‘One Lord, one faith, one baptism, and specially warned their followers against schisms. But Dr. Salmon is a man of accomplished facts. In his theology ‘whatever is, is right’ (except, of course, the Catholic Church, which must be wrong in every hypothesis). He sees around him creeds, whose name is legion, diametrically opposed on the most vital doctrines of Christianity, and in this very fact he finds a vindication of the rule which has generated, and which explains them all. Our Lord and His Apostles, no doubt, insist on unity of faith, and in the clearest possible language, but Dr. Salmon holds that they did not mean it, as is clearly shown by the almost numberless variations of existing sects.

This is a most convenient system of theology. It cannot be assailed, and so it need not be defended. Its variability enables it to assume different forms when seriously attacked, and thus it evades the grasp of logic as well as of common sense. It is a series of dissolving views. And as Dr. Salmon enjoys such unrestricted freedom of belief or disbelief, it is natural that he should sympathise with us, as victims of ‘Roman bondage,’ who are forced to surrender our liberty, our ‘most deep-rooted beliefs . . . solely in deference to external authority . . . though unable to see any flaw in the arguments’ for these beliefs (page 24). According to Dr. Salmon, we make an irrational surrender of our liberty, and in his great charity he is moved to pity us. But charity is said to begin at home; and now, what about the Doctor’s own liberty? He does not tell us what articles of the Christian faith he believes; but he tells us that they are contained in the Bible, and that he has satisfied himself that they are so contained. He must then have discovered, for certain, the meaning of those texts of Scripture in which his articles of faith are revealed. And if he have discovered for certain, the meaning of certain Scripture texts, he is no more free to reject that meaning than Catholics are to reject the teaching of the Church; he is as much bound to that meaning as we are to doctrines defined by the Church. There can be no liberty to reject the known truth. And what, then, becomes of his boasted liberty? He is free only

when he is ignorant. If he know the meaning of the text he is not free to reject it. If he have definite knowledge derived from Scripture he surrenders his liberty quite as much as a Catholic. But he surrenders to a human authority—to himself; whereas a Catholic surrenders his liberty in deference to an authority that is divine. Dr. Salmon, then, can claim the liberty of which he boasts only by the awkward admission, that he does not know for certain the meaning of a single text in his Bible. Such is the liberty which Dr. Salmon and his theologians enjoy; and such being the case the Bible is to them a very useful rule of faith. It enables the Doctor, and men like him, to profess belief in the Christian faith in general, without binding themselves to any particular dogma. With his theologians it serves its purpose as a war cry against us;—they could not, and their professor did not, analyse it. And the result of this liberty is apparent in every statement of so-called Protestant doctrine. They are vague, meaningless platitudes—the natural, the necessary result of the rule from which they come. Mr. Capes, whom Dr. Salmon quotes as a friendly witness (page 62), says of his Church:—

To speak of the Church of England, therefore, as constituting a realization of the apostolical ideal of Christian communion is, in my opinion, entirely to misconceive its real character. In reality, the Establishment is a vast anomaly, both in its origin as a creation of the law, and in the totally contradictory doctrines which it allows to be taught within its pale.

And after describing the internal confusion of the Establishment, Mr. Capes adds:—

In the midst of this confusion it is not to be doubted that the Church of England, which is the very embodiment of the idea of Christian dissensions, has proved itself a working institution on an immense scale.

And so enamoured is Mr. Capes of this theological bedlam that, like Dr. Salmon, he sees in its dissensions 'a startling proof that, for the present, at any rate, the apparent anomaly has a foundation in real unity.'<sup>1</sup> This is the fruit of Dr. Salmon's rule of faith, in the words of his

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<sup>1</sup> Capes' *Reasons*, pp. 187-190.

own chosen witness. Those who follow such spiritual guides do not show much private judgment or discretion.

Now, as Dr. Salmon's rule enables him to put on the Bible any sense at all he pleases, it is only natural that he should make the following statement :—

There is no difficulty in an individual using Scripture as his rule of faith, for he can learn, without much difficulty, what the statements of the Bible on any subject are; and on most subjects these statments are easy to be understood.—(Pages 130, 131.)

But as this statement is made in the face of facts, and in direct contradiction to the testimony of St. Peter, Dr. Salmon elsewhere qualifies it thus :—

But *we* say that the revelation God has given us is, in essential matters, easy to be understood. Roman Catholics dwell much on the difficulty of understanding the Scriptures, and quote St. Peter's saying that the Scriptures contain many things difficult and 'hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest to their own destruction.' But *we* say that the obscurities of Scripture do not hide those vital points, the knowledge of which is necessary to salvation.—(Page 90.)

It must be satisfactory to his students to see how easily Dr. Salmon disposes of St. Peter. The saint said Scripture is, in some parts, so difficult that 'the unlearned and unstable wrest it to their own destruction.' But whatever may be the conviction of St. Peter, Dr. Salmon says that 'the obscurities of Scripture do not hide those vital points, the knowledge of which is necessary to salvation.' Now it is only a mistake as to 'those vital points' that could lead to spiritual ruin; and since St. Peter says that some persons did interpret Scripture to their own ruin, these persons, then, must have mistaken those very 'vital points,' which, according to Dr. Salmon, are so clear that no one can mistake them at all. 'Vital points' may be mistaken, for they have been mistaken, says St. Peter. No, replies Dr. Salmon, 'vital points' cannot be mistaken, so clearly are they contained in Scripture. Of course, the Trinity theologians accept the statement of Dr. Salmon. It would be against all the traditions of their Church and College to take the teaching of a Pope in preference to that of a Protestant professor.



Dr. Salmon frequently refers to those vital points, 'the knowledge of which we count necessary to salvation' (page 74). And with regard to them he says, again and again, that Scripture is sufficiently clear. This is the common Protestant theory of Fundamentals; and, like other Protestant teachers, Dr. Salmon is very careful not to tell us what these 'vital points,' these fundamental doctrines are. To bind himself down to any definite statement would be to surrender the liberty which his rule secures to him. But when he speaks of 'essential matters,' 'vital points,' he clearly must mean that there are some doctrines which must be believed, though he does not state their number or define them. And here again, his rule of faith comes to relieve him of any undue dogmatic burthens, and acts as a safeguard to his liberty. For, whatever the 'vital points' be, they must be contained in Scripture, and provable from it by the 'individual Christian.' Thus the 'individual Christian' is to judge for himself what the 'vital points' for himself are; and the inevitable result is, almost as many lists of 'fundamental articles' as there are individuals. Now, Dr. Salmon professes, at least, to rest his faith on Scripture alone, and where can he find a trace of authority in Scripture for dividing revealed doctrines into articles which must be believed, and articles which may be disbelieved? When he speaks of 'essential matters,' 'vital points,' he distinctly implies that there are matters that are not essential, points that are not vital. And where is his Scripture authority for this distinction? He has none. The question here is not at all as to that minimum of explicit faith which, in all circumstances, and for all persons, is absolutely necessary as a means of salvation; that has already been discussed.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Salmon is here discussing the rule of faith—the rule whereby men are to interpret God's revelation, and to find out what they are, not in extraordinary and exceptional circumstances, but in general and in ordinary circumstances, to believe. And Dr. Salmon, applying his rule, declares that amongst revealed doctrines,

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<sup>1</sup> I. E. RECORD, July, 1901.

some are 'vital,' 'essential,' and must be believed; others are not vital, nor essential, and may, therefore, be disbelieved. This is Dr. Salmon's theory. But our Lord's own theory, unmistakably laid down by Himself, is very different: 'He that believeth, and is baptised, shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be condemned.'<sup>1</sup> 'Going therefore, teach all nations : . . to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.'<sup>2</sup> Here our Lord distinctly, and without exception, states that he that believeth not shall be condemned, and that we are to believe all that He has commanded. He makes no distinction between truths of faith, as vital and non-vital: He gives no liberty to reject anything that He has revealed. And whoever rejects any such truth shall, He says, be condemned. This is our Lord's teaching. But the Regius Professor thinks this 'a hard saying;' and he tells his students that their obligation of belief is limited to 'vital points,' which, for their further comfort, they are at liberty to determine for themselves. Our Lord's words clearly leave no room for the distinction; but Dr. Salmon is a 'prayerful man,' and he knows that our Lord did not really mean what He so distinctly and emphatically said. Revelation is all God's Word, and we believe it on His authority. That authority is just as good for believing any one revealed truth as any other. Everything that God has revealed is an object of faith, to be believed, at least, implicitly. All of it that is sufficiently proposed to us, we must believe explicitly. To reject any portion of it would be to refuse to believe Him, to make Him a liar, to make a shipwreck of the faith.

Thus Dr. Salmon's theory of 'vital' and non-vital articles is an outrage on reason, as well as a palpable contradiction of our Lord's own express declaration. If 'the revelation which God has given us is, in essential matters, easy to be understood,' how is it that for three hundred years Protestants have not been able even once to agree as to what these 'essential matters' are? The Trinity, the

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<sup>1</sup> Mark xvi. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

Incarnation, Baptismal Regeneration, the Sacramental System, the Inspiration of Scripture—these, surely, ought to be regarded as 'vital points' of Christian faith; and yet they are, one and all, held and denied by members of Dr. Salmon's Church, who, all alike, appeal, to the Bible as a rule of faith, and all justify their denials by appealing to Dr. Salmon's distinction of essential and non-essential articles. Mr. Palmer, in his *Treatise on the Church*,<sup>1</sup> gives a number of theories of fundamentals held by Protestant theologians. He shows the state of hopeless confusion to which the discussion leads them, and he gives his own opinion in language that is very far from complimentary to those who hold the opinions expressed by Dr. Salmon. He says:—

Whatever foundation there may be for the notion that some doctrines are more important in themselves than others, it cannot be supposed that any doctrine certainly revealed by Christ is unimportant to us, or that it may be safely disbelieved, or that we may recognise as Christians those who obstinately disbelieve such a doctrine.<sup>2</sup>

St. Paul said to the Corinthians: 'I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you all speak the same thing, and that there be no schisms among you, but that you be perfect in the same mind and in the same judgment.'<sup>3</sup> The Apostle would have appealed in vain to men like Dr. Salmon. The result of the Doctor's teaching, the fruit of the rule which he maintains, is that men do not and shall not speak the same thing; that there are schisms without number, and every day increasing in number; that scarcely any two persons give the same judgment, even on the most vital Christian dogmas; and that Dr. Salmon's Church is (to use the very candid description of his friend Mr. Capes) 'the very embodiment of the idea of Christian dissensions,' and 'that almost every existing school of Christian (?) theology can find a home within its boundaries.'<sup>4</sup> The Gospel according to Dr. Salmon is not the Gospel according to Mr. Palmer, and the Gospel according to

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., pp. 102-105.

<sup>2</sup> Page 106.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. i. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Pages 185-7.



Dean Farrar has little affinity with either, though all spring from the same prolific source of error—the Bible, and the Bible only, as a rule of faith. And in the Doctor's theology the rule reaches the climax of impious absurdity. For in his system the 'individual Christian is the supreme judge of "vital points,"' and, is, therefore, at liberty to say that any doctrine, no matter how clearly revealed, is still not 'a vital point,'—is not one of those 'the knowledge of which *we* count necessary to salvation,' (page 74), and may, therefore, be rejected as unnecessary. And thus the 'individual Christian' may, on Dr. Salmon's theory, reject every single article of the Christian creed, and the Broad Church section has actually done so. The rule which begets such religious chaos, such soul-destroying error, stands condemned.

Dr. Salmon's idea of the Catholic rule of faith reminds one forcibly of Mr. Pott's work on Chinese metaphysics. A criticism of this profoundly learned work appeared in the *Eatanswill Gazette*, and strangely enough had escaped the notice of Mr. Bob Sawyer, and even of Mr. Pickwick himself. When the last-named gentleman was questioned by Mr. Pott as to his opinion of the criticism, he said in his embarrassment: 'An abstruse subject, I should conceive.' 'Very, sir,' responded Pott, looking intensely sage. 'He crammed for it, to use a technical but expressive term; he read up for the subject at my desire in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.' 'Indeed!' said Mr. Pickwick. 'I was not aware that that valuable work contained any information on Chinese Metaphysics.' 'He read, sir,' rejoined Mr. Pott, laying his hand on Mr. Pickwick's knee, and looking round, with a smile of intellectual superiority, 'he read for metaphysics under the letter M, and for China under the letter C, and combined his information, sir!' Dr. Salmon must have done something of the same sort. He must have studied for Faith under the letter F, and for Rule under the letter R, and combined his information. 'And looking round with a smile of intellectual superiority,' not even second to Mr. Pott, he imparted his combined information to his admiring students who must have been more than ever convinced of 'the baselessness of the Roman claims.' He informed them

that no 'other proof is necessary, of the modernness of the Roman rule of faith than the very complicated form it assumes' (page 129). Now Chinese metaphysics are older than the Catholic rule of faith, and certainly more complicated; and hence a thing may be complicated and old at the same time. The Doctor's logic then is not good. But here is his 'explanation,' which is worthy of Mr. Pott when at the zenith of his fame:—

But the true explanation why Roman Catholic controversialists state their rule of faith in this complicated form is, that Christians began by taking Scripture as their guide, and then when practices were found current which could not be defended out of the Bible, tradition was invoked to supplement the deficiencies of Scripture. Last of all, when no proof could be made out either from Scripture or antiquity for Roman Catholic doctrines and practices, the authority of the Church was introduced to silence all opposition. —(Page 130).

This is combined information of the genuine Mr. Pott type. Now, Dr. Salmon was not an eye-witness of the interesting changes he has here recorded. Where, then, did he get his information? It must have come from some source as reliable as Taylor's *Dissuasive*; unless, indeed, it be a private revelation to the Doctor himself. 'Christians began,' he says, 'by taking Scripture as their guide.' No; they had not the Scripture to take as a guide when they began. They began by taking the teaching of a divinely-commissioned body—the *Ecclesia Docens*—as their guide; they had no other. 'And when practices were found current which could not be defended out of the Bible, tradition was invoked.' No; tradition came before Scripture, not after it; and Dr. Salmon does not say what the indefensible practices were. 'Last of all . . . the authority of the Church was introduced to silence all objections.' No; *first of all*, the authority of the Church was introduced, when our Lord said to His Apostles, 'going therefore teach all nations.' Not a line of the New Testament was written for many years after the giving of this commission, which established Church authority, and is its charter. This, then, is not a 'modern foundation,' as the

Doctor describes it; it is as old as Christianity. The version then of our rule of faith, supplied by Dr. Salmon, is a specimen of 'combined information,' quite on a par with the Chinese metaphysics of Mr. Pott's critic, and the young men who took in his Pickwickian theology are likely to become enlightened guides of the rising generation of Protestants.

He informed them, furthermore, that the Catholic Church was so intolerant, so domineering, that she 'expects to be believed on her bare word; she does not condescend to offer proofs' (page 128). Now, it is an average specimen of the Doctor's consistency, that just seven lines lower down than the above he admits, she does condescend to 'offer proofs.' 'And if that Church condescends to offer proof of her doctrine [which is an admission that she does], she claims to be the sole judge whether what she offers are proofs or not.' This is a serious, a grave charge against the Catholic Church. 'She expects to be believed on her bare word.' Yes, and the Doctor might have made his case stronger; for, she not only 'expects,' but she insists on 'being believed on her bare word.' She holds her commission from God Himself; she will not, therefore, allow Dr. Salmon, or his 'individual Christian,' to sit in judgment on her. Had she done so, she would be in the same position as the Doctor's town-clock Church;—false to her commission, unreliable as a guide, and unworthy of obedience. The Doctor's damaging attack on the Church is, then, merely an argument of her divine origin. He is a profound logician, this Regius Professor; or, can it be, that he is a Jesuit in disguise, who is knowingly putting forward arguments against the Catholic Church, that can have but one result, to bring ridicule on the cause he professes to advocate. On such teaching his controversialists have a brilliant future before them.

The Doctor has another grave charge against us, to which we are prepared to plead guilty. 'What I want to point out,' he says, 'is, that in the Roman Catholic controversy, this question about the rule of faith is altogether subordinate to the question as to the judge of controversies,



or in other words, the question as to the infallibility of the Church' (page 127). And he repeats this at page 129. Now, if he had read, with any care, any of our dogmatic theologians on the subject of his lectures, he would find them speaking of a *remote* and of a *proximate* rule of faith. The *remote* rule is the Word of God, contained in Scripture and tradition; it is thus a name for the source whence the Church takes her teaching. The *proximate* rule is the living voice of the teaching Church, which explains God's Word to us. The Word of God is in the keeping of the *Ecclesia Docens*, and is therefore subordinate to it. God has made it so, for he has made the teaching Church its guardian and interpreter. Dr. Salmon could have easily learned this from our theologians, and he should have learned it somewhere, before he set about confusing his students as to our teaching. But he does not seem to have sufficiently considered even his own position; for he, too, holds that there is a judge of controversies to which his rule of faith (the Bible) is subordinate. The 'individual Christian' is, according to the Doctor, to decide whether the Church's teaching is in accordance with Scripture. The Doctor himself, therefore, is a judge of controversies, but *only for himself*; and so, in his system, is each individual Christian to the same extent. And, such being the case, what becomes of the Doctor's position as Regius Professor? Why is he dictating to his controversialists if each is a divinely constituted judge of the contents of the Bible? The main difference between the Doctor and us, in this matter, is that he has a judge of controversy—himself, admittedly, notoriously fallible—a judge which cannot decide; and we have a judge of controversy—the teaching Church—to which God has expressly promised Infallibility, whose decrees, therefore, must be final, because they must be true. It is not at all, as Dr. Salmon told his theologians, a question of the Bible against the Church, for the Church adopts the Bible; it is her Bible; it is a question of the individual against the Church. The Catholic judge of controversies has a commission from God; the Protestant judge has no commission. It is a wearying task to follow Dr. Salmon through his illogical blunderings,

and it is anything but a favourable index of the educational standard at Trinity, that its leading light should be so hopelessly bad a logician, that in his own special, chosen department, he should be unable to rise above the level of a street preacher, and that its most advanced students should take in their Professor's crude lucubrations, with as much awe and reverence as Mr. Pickwick displayed when swallowing the Chinese metaphysics of Mr. Pott.

The Catholic rule of faith is not the caricature which Dr. Salmon sets before his students. It has God for its author. His wisdom designed it, and His power maintains it. It is, therefore, adapted to its purposes and adequate to the attainment of its end. In order to have divine faith we must have God's Word, and we must know its meaning; that is, we must have a witness to the fact of revelation, and an interpreter of its true sense. And since faith is an absolutely necessary means for salvation, the witness and interpreter must be always present, living, testifying, teaching. For, if in any age since its institution, the witness or interpreter had been wanting, then, in that age faith would have been impossible, and salvation impossible also. And, moreover, this witness and interpreter must be infallible. If the witness were fallible, it might testify that God had spoken when He had not spoken; and if the interpreter were fallible, it might assign a meaning to God's Word which is not His meaning. In either case we may be deceived, and may not be believing God's words, but man's speculations. And if we may be deceived, our assent would be, at best, doubtful, hesitating; and a doubtful, hesitating assent is not faith, it is only opinion. To have divine faith, therefore, we must have a witness and interpreter that will exclude doubt, that cannot err; that is, the witness and interpreter must be infallible; and that infallible witness and interpreter God has mercifully given us in the *Ecclesia Docens*—the teaching Church, whose living, never-failing, never-changing voice is the Catholic rule of faith. The authority of the teaching Church has been already stated and proved in the I. E. RECORD for May, 1901,<sup>1</sup> and it is

<sup>1</sup> Pages 418-424.

unnecessary to make more than a brief reference to it here :—

This body [the *Ecclesia Docens*] is the infallible guardian, interpreter and teacher of the entire deposit of faith, and of all that appertains to faith and morals, and the infallible judge of every controversy in which faith or morals are involved. . . . As custodian of the faith, the Church preserves her precious charge from all admixture of error. . . . It is the shepherd's duty not merely to feed his flock, but to ward off the wolf from the fold.

This, as explained there, is the clear meaning of our Lord's commission to His Apostles, and of His promise to be with them in their teaching till the end of time. And ever since, that teaching the Church has faithfully fulfilled her mission as teacher and guardian of revealed truth. 'Their sound hath gone out to every land, and their voice to the ends of the earth.' Animated and enlightened by God's Holy Spirit, sustained by His promise, she has continued to teach in every age, and without interruption. She has been found equal to every emergency that has arisen during her extraordinary career. When tyrants sought to drown her voice in the blood of her children, these children bore noble testimony to her teaching. Her apologists put pagan philosophy to shame, by contrasting it with her heavenly doctrines : and heresies as they arose were condemned, and cast out when judged by the same rule of truth. This has been her history, her working for the nineteen centuries of her existence ; and it will be her history for all the centuries, few or many, that are to come.

The Catholic Church is not a mere aggregate of individuals, but a personality, living on through these centuries, supernaturally endowed, and infallibly directed. Her memory goes back to the days of her divine Founder's earthly sojourn. At no time have her faculties been impaired, or her divine protection diminished : she has been always conscious of her supernatural guidance, and she knows the meaning, and the extent of her commission. She is, therefore, a competent reliable witness to the fact of revelation, and a competent reliable interpreter of the sense



which the revelation bore. If, therefore, a doubt arises as to any truth of faith, she can remove the doubt, and restate the truth correctly ; for, she heard it from the Founder's lips, or the Holy Ghost communicated its meaning to her. She is thus at all times able to teach the truths of faith with the same authority as she first promulgated them ; and any truth once promulgated by her remains a part of her teaching for ever. She is able also to state the fuller meaning of those truths, and to show the relation in which they stand to natural knowledge, or to any errors that time may bring. All this follows necessarily from the divine commission to the Church, and from the divine promise accompanying that commission. The proof of this has been already briefly considered,<sup>1</sup> and Dr. Salmon will find it fully stated and vindicated in most of our dogmatic treatises.

This rule of faith, the living voice of the teaching Church designed by God, and alone worthy of His wisdom, is adequate to its end, and available to all. ' God wishes all men to be saved and to come to a knowledge of the truth.'<sup>2</sup> And since this wish is sincere, and efficacious, there must be means divinely given and certainly sufficient to attain the end desired. The first, the most necessary, the root and foundation of all the means, is divine, supernatural faith, and this we cannot have without certain knowledge of what God has revealed. The rule of faith, therefore, if it come from God, must be able to give us this certain knowledge of saving truth. And the Catholic rule of faith does so, and it alone does so. The voice of the living Church is the voice of God speaking through her in accordance with His own promise. She heard our Redeemer's teaching, she witnessed His miracles, she saw the miracle of the first Pentecost, she herself received the entire body of revealed truths, to her alone were revealed in their fulness the conditions of man's salvation, and in teaching all this to man she is guaranteed against error by our Lord's special promise. And since His pledged word shall not pass away, the teaching of the Church must be always true ; a sure, certain guide to all

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<sup>1</sup> I. E. RECORD, May, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Tim. ii. 4.

that follow it, and all are bound to follow it. Dr. Salmon's Church is not a witness to the fact of revelation; she came fifteen hundred years too late; and she is completely discredited as an interpreter by the contradictory doctrines to which she stands pledged. And as for the Doctor himself, and his 'individual Christian,' they come later still; and even though the Doctor were a sort of Wandering Jew, who could trace back his career to the scene on Calvary, his reliability as a witness is completely shattered by his own lectures. Neither the Doctor, then, nor his Church can witness to the fact of revelation, nor tell its sense without grave risk of error, and therefore neither can be a guide in the important matter of faith.

Again, the Catholic rule of faith is available to all who seek it with ordinary prudence and in sincerity. The living voice, for the very reason that it is living, is readily taken up by the hearer. It is not like a book, often obscure and unintelligible, or to be understood only by the learned, and often after much study, and careful, thoughtful consideration. The living voice is accommodated to the capacities of all hearers, the least as well as the best educated. If there be anything obscure, the teacher is present to explain it; and since the teacher is divinely guaranteed against error, only the wilfully blind can fail to take in from it the truths of faith. There may be persons of weak intellect, who cannot be taught, or perverse persons, who will not be taught; but the efficacy of the rule cannot be called in question, because of such persons. This rule exemplifies in its full details the system, which, according to St. Paul, our Lord Himself instituted: 'And He gave some apostles, and some prophets, and other some evangelists, and other some pastors, and doctors, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry . . . . until we all meet in the unity of faith.'<sup>1</sup> This is the *Ecclesia Docens*—an organised hierarchy—a body of teachers spread all the world over, in communion with one another, and in subordination to their Head. From this divinely-constituted body

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<sup>1</sup> Ephes. iv. 7-12.

the truths of faith are conveyed, through various grades of teachers, to the faithful. The priests, who are the immediate teachers of the people, are in strict subordination to their bishops, and under strict episcopal supervision, just as the bishops themselves are in strict subordination to the Pope, and under his supervision. Thus the channels through which the teaching of the faith reaches the people are so jealousy guarded, that every Catholic, no matter how little educated, has the highest moral certainty that the teaching he receives is the teaching of the Church. He has learned it from his Catechism; his knowledge has been repeatedly tested in his preparation for the Sacraments; it has been tested pretty severely by the bishop at the time of his confirmation. He has heard it explained, Sunday after Sunday, in the public instruction given to the people, and by different priests, and he finds them all agreeing in their teaching. He finds it stated in books, if he can read them, and if he happen to go to any foreign country he finds there the Catholic faith, embracing the very same truths he was taught at home. Thus the Catholic has abundant evidence—the highest moral certainty—that his faith is the faith of the Catholic Church. And he believes it, not on the authority of the priest who taught him, but on the authority of the wide-world infallible Church, whose teaching he knows it to be.

Thus the voice of the teaching Church reaches the most obscure of her children; and the rule of faith guides and enlightens him. It would not help Dr. Salmon to say that this rule is not made available to the ordinary faithful with sufficient certainty, since it reaches them only through a priest, who may be ignorant or perverse, and who, therefore, may teach heresy instead of divine truth. For even though it were granted that a priest may preach heresy to his people, the consequence above insinuated would not follow. On the contrary, if such an incident were to occur, it would only illustrate more forcibly the practical efficacy of the Catholic rule of faith. For if a priest, even in the most obscure and remote district in the country were, from the altar on Sunday, to deny any doctrine taught by the



Church—the Real Presence, the Supremacy or Infallibility of the Pope, the Immaculate Conception, or any other such doctrine of the Church—his flock would at once notice the novelty, would take the alarm, and convey the intelligence to the bishop, and not many days would pass before the delinquent would have to choose between a public retraction of his false teaching or expulsion from the Catholic Church.

Whatever may be Dr. Salmon's theory, this would most certainly be the actual fact. And thus the Catholic rule is available to all the children of the Catholic Church; and it is equally available even for those who are not of the Church. Her voice reaches them also, unless they refuse to listen to her. It removes misconception, it explains difficulties; the grace of prayer remains with them, and if they hear the Church's message to them, with the sincere desire of learning the truth, and with a sincere determination of embracing the truth when known, and if they pray for light and help, they shall find the Church's motives of credibility abundantly sufficient as an argument to trust to her guidance, to submit to her authority, and if they so submit, her voice will guide and enlighten them, too, into all supernatural truth. And thus the Catholic rule of faith is available for all.

But Dr. Salmon's rule is not available for all, nor reliable for anyone. For nearly four hundred years it was absolutely impossible as a rule; for fourteen hundred years it was morally impossible. It is only available even now for scholars of very considerable learning, and for all it is a source of most contradictory doctrine. It cannot, therefore, be from God.

Again, the Catholic rule of faith—the voice of the living Church—is alone a competent judge of religious controversies, and alone capable of deciding them; and her commission covers the whole extent of revealed truth. As already stated and proved,<sup>1</sup> the Church is the divinely-appointed teacher and custodian of all revealed truth. As teacher it is her duty to explain its meaning, and as custodian it is her

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<sup>1</sup> I. E. RECORD, May, 1901.

duty to maintain it in its integrity, to exclude from it all admixture of error. Many of the truths of faith are so clear that one should think they could not become matters of controversy; but history shows that even revealed truths that are apparently plainest have been doubted and denied. Again, many revealed truths are obscure; their full meaning is not on the surface; and on such truths controversy will, as a matter of necessity, arise, and there must be a judge to decide such controversies, if the faith is to be preserved. Now, it is the living voice of the divinely-commissioned teaching body that can decide such controversies with authority and with certainty. And as such controversies may arise at any time, and do arise frequently, a voice always living and active, always present to decide, and infallible in its decisions, is the only competent judge. This is the voice of the ever-living, teaching Church, which originated with the Apostles, and has been the organ of divine truth ever since their time, and shall continue to be such till time ends. Its authority is in its divine commission, and its perpetual activity is in the fact that it cannot discharge its commission without existing as a teacher 'till the consummation of the world.' As teacher it speaks only with reference to the deposit of faith, and as custodian of that deposit, it speaks also on matters from which detriment to the sacred deposit may arise. Moreover, the Church speaks with the authority, and after the manner of one, who, living still, lived also when our Redeemer lived, saw the facts of His life, and with a mind supernaturally enlightened took in His teaching in its true sense, and who, still more, with a memory supernaturally aided, has preserved that teaching, and with an infallible judgment tells us now what it is. And the Church could not tell us with certainty what our Lord's teaching is unless she knew with equal certainty, what is not His teaching. This, and nothing else, is the meaning of our Lord's commission to His Church, and of the promise accompanying the commission. The voice, therefore, of this Church is competent to decide any controversy on faith or morals that may arise, and is always available for that purpose. She knows the extent of her

commission, she knows its limits, she will not go beyond these limits. Within it, her voice is final. It is the rule of faith.

Now, Dr. Salmon's rule is not competent to decide religious controversies. It has had a three-hundred years trial, and it has decided nothing except its own worthlessness. It has generated sects almost innumerable, professing most contradictory creeds, or rather not knowing what to profess. It set out by professing what it could not prove, that the Bible is God's Word; and now, at the bidding of the 'higher criticism,' it has come to hold that God's Word is somewhere in the Bible, but it cannot tell where. Such a rule cannot be from God. Dr. Salmon led his students to believe that he had disposed of the Catholic rule of faith, when he held up for their ridicule a caricature formed of some misquotations of Dr. Milner, supplemented by some not very ingenious inventions of his own. He told them that Dr. Milner 'demanded that God should miraculously secure men from error of any kind' (page 97). And his version of the Catholic rule is, 'I know that I am right and you are wrong, because I have a divinely-inspired certainty that I am in the right in my opinion' (page 82). It was no doubt very pleasant to them to be assured, on such high authority, that their task as controversialists was so easy, as Catholics were so very irrational and so absurd, but it would have been much better to have told them the truth.

And, having disposed of the Catholic rule, to his own satisfaction, the Doctor proceeds to lay the axe to the root of the whole Roman system, addressing his learned audience thus: 'I propose to lay before you such evidence as will show you that, whether there be anywhere an infallible church or not the Church of Rome certainly is not' (page 169) And the 'evidence' is supplied by the following facts (?) :— (1.) 'Romish advocates seldom offer any proof' of the infallibility of the Church; (2.) 'The Church of Rome has shrunk with the greatest timidity from exercising this gift of Infallibility on any question, which had not already settled itself without her help' (page 172); (3.) 'The Church of Rome herself does not believe in the Infallibility which she



claims' (page 173). Now, the first of these statements is so notoriously, so manifestly opposed to fact, that it is amazing how even Dr. Salmon could have made it. There is not a dogmatic theologian, from Bellarmine to Dr. Murray, who has written on the Church, that has not proved this very doctrine which Dr. Salmon says they 'seldom' attempt to prove at all! And they prove it, not in the illogical manner suggested by Dr. Salmon. They prove, first, that the Church of Christ is infallible, and then, by the application of the notes of the true Church, they prove that the Church of Christ is that one which Dr. Salmon calls the Church of Rome. The Doctor can misrepresent these arguments, but he cannot refute them. His second statement is, 'The Church of Rome has shrunk with the greatest timidity,' etc., and hence he infers she is not infallible, and she knows it. Here, again, we have a specimen of the Doctor's consistency. He has frequently stated that the Church's definitions are always new doctrines, and here he tells us that she 'shrinks' from defining anything that had 'not already settled itself without her help.' If the matter be doctrine before the definition, then, the definition does not impose a new doctrine.

But his logic is even worse than his consistency. His conclusion does not at all follow from his premises. The Apostles were individually infallible, and yet, in order to decide whether circumcision was, or was not necessary, they assembled a council at Jerusalem, and it was only after 'much discussion' that St. Peter delivered the infallible decision of the Apostolic body. Now, as the Apostles were individually infallible, each of them could have at once decided this question as it came before him, and without any discussion; yet they waited and discussed the matter fully in council. Will Dr. Salmon make their hesitation an argument against their infallibility, individually or collectively? His argument is as good against the Apostles as against the Church, and as bad against the Church as against the Apostles. The Church hesitates, therefore, she is fallible; the Apostles hesitated, therefore, they were fallible. If Dr. Salmon insists on the first, he must hold the second, and if the

Apostles were fallible, as the Doctor's logic proves, what is the worth to him of his rule of faith—the Bible? Simply nothing. This is the outcome of the Doctor's logic.

Now, it is proved that the Church is infallible in her teaching, and the hesitations alleged by Dr. Salmon (even if all were granted) are no disproof of that doctrine, however they are to be explained. And the explanation is very easy. For surely it is not a charge against the Church, that in the exercise of her high office she exhibits the prudence and caution which the supernatural character of her work demands. If she had rushed headlong to a decision, had shown the simplicity of the dove without the prudence of the serpent, the Doctor would, no doubt, quote Scripture to condemn her; but that she is prudent and cautious in her decisions ought to be regarded as a proof that she has a due appreciation of the sacredness of her office and of the eternal interests at stake. The obligation of using due caution and prudence is implied in her commission, and she is always sure to comply with the obligation; but it is not a necessary condition of the truth of her teaching. Whenever the Church defines, her teaching is infallibly true, whether the preparation be long or short. Her Founder's promise secures her in her teaching, and insures also the prudence and the wisdom of her decisions. But Dr. Salmon has, as usual, completely misrepresented the action of the Church. Whenever the truths of faith that are necessary to be explicitly believed have been assailed, the Church has made no undue delay in vindicating them and in condemning their assailants. Arians, Eutychians, Monophysites, Monothelites, Lutherans, Jansenists have been condemned with the promptitude and decisiveness which the interests of souls demanded. But there have been in the Church domestic controversies regarding matters, not dogmas of faith necessary to be explicitly believed, in which, therefore, the interests of souls were not concerned, and in such cases the Church, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, has awaited the acceptable time. The controversies to which Dr. Salmon refers are of this latter class. And even in such cases, when the controversy reaches a stage, in which the interests of souls require

that a definitive judgment should be given, the Church speaks, and with no uncertain sound. And this prudence ought to be regarded, rather as a proof of the Church's fidelity to her commission than as an argument against her; for 'verily the finger of God is here.'

But Dr. Salmon 'will argue still.' He says: 'Let us examine by the evidence of facts whether the Church of Rome believes her own claim to infallibility' (page 172); and after his wonted manner of examining he concludes (page 173) that she 'does not believe' her claim. Now, if she claim it without believing it she is a hypocrite; and, as this is a very grave charge, it should not be made without conclusive evidence to sustain it. But, before convicting her, Dr. Salmon offers some very interesting evidence to show that she does not claim it at all. And his witnesses are quite worthy of him. There is, first, a Mr. Seymour, author of a precious production called *Mornings with the Jesuits*, in which he relates for the admiration of enlightened Protestants how he bearded the Jesuits in their own stronghold at Rome. 'He asked them for proof that the Church of Rome ever claimed infallibility' (page 173), and then this veritable Baron Munchausen 'described the consternation and perplexity into which the Jesuits were thrown by his assertion that the Trent decrees contained no claim to infallibility.' And of this wonderful story, which seems at first to have staggered Dr. Salmon, he got full confirmation from his friend, Mr. Capes, who subsequently met in England 'one of Mr. Seymour's two antagonists . . . an excellent specimen of a well instructed Jesuit. . . . And he told Mr. Capes that it was quite true,' etc. (page 174). Very likely! A well instructed Jesuit ignorant of the decrees of the Council of Trent! A well instructed Jesuit, or any Jesuit, not aware that to claim under penalty of anathema, the internal assent of the faithful to truths of faith, does not presuppose the infallibility of the claimant! Of course Messrs. Seymour and Capes gave no names or dates of this extraordinary occurrence. Such minutiae would be altogether out of place, and would only tend to defeat the ends of Mr. Seymour & Co.



But let us hear another of Dr. Salmon's witnesses: Mr. Ffoulkes, who, like Mr. Capes, 'made the journey to Rome and back, states that he was never asked to accept this doctrine when he joined the Church of Rome' (page 174). Now, almost in the same breath, we are told by Mr. Ffoulkes that he made the following profession: 'Sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Romanam Ecclesiam, omnium Ecclesiarum matrem et magistram agnosco.' Now, *magistram* is not a mistress who owns, but a mistress who teaches, as his dictionary would have told Mr. Ffoulkes. He himself, therefore, said, 'when he joined the Church of Rome': 'I acknowledge the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church to be the mother and teacher of all Churches,' the clearest possible profession of Infallibility. Therefore, from his own lips, we have it that he actually professed and proclaimed that identical doctrine which he says was never proposed to him at all! If Mr. Ffoulkes had given such evidence in a court of justice, the presiding judge would quickly cut him short by saying: 'You may go down, sir.' So much for Dr. Salmon's witnesses. The Doctor's own theory is that, though Rome claims Infallibility now, she did not claim it till recently. 'There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy.' There are many other ways besides a formal definition in which the Church speaks her mind. She has not formally defined her infallibility; but she has always acted as one who cannot err. She has never tolerated any denial of her teaching. Whenever false doctrines appeared she condemned them; when the dogmas of faith were assailed she vindicated them, and condemned their assailants. 'Acting is the test of belief,' according to Dr. Salmon himself. In the First General Council the Church anathematized the doctrine of Arius, and excommunicated those who held it. In the Second Council she anathematized the doctrines of Macedonius, and excommunicated those who maintained them. She acted in like manner towards Nestorius and his followers at Ephesus; and towards Eutyches and his followers at Chalcedon; and so on, down along the chain of ecclesiastical history, we find the Church anathematizing heretics

and heresies as they arise. Dr. Salmon, who knows so much about the Council of Trent, does not need to be reminded of the very emphatic condemnation of the errors of Luther and his associates at that council; and his own memory enables him to see how closely the example of the earlier councils was followed by that of the Vatican. And, as this action of the teaching Church has been accepted by the body of the faithful, then, judging by Dr. Salmon's own test: 'Acting is the test of belief,' the Church has always claimed to be infallible, and the faithful have always admitted her claim. What, then, becomes of the Doctor's assertion that she neither claimed it nor believed it? The test which he himself has supplied proves his statement to be false.

But the Doctor's ingenuity is not yet exhausted. 'I may, however, say a few words now . . . about the disputes which have raged within the Roman communion for centuries . . . as to the organ of the Church's infallibility. Does the gift reside in the Church diffusive, or only in its Head?' (page 175). To assert the existence of a controversy on this question is a demonstration of the want of knowledge or want of sincerity of him who makes the assertion. The statement implies that one of the parties to the controversy denied the infallibility of the 'Church diffusive.' There was never any such controversy in the Catholic Church. Catholics hold, and have always held, as an article of faith, unanimously, that the Universal Church, the 'Church diffusive,' can never believe or profess any false doctrine. Again, 'does the gift reside in a General Council, or in Pope and Council together?' (page 175). There can be no General Council without the Pope, and we hold, and always have held, that a General Council, confirmed by the Pope, is infallible in its teaching; and Catholics, furthermore, hold unanimously that the teaching Church (that is, the bishops in union and in communion with their head) is infallible in its teaching. On these questions there never was a controversy in the Catholic Church, though Dr. Salmon told his students that it had 'ragged for centuries.' So far, then, 'the organ of the Church's infallibility' was well known, was

fixed and certain, available to all, and sufficient to decide all religious controversies. Whether, moreover, the Pope, in his official capacity, was infallible was a subject of controversy, though the controversy was more theoretical than practical; but it has been settled by the infallible voice of the *Ecclesia Docens*, and there is controversy on it no more. This practical efficacy of the Catholic rule of faith is unintelligible to men like Dr. Salmon, whose Church has never decided, and never can decide, a religious controversy, being, as Mr. Capes truly said, 'the very embodiment of the idea of Christian dissensions.' And no wonder, since, if men are to think and decide for themselves in matters of faith, they will think for themselves, and each individual Christian becomes a rule of faith, but to himself only.

'But we have no such custom, neither has the Church of God.'<sup>1</sup> In that Church we recognise our divinely-commissioned teacher. Her voice, ever living, reaches us in all our spiritual needs, and is a sure guide in all our religious controversies—our rule of faith, always available, sufficient, secure and applicable to the whole body of revealed truth. The teaching authority of the Church is determined by her commission. That commission is to teach all nations all the truths entrusted to her. What precisely that is we must learn from the Church herself. She is the only surviving earthly witness to the commission, and God's Word is pledged that she shall always declare it truthfully. If, therefore, we want to learn the sphere within which she is an infallible teacher, we must take her own word for it. By using her powers she tells us what they are. If we find her claiming to teach infallibly on any subject, we must either admit that her claim is good, or that her Founder has not kept His Word. This, then, which is the very alphabet of Catholic teaching, enables us to see how the rule of faith, designed by God, contrasts with clumsy human counterfeits of it. The authority of the Church applies directly and immediately to all that is contained in the deposit of faith; that is to all the truths that are formally, that is, in themselves, either explicitly or implicitly revealed,

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<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xi. 16.



and in teaching and explaining all this the Church is infallible. All this constitutes the direct object matter of her commission. Some of these truths, like the Incarnation, the Real Presence, are contained in Scripture. Some, like the Inspiration of Scripture, are only in tradition. Again, some are clearly and explicitly revealed ; some only obscurely and implicitly revealed ; some are speculative truths to be believed ; some are moral principles to regulate our conduct ; but all alike being revealed, constitute the object matter on which the Church's infallible authority is exercised, and on all her voice is the infallible rule of faith and conduct. Whenever, therefore, the Church proposes to us a truth of faith, or any rule for our moral guidance, we are bound to regard her teaching as the voice of God speaking to us through an organ which He Himself has appointed and commissioned, and if we refuse to hear her we refuse to hear Him. At the Vatican Council as well as at the Council of Jerusalem, in the twentieth century as well as in the first, the voice is the same, the security is the same, the obligation of belief and of submission is the same, equally imperative and stringent. And the fuller explanation of any truth, which time may bring, is only an explanation of an old truth, not the announcement of a new one.

But besides being a divinely-commissioned teacher, the Church is also a divinely-appointed guardian of revealed truths ; and as such she must be able to ward off anything that may impair the integrity of her charge. The defence of a fortress is a forlorn hope when all the outworks are in the hands of the enemy ; and so, too, it is with the Church in the exercise of her commission. Besides the truths that are formally revealed, and are thus directly, and on their own account, within the sphere of her authority, there are many other matters not revealed at all, but which stand in such relation to revealed truth as brings them indirectly within the range of the Church's authority. The Church, for instance, declares a certain version of Scripture to be authentic, and unless such a declaration be warranted by her commission, then all she could do is to declare that the original Scriptures, long since lost, were authentic ; an item

of information of no possible use to us. So, too, she tells us that certain words, such as Homocousion and Transubstantiation, properly and accurately express vital points of Catholic doctrine, and unless she be warranted in so doing, then she may propose orthodox doctrine by a heterodox formula, and thus lead her children astray, and falsify her Founder's promise.

Again, we find opinions prevalent frequently, which, though not directly heretical, are yet calculated to undermine some truth of faith—to generate, if they do not contain, the poison of heresy. Such opinions are, in some degree, in opposition to truths of faith, and, therefore, false so far. But the falsehood is not contained in revelation; and yet, if the Church be not warranted by her commission to detect that falsehood, and pronounce an infallible judgment upon it, she cannot discharge her duty as guardian of the faith. But she does not pass judgment on such matters on their own account, but on account of the revealed truths on which they infringe. Reason is God's gift, as well as faith, and, therefore, between truths known by faith, and truths known by reason acting rightly within its own province, there can be no conflict. Philosophy, and the natural sciences, are grounded on natural truths, and are drawn from those truths by sound logical reasoning; and as long as they are so drawn, the Church is not concerned with them. But very often the reasoning is unsound, and often also false premises are assumed, and as a result, conclusions are deduced that come into collision with the truths of faith, and the Church, in virtue of her office as guardian of revelation, must be able to detect such opposition, and to warn her children against error in the dangerous guise of truth. It is well for scientists to recollect that the highest truth is God's truth, and that whatever contradicts it is not truth at all.

Again, there are educational and political theories that infringe on the moral law, and it is clearly the duty, and the right of the Church, as guardian of faith and morals, to pronounce judgment on them, and to warn her children against them. This opens up a very wide field for the exercise of the authority of the Church. But the field is

defined by her divine Founder. He has determined its boundaries; He has given the commission; He insures its due execution. This truth is very clearly laid down by the Vatican Council: <sup>1</sup> 'The Church which, with the apostolic office of teaching, has got also the commission of guarding the deposit of faith, has the right and the duty from God, of condemning science, falsely so-called, lest any one may be deceived by philosophy and vain deceit.' And towards the close of the same session we are reminded that 'it is not sufficient to avoid heretical depravity unless we avoid also those errors that approach more or less closely to it.' And long before St. Paul said the same to the Colossians: 'Beware, lest any man cheat you by philosophy and vain deceit.'<sup>2</sup>

The truths of faiths that are formally revealed are in the Church's keeping and always present to her mind. But as guardian of the faith she must be ever vigilant to detect errors that are daily springing up, which, if allowed to circulate in the guise of truth, would subvert the faith in the souls of her children. The current literature is often simply saturated with dangerous, immoral, anti-Catholic, and often anti-Christian theories. 'The slime of the serpent is on them,' and, if allowed to circulate unchecked, they would act as poison to souls. Now, if souls are to be saved there must be an antidote for such poison, and power must be inherent in the commission of the Church to detect the poison and to apply the antidote. Whatever contradicts her teaching must be against God's Word and against His Will. A divine commission carries with it necessarily an assurance of its due discharge, and in this case we have, moreover, God's explicit promise for the due discharge of the commission. It is clear, therefore, that the Church must have from her Founder authority to pronounce an infallible judgment on such errors of fact or speculation as cross her path in the discharge of her duty, in the exercise of her divine commission. And all such errors she pursues through all their subtle ramifications till she casts them

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<sup>1</sup> S. 3, c. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Col. ii. 8.



forth, branded with her anathema, as poison, which her children are bound on peril of their souls to avoid.

Now, as errors of this sort are usually consigned to writing, it follows that to determine the true sense of such writings, and thus to detect the error, is one of the most important departments to which the indirect authority of the Church extends. Bad books are being multiplied almost daily, and they are a most powerful means, in the hands of the evil one, for the ruin of souls; and hence the Church would be seriously obstructed in the discharge of her office, as guardian of faith and morals, if she were unable to detect and condemn the errors against faith and morals contained in such books. Were she to condemn as heretical a book that is really sound in doctrine, or to recommend as orthodox a heretical or immoral book, by the very fact she would become a teacher of false doctrine, and her Founder's promise would have failed. From the very nature of the office and commission of the Church, then, it follows that she has authority to determine the true sense of such books, and she has always exercised this authority; and her right to do so was not called in question until comparatively recent times. It is one phase of the great question of dogmatic facts, and a few words on it will serve to explain and to vindicate the action of the Church in this most important department of her office.

The condemnation of a doctrine by the Church presupposes a standard of comparison, and a judgment declaring that the condemned doctrine is not in agreement with the standard. The Church's sole standard is the deposit of faith, including, of course, the moral law, and her condemnation of any doctrine is a decision that the doctrine is at variance with her standard. And sometimes the Church tells not only that the condemned doctrine is opposed to the deposit of faith, but she tells also the degree, the measure of the opposition. This she does by attaching to the condemned doctrine certain notes or marks of theological censure, such as heretical, erroneous, proximate to heresy, savouring of, or suspected of heresy, offensive to pious ears, blasphemous, impious, scandalous, etc. A doctrine that is

condemned as heretical, is in direct contradiction to an article of Catholic faith. An erroneous doctrine is one which directly contradicts what is called a theological conclusion, a truth deduced from two propositions, one of which is revealed and the other certain from reason. A doctrine is proximate to heresy when it contradicts a doctrine commonly held by theologians to be *de fide*, though not defined or proposed as such by the Church. Again, there are equivocal propositions which would be orthodox in the mouth of a Catholic, but which may also be used to convey or insinuate heresy. And when such propositions are used by heretics there is a presumption that the heretical sense is intended. Such propositions would be condemned as suspected or savouring of heresy. With regard to most of the other notes of censure, offensive to pious ears, *temerarius*, blasphemous, etc., the technical meaning is substantially the same as the ordinary meaning of the words.

Now, the Church issues all such condemnations in the exercise of her divine commission; that commission is her warrant and her safeguard; and it imposes on us a strict obligation of rejecting what she condemns just as readily as we accept what she teaches. For in reality this is one of her methods of teaching, and a most important one, and nothing can give us a more exalted idea of the efficacy and the security of the Catholic rule of faith than the supernatural instinct with which the Church pursues heresy through all its windings, and the minute accuracy of detail with which she detects and condemns it. It is the voice of the Good Shepherd speaking through His Church, inviting His flocks to wholesome pasture, and warning them against that in which the secret poison is concealed.

As already stated, the Church has always exercised this authority, and it is necessarily included in her commission. The exclusion of apocryphal books from the Canon of Scripture is a conspicuous instance of the exercise of this authority. At the Council of Nicæa the writings of Arius, his letters to Alexander of Alexandria, and his *Thalia*, written against St. Athanasius, were condemned as heretical, and anathema to Arius became a watch-word of orthodoxy.

Five of the bishops present refused to subscribe to the condemnation of Arius, and were deposed. Two of them, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Theognis of Nicæa, repented, and wrote a joint letter to the Fathers, in which they condemned the errors attributed to Arius, but declared that they believed him innocent. This looks somewhat akin to the Jansenist distinction of 'right' and 'fact' with, however, this very important difference, that they did not ground their favourable opinion of Arius on any quibble about his condemned writings, but on sermons delivered by him in their own presence and on private letters to themselves. It is evident that the Church claimed, in this case, to decide infallibly the sense of the writings of Arius, for it would be intolerable tyranny to sentence bishops to deposition and exile for refusing to assent to a declaration that may be false.

The writings of Nestorius were condemned at Ephesus; those of Eutyches were condemned at Chalcedon. The books of the Manichees were condemned by Leo I., and the errors of Pelagius by Innocent I. The 'Three Chapters' were condemned at the Fifth General Council; and later on we find the same discipline enforced whenever the occasion for it arose. The condemnations of Gottschalc, Berengarius, Jerome of Prague, Huss, Wickliff, are some of the many instances of the exercise of this authority. And as 'acting is the test of belief,' the Church, therefore, must have believed that the right to condemn heretical and bad books was included in her commission. And the right remained unquestioned till the rise of that subtle heresy which took its name from Jansenius of Ypres.

In the whole history of the Church there is no stranger phenomenon than the narrow-minded heresy first embodied in the now too-famous *Augustinus*. Whether Jansenius, in his last moments, retracted his error, or died obstinately attached to them, is now known only to the Searcher of Hearts. Certain it is, however, that he left to posterity a legacy of discord in that ill-starred book. The history of Jansenism presents to us the strange, sad spectacle of a number of men—some of them very able men—leagued



together with the settled purpose of perverting the doctrine, and subverting the discipline of the Catholic Church, and striving, at the same time, by most dishonest means, to have themselves still regarded as loyal children of that Church. The *Augustinus* was published in A.D. 1640, shortly after the death of its author. As it was passing through the press, the Louvain Jesuits obtained from one of the printers copies of the proof-sheets. They studied the doctrine of the book, and had it denounced on the very day of its publication. Between Jesuits and Jansenists a fierce controversy arose. The Jesuits sent the book to Rome, and it was condemned by the Inquisition, not yet, however, as heretical, but as published in disobedience to the Decree of Paul V. on the controversy *De Auxiliis*. In the following year Urban VIII. condemned the doctrine of the book. St. Cyran and Arnauld defended Jansenius and his doctrine in writings apparently aimed at the Jesuits, but, in reality, directed against the Church. Cornet, the Syndic of the Sorbonne, presented Seven Propositions for examination to the Doctors of the University. Professedly they were the theses of some students applying for degrees, but, in reality, they were taken from the *Augustinus*. The theological faculty reduced them to five, and condemned them. Against this condemnation the Jansenists appealed, not to the *Ecclesia Docens*, but to the Parliament of Paris. The French bishops sent the Propositions to Rome, with the censure of the Sorbonne. The Pope appointed a commission of five cardinals, with thirteen consulting theologians, to examine the *Augustinus*. It held thirty-six congregations, at the last ten of which the Pope himself presided. St. Amour and other leading Jansenists were permitted to appear in defence of their views.

The result of all was that Innocent X., in A.D. 1653, formally condemned the Five Propositions, and attached to each its special censures. And now the real duplicity of the Jansenists began to show itself. They admitted that the Propositions were rightly condemned, and admitted also the Pope's right to condemn them, but they denied vehemently that Jansenius had held the Propositions,

or that they were contained in the *Augustinus*. Against this subterfuge Alexander VII. issued the Constitution *cum ad S. Petri Sedem*, declaring that the Propositions were taken from the book of Jansenius, and were condemned in the sense of the author. Pascal, the wit of the party, now set to work. In the *Provincial Letters*, in a tone of bitter sarcasm, he ridiculed the teaching of the Jesuits, and the condemnation of his party by the Church. He admitted the right of the Church to decide infallibly all doctrinal matters, and admitted, accordingly, that the Five Propositions were heretical and properly condemned, but he denied to the Church the right to decide infallibly the concrete fact whether these Five Propositions were or were not a fair, accurate expression of the doctrine of the *Augustinus*. This, he held, was essentially a human fact, not contained in the deposit of faith, nor deducible from it; determinable only by a critical examination of the book. Let the Church, he said, confine herself to faith and morals; they cover the whole extent of her commission; but let her not claim infallibility in a purely critical investigation. This is the substance of Pascal's diatribe, which was taken up eagerly by the party. It is the well-known distinction of 'right' and 'fact,' the 'right' being the truth or falsehood of the Propositions, and the 'fact' whether they were or were not contained in the book. The Jansenists then condemned the Five Propositions, but since they said the Church and Pope may err in attributing them to the *Augustinus*, they maintained that, in reference to that fact, a 'respectful silence' was all that could be expected from them, and this they would observe in deference to the Pope, as supreme legislator of the Church. This further evasion was met by the formulary of Alexander VII. in A.D. 1664, and still more pointedly by the *Vineam Domini* of Clement XI., A.D. 1705. The error lingered on in various disguises, doing much mischief in Church and State, until after twenty distinct condemnations it got its death blow from the 'Unigenitus,' in A.D. 1713. This is a brief summary of the history of this subtle heresy.

Now, that the authors of this revolt against the Church should be described by Dr. Salmon as 'devout Catholics'

(page 221), is not surprising, considering the general character of his book. The statement can deceive no one. But at page 416, in a note, he has a statement that is well calculated to deceive. In speaking of the Constitution of Alexander VII., he says, 'it was expressly stated that Jansen had asserted them (the Propositions) in the heretical sense.' Now, the insinuation here, as the context shows, is that the Pope decided, not merely the sense of the *Augustinus*, but what was actually in the mind of Jansenius when he wrote it; that Jansenius actually entertained the heretical sense and intended to express it in his book. Now, this is completely to misrepresent the action of the Church, and the language of such doctrinal condemnation.

As Dr. Salmon has shown so little acquaintance with the theology of his own Church, it is no wonder that he should blunder on questions of Catholic theology. The language of such documents is technical, and Dr. Salmon should have sought out its real meaning before he undertook to explain it to others. And any Catholic theologian would have informed him that in condemning a book 'in the sense of the author,' the Church does not at all intend to pry into the mind of the writer, and tell what he was thinking of; she does not say what his subjective meaning was; she deals with the objective sense—that is, with the actual sense expressed in the book of which he is supposed to be the author. As long as the error is shut up in the mind of the writer it cannot affect the deposit of faith, for which the Church is concerned. Now, this is clearly stated in the *Vineam Domini* of Clement XI., dealing with those identical errors of Jansenius. The Pope says: 'The sense condemned in the Five Propositions of Jansenius is that which the words of these Propositions convey.' Thus, then, the Church, by the expression, 'sense of the author,' does not mean to define who is the author of a book. She takes this as a historical fact, generally admitted, but its truth or falsehood in no way affects her position as guardian of the faith. Neither does the Church, by the expression, 'sense of the author,' mean to define that the supposed author actually held the doctrines contained in the book, nor does she mean to say that



it is a fair statement of what he intended to express. The writer may be an ignorant person, who used language incorrectly, or a madman, who wrote at random, or a rogue who concealed his real sentiments.

With all this the Church is not concerned. She is concerned with the book itself, from which, and not from the mental thoughts of the writer, detriment may come to the deposit of faith. She supposes the writer to have used language, as men ordinarily do use it, and to have intended what he really said; she takes the book itself; she examines its words and phrases, and compares its various parts, and thus arrives at its true genuine meaning. It is this true genuine meaning that she either approves or condemns; and her commission as guardian and teacher of faith and morals, supposes, and guarantees, the correctness of the decision to which she comes. The author of a book as such is the author only of what the book contains; it is this the Church either condemns or approves, and, therefore, the expression 'sense of the author' is strictly and critically correct, and not at all open to Dr. Salmon's quibble. The Doctor may consider the Catholic Church tyrannical and intolerant; she is just as intolerant as God has made her—neither more nor less. And if he had sincerely and candidly examined even this Jansenist controversy it would have taught him a very salutary lesson. Here we have a subtle and most insidious heresy, on a most abstruse doctrine, maintained, too, by men of great ability. Wit, eloquence, satire, intrigue, are employed unsparingly and unscrupulously in the interest of the heresy, yet, the Church is never moved from her divinely-appointed course. She pursues the heresy with unerring accuracy through all its serpentine windings, through all its evasions and subterfuges, detecting it, exposing it, condemning it at every stage; and ultimately casting it out lest it should taint her sacred deposit or defile the souls of her children. 'Verily the finger of God is here.'

Let the Doctor contrast all this with the manner in which controversies are conducted in his own Church. He says: 'In several doctrinal questions which have come

before the Privy Council [his *Ecclesia Docens*], it was found to be easier by far to ascertain what the doctrine of the Church of England was, than whether the impeached clergyman had contravened it' (page 222).

Is the Doctor serious? No one has been ever able to ascertain what the 'doctrine' of his Church of England is, and she herself is unable to say what it is. And no wonder: for, as long as she has to bear the incubus of the 'individual Christian' sitting in judgment on her, the doctrine is his, not hers; and hence it is that in all doctrinal controversies she very properly observes the most profound and edifying 'religious silence.' Will the Doctor say when she has broken this 'silence' by a plain unequivocal statement of her doctrine?

There have been controversies about 'lights,' 'incense,' 'vestments,' position at the altar, etc., matters of rubric, regulated by what may be called the bye-laws of Dr. Salmon's Church. On such matters decisions have been sometimes given, though they have generally given little satisfaction, and have never been obeyed. A board of guardians can make bye-laws and enforce them quite as effectually. But when has Dr. Salmon's Church decided a question of doctrine? Does Baptism confer, or not confer, regenerating grace? Rev. Mr. Gorham held that it did not; his bishop, Dr. Philpotts, held that it did. The Court of Arches agreed with the bishop, and condemned Mr. Gorham; but the Privy Council reversed the condemnation on the ground that the Church of England did not say, and, no doubt, did not know, whether Baptism did, or did not, give the grace of regeneration. And her 'Irish Sister' in this matter exhibits the 'ingenious Catholicity,' already pointed out,<sup>1</sup> by giving her children their choice of three doctrines, each of which is incompatible with the other two. Is marriage indissoluble? The Rev. Mr. Black says it is; and he has a large following who say that such is the doctrine of the Church of England. But his archbishop, and most of the bishops of his Church, hold the contradictory view, and issue

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<sup>1</sup> I. E. RECORD, November, 1901.

licenses for the re-marriage of divorced persons. And his Church looks on, while her spiritual rulers, according to Dr. Lee, say practically: 'Believe nothing and preach anything.'<sup>1</sup> Is our Lord really and truly present in the Blessed Eucharist? Mr. Carter,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Bennett, and Mr. Mackonochie say yes; Dean Farrar and Dr. Salmon say no. Each has a numerous following, and the Church looks on in helpless indifference. Are there real priests and a real sacrifice? The Ritualists, and some High Churchmen, like Dr. Gore and Dr. Moberly, say yes. Dr. Lightfoot said, however, that the Church 'has no sacerdotal system;' and Mr. Kensitt and his brother Protestants hold that every Christian is a priest, and Mr. Kensitt showed his sincerity by actually celebrating 'the Lord's Supper' himself.

Again the Church looks on; she does not say, for she does not know, on which side is the true doctrine. And many other instances of this 'religious silence' could be here quoted. It is only necessary to mention the names of Bennett, Mackonochie, Purchas; to refer to the *Essays and Reviews*, the *Athanasian Creed*, or the controversy on Orders, to see how utterly powerless Dr. Salmon's Church is to decide any dogmatic controversy, and how helpless is any attempt to find out her 'doctrine.' Let Dr. Salmon contrast the inaction of his Church regarding these controversies with the action of the Catholic Church in the Jansenist controversy alone, and if he is unable to see on which side 'the finger of God' is, he is past teaching. Whatever revealed doctrines Protestants hold they owe to the Catholic Church. Their own Church gives them nothing of her own but denials of Catholic doctrine, negations, that is, nothings. The Catholic Church, on the other hand, has spoken through all the ages of her existence with the same power, the same truth, the same definiteness, as on the first Pentecost. Her voice has never wavered; it is the voice of God, the infallible rule of faith, the infallible guide of conduct for all men and for all time.

[To be continued.]

J. MURPHY, D.D.

<sup>1</sup> *Eccl. Situation*, p. 45.



# Notes and Queries

## LITURGY

### OFFICE OF THE DEAD AND STATIONS OF THE CROSS BEFORE BLESSED SACRAMENT EXPOSED

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly answer the following points in the next number of the I. E. RECORD :—

In a convent chapel, where the nuns keep up Perpetual Adoration before the Blessed Sacrament exposed in the remonstrance, is it lawful for the said nuns—(1) To recite the Office of the Dead; (2) To go round the Stations of the Cross collectively or individually?

SACERDOS.

I. It is not lawful to recite the office of the Dead in presence of the Blessed Sacrament exposed :—

‘Dubium II. Num, durante expositione Augustissimi Sacramenti, officium pro defunctis recitari vel cantari liceat in choro?’

‘Ad II. Negative.

‘Die 8 Februarii, 1879.’

Therefore the Office of the Dead should be recited in some place other than the chapel; or the Blessed Sacrament should be replaced in the tabernacle during the recitation.

II. There is no decree to settle the point raised in the second query, nor have we seen the point treated in any author. We must, therefore, rely on certain established principles.

The principle that excludes the Office of the Dead would seem to be that it is of its nature unsuitable as a service before the Blessed Sacrament exposed, just as black is considered an unsuitable colour. But there is another principle, namely, that nothing is to be done which, though suitable in itself, would yet attract the attention of the faithful to itself and draw it off from the adoration of the individual consecrated Host exposed in the monstrance. It

is for this reason that Mass is not, as a rule, allowed to be said at the altar of Exposition; that Communion should not be distributed at the same altar; that a sermon, except it be a short *fervorino*, should not be preached; that palms and candles should not be blessed; that statues are not to be exposed, particularly during Quarant' Ore and Perpetual Adoration: 'Eo quod,' says De Herdt, 'SS. Sacramenti cultus harum orationum præcipuus et unicus sit finis, et omnia igitur ita disponenda sint ut populus totus sit in adoranda Eucharistia intentus.'

We think that according to this principle, the *Via Crucis*, whether gone through by a body or an individual, is not a suitable service in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament exposed. Because, for the proper performance of the *Via Crucis*, it is necessary, at least when there is no hindrance, to visit each Station in particular,<sup>1</sup> and meditate on the Passion of Christ. To this we see the same objection as that raised to the functions mentioned.—'Attentionem ad se attrahunt et a SS. Sacramento abducunt.'<sup>2</sup>

#### THE PRAYER 'EN EGO'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you be so kind as to indicate which is the correct form to use in the above prayer towards the end—'Quod in ore ponebat *Tuo*,' or 'quod in ore ponebat *suo*.' I always made use of the latter form, or a translation of it, until I saw the translation which is given in the prayer book issued by the Irish Catholic Truth Society. I thought at first it was a misprint, but I find it the same in the *New Raccolta*. On consulting different editions of the Breviary I find in some *Tuo*, in others *suo*, making, of course, altogether different sense in each case. I hope the gaining of the Indulgence does not depend on the use of *Tuo*.

In many of the translations the particular force of the particle *En* seems to be lost. The *Raccolta* brings it out fully: 'Look down upon me,' etc. In other respects, however, the *Raccolta* translation does not appear to be altogether perfect.

S.

There can be no doubt now that the correct word is '*Tuo*.'

<sup>1</sup> Decr. Auth. S.C. Indulg. n. 287.

<sup>2</sup> De Herdt, vol. ii. n. 25.

Besides the authorities cited by our correspondent, there are the following :—

Beringer has '*Tuo*.'<sup>1</sup> The Roman review, *Ephemerides Liturgicae* says :—

'In oratione *En ego, O bone*, etc., post verba 'quod in ore ponebat' non *suo* dicendum est, sed *Tuo*.'

The writer gives three reasons, the most convincing of which is, 'quia in Libello Indulgentiarum *Raccolta di orazioni*, etc., *Tuo* habetur, non *suo*.'

The I. E. RECORD of July, 1894, quotes from the *Analecta Ecclesiastica* of April, 1894, a decree of the Congregation of Indulgences. The same decree appears in the *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, vol. xxvi., p. 702 :—

'... Queritur igitur ab hac S. Congregatione Indulg.

'I. Utrum dicendum sit in oratione praefata "*ore Tuo*" an vero "*suo*."

'II. Utrum sit indifferens ad lucranda Indulgentia "*suo*" vel "*Tuo*."

'S. Congr. relatis dubiis respondit.

'Ad I. Standum omnio textui collectionis authenticae, editae Romae anno 1886 ex decreto hujus S. Congregationis diei 24 Maii 1886.

'Ad II. Provisum in I.

'Datum Romae ex Secret. ejusd. S. Congr. die 29 Martii, 1894.'

The 'Collectio' referred to is that which is mentioned in the exposition of the questions, and the text of which has '*Tuo*.'

We cannot decide for certain whether the gaining of the Indulgence depends on the use of '*Tuo*.' From the answer 'Ad II.' in the decree just given, it would seem that it is, at least, endangered—unless the form, 'in ore ponebat *Tuo*,' be strictly adhered to.

As regards translation, all that is required is that it be faithful, and declared so by some one of the Ordinaries of the place, the language of which is that of the translated prayer.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 167, 2<sup>ème</sup> Ed.

<sup>2</sup> April, 1901, p. 233.

<sup>3</sup> We have quoted from the I. E. RECORD only so much of the decree as we consider necessary.

<sup>4</sup> Decr. Auth. S.C. Indulg. n. 415.



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CANDLES WITH ONLY 60 PER CENT. OF BEES' WAX

REV. DEAR SIR,—The Sacred Liturgy prescribes pure bees' wax candles for the offices, services, and ceremonies in our churches, but especially for the celebration of Holy Mass. Some places, as poor parishes, have got an Indult to use candles which contain only 60 per cent. of bees' wax.

Now, may I ask the Liturgist of the I. E. RECORD to give an answer to the following question:—

Is there any general Indult for Ireland to use, at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, wax candles containing only 60 per cent. of pure bees' wax?

If *affirmative*, I can assure any person that of all the candles sold as *pure wax*, and manufactured in Ireland, most do not contain even 60 per cent. of pure bees' wax, and, therefore, the Sacred Liturgy cannot be observed.

If *negative*, the matter is still worse, because we buy candles given as *pure bees' wax* and they are far from being so, since there is just a little more than 50 per cent. of wax in them, and some of them have even a lesser quantity. The Sacred Liturgy suffers and the buyers also.

Now, I must say that real bees' wax candles would cost a little more than the present ones, although in other countries, in France, for instance, the pure wax candles are not so dear as the adulterated candles in England and Ireland.

Moreover, I have used both candles, and can state the following: Two candles, *all pure bees' wax*, have lasted for thirty-four Masses; two candles, of same dimension, *mixed wax*, sold in Dublin by a chandler as pure wax, have lasted only for twenty-six Masses.

Therefore, I think that if we could get the Irish candle manufacturers to make *pure bees' wax candles* for the sacred use of Holy Mass, the prescriptions of the Liturgy would be observed, and the buyers would spare a little of their money.

REGULAR.

There is no special Indult for Ireland in the matter of wax candles.

It is clear that a certain number of the candles<sup>1</sup> ordered

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<sup>1</sup> For the number required and various other questions regarding wax candles see I. E. RECORD, February, 1882; August, 1882; April, 1883; February, 1890, and December, 1895.

by the Church for the Holy Sacrifice and other Sacred Functions, should be made of bees' wax. The General Rubrics of the Missal T. XX. require 'ut ab eadem parte Epistolae paretur *cereus*.' It is a defect *in ministerio* 'si non adsint luminaria *cerea*.'<sup>1</sup> The *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*<sup>2</sup> speaks of *cerei accensi* 'qui solent fieri ex *cera communi*.' In the blessing of the Paschal Candle occur the phrases '*de operibus apum*,' '*apis mater eduxit*,' and in the first prayer for the blessing of the candles on the Feast of the Purification, '*per opera apum*.'

We certainly condemn the practice of selling as candles of *pure bees' wax* candles that contain only 60, 50, or less per cent. of that material. And we hope, for the sake of the good name of Irish and English manufacturers of candles for the Sacred Functions, that the information of our correspondent is not accurate.

But the question may be raised, and is raised, whether the candles required to be of bees' wax, must be *entirely* of this material; and, if not, whether a proportion of 50 per cent. or even more of vegetable or other suitable substance may be mixed with it, without making the candles unrubrical. We have not space to deal with this question in the present number of the I. E. RECORD; we shall do so in the next.

P. O'LEARY.

<sup>1</sup> *De defect.* T. X. n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Lib.* ii. cap. x. n. 4.

## DOCUMENTS

PURE WINE AND BREAD FOR THE ALTAR  
INSTRUCTION OF THE HOLY OFFICE TO THE BISHOPS OF  
THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH

DE SANCTISSIMAE EUCHARISTIAE SPECIERUM GENUINITATE ET CON-  
SERVATIONE CURANDA AD REVMOS. DD. LOCORUM ORDINARIOS

EME. AC RME. DOMINE,

Pluries et variis ex locisSupremae huic Congregationi S. Officii dubia proposita sunt circa materiam (panem et vinum) SSmi. Eucharistici Sacramenti. Cum enim inhonestorum quorundam mercatorum eo iam malitia pervenerit, ut farinas triticeas aliarum tum vegetalium tum etiam mineralium substantiarum admixtione adulterare, vinaque vel ex toto vel ex parte haud ex genimine vitis conficere passim non vereantur, cumque non raro difficile admodum sit, vel ipsis chimices peritis huiusmodi fraudes agnoscere; non immerito dubitatum est, num ad licitam, imo et validam consecrationem farinae vel hostiae vinaque quae sunt in commercio, tuto adhiberi valeant.

Cum res, ut patet, maximi sit momenti et, ceterum, de farinarum vinorumque frequentibus adulterationibus dubitari nequeat; Emi. DD. Cardinales una mecum Inquisitores Generales pastorem Rmorum. DD. Ordinariorum sollicitudinem excitandam censuerunt ut, accuratis institutis investigationibus, si quos abusus irrepsisse compererint, funditus, convellere satagant, ac diligenter caveant ne quid in posterum in propriis ditionibus fiat quod a latis nedum circa naturam sed et circa conservationem Sacrarum Specierum dispositionibus, quae a probatis auctoribus traduntur quaeque praesertim in Rubricis Missali Romano praepositis continentur, quomodocumque sit absonum. Quoties vero de venalium farinarum vel hostiarum vinorumque genuinitate rationabile adsit dubium, Sacerdotes sibi subditos ab eorum usu in conficiendo SSmo. Altaris Sacramento omnino prohibeant, eosque practicam rationem doceant genuinam materiam sibi comparandi. Quod demum, spectat ad Missas dubia materia antehac forte celebratas, ad S. Congregationem recurrant.

Quae quidem omnia dum, ut mei muneris est, cum Emtia. Tua communico, libenter occasionem nactus, fausta quaeque ac felicia Tibi precor a Domino.

Datum Romae ex S. O. die 30 Aug. 1901.

Addictissimus obsequentissimus famulus verus,  
L. M. Card. PAROCCHI.



## THE PRIVILEGES OF CERTAIN ABBOTS

SUPPLICATIO ABBATUM QUOAD EORUMDEM INTERVENTIONEM IN  
CONSISTORIIS SEMIPUBLICIS BEATORUM CANONIZATIONI PRAEVIIS

Rmi. Abbates Ordinarii Nullius Montis Cassini, S. Pauli de Urbe et SSmae. Trinitatis Caven. a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leone Papa XIII humillime efflagitarunt, ut sibi suisque successoribus confirmare in perpetuum dignaretur ius interveniendi suffragiumque ferendi in Consistoriis semipublicis Beatorum Canonizationi praevis: eo vel magis quod ipsi auctoritate Ordinaria conficere possunt Processus informativos in Causis Beatificationis et Canonizationis, atque eorum antecessoribus intimatio pro supradictis Consistoriis semel atque iterum facta fuit, ipsique revera interfuerunt et votum dederunt. Placuit vero Eidem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro huiusmodi negotium Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi examinandum et discutiendum committere. Quae Summi Pontificis mandato obtemperans, praehabitis una cum informatione suffragiis, etiam praelo impressis, tum alterius ex Iuris Canonici Professoribus, tum Apostolicis Caeremoniis Praefecti, tum demum Commissionis Liturgicae, in Ordinario Coetu, subsignata die ad Vaticanum coacto, praefatam quaestionem, ab infrascripto Cardinali Sacrorum eidem Rituum Congregationi Praefecto propositam atque accurato examine discussam atque perpensam, ita resolvendam esse censuit: 'Consulendum Sanctissimo pro concessione privilegii singulis petentibus.' Die 5 Februarii, 1901.

Facta postmodum de his omnibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII per ipsum infrascriptum Cardinalem relatione, Sanctitas Sua resolutionem Sacrae ipsius Congregationis ratam habens, privilegium abstandi suffragiumque ferendi in praedictis Consistoriis semipublicis, non solum tribus Abbatibus Oratoribus, sed etiam aliis Abbatibus Nullius singulatim petentibus indulgere dignata est. Die 9 Februarii, 1901.

DOMINICUS Card. FERRATA, *Sacr. Rit. Congr. Praef.*

L. ❖ S.

❖ DIOMEDES PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen. Secr.*

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LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. TO THE SUPERIORS-  
GENERAL OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS IN FRANCE

LITTERAE SSIMI. D. N. LEONIS XIII AD SUPERIORES GENERALES  
ORDINUM ET INSTITUTORUM RELIGIOSORUM

*Chers Fils salut et Bénédiction Apostolique*

En tout temps les familles religieuses ont reçu de ce Siège Apostolique des témoignages particuliers de sollicitude affectueuse et prévoyante, soit quand elles jouissaient des bienfaits de la paix, soit surtout dans les jours de dures épreuves comme ceux que vous traversez en ce moment.

Les graves attaques qui dans quelques pays ont été récemment dirigées contre les Ordres et les Instituts soumis à votre autorité, Nous causent une douleur profonde. La sainte Eglise en gémit parce qu'elle se sent tout à la fois blessée au vif dans ses droits et sérieusement entravée dans son action qui, pour se déployer librement, a besoin du concours des deux clergés, séculier et régulier : en vérité, qui touche à ses prêtres ou à ses religieux la touche à la prunelle de l'oeil. Pour Notre part, vous le savez, Nous avons essayé de tous les moyens pour détourner de vous une persécution si indigne en même temps que pour épargner à ces pays des malheurs aussi grands qu'immérités. C'est pourquoi dans plusieurs occasions Nous avons plaidé votre cause de tout notre pouvoir au nom de la religion, de la justice et de la civilisation. Mais Nous espérions en vain que Nos remontrances seraient entendues. Voici, en effet, que dans ces jours-ci, chez une nation singulièrement féconde en vocations religieuses, que Nous avions toujours entourée de soins très particuliers, les pouvoirs publics ont approuvé et promulgué des lois d'exception à propos desquelles Nous avons, il y a peu de mois, élevé la voix dans l'espérance de les conjurer.

Nous souvenant de Nos devoirs sacrés et suivant l'exemple de Nos illustres prédécesseurs, Nous réprouvons hautement de telles lois parce qu'elles sont contraires au droit naturel et évangélique, confirmé par une tradition constante, de s'associer pour mener un genre de vie non seulement honnête en lui-même, mais particulièrement saint ; contraires également au droit absolu que l'Eglise a de fonder des Instituts religieux exclusivement soumis à son autorité, pour l'aider dans l'accomplissement de sa mission divine, tout en produisant les plus grands bienfaits d'ordre religieux et civil, à l'avantage particulier de cette très-noble nation elle-même.

Et maintenant Nous nous sentons intérieurement poussé à vous ouvrir Notre cœur paternel, dans le désir de vous donner et de recevoir de vous quelque consolation sainte et en même temps pour vous adresser des enseignements opportuns afin que demeurant plus fermes encore dans l'épreuve, vous en recueilliez des mérites abondants devant Dieu et devant les hommes.

Parmi les nombreux motifs de courage qui naissent de la foi, rappelez-vous, chers fils, cette parole solennelle des Jésus-Christ : 'Vous serez heureux lors qu'on vous maudira et qu'on vous persécutera et qu'on mentira de toute manière contre vous à cause de moi.' Reproches, calomnies, vexations fondront sur vous à 'cause de moi ; alors vous serez heureux.' On a beau, en effet, multiplier contre vous les prétextes d'accusation pour vous abaisser : la triste réalité n'en éclate pas moins à tous les yeux. La véritable raison de vous poursuivre c'est la haine capitale du monde contre la 'Cité de Dieu,' qui est l'Eglise catholique. La véritable intention c'est de chasser, si c'est possible, de la société l'action restauratrice du Christ, si universellement bienfaisante et salutaire. Personne n'ignore que les Religieux de l'un et de l'autre sexe forment une élite dans la Cité de Dieu : ce sont eux, qui représentent particulièrement l'esprit et la mortification de Jésus-Christ ; eux, qui par l'observation des conseils évangéliques tendent à porter les vertus chrétiennes au comble de la perfection ; eux, qui de bien des manières secondent puissamment l'action de l'Eglise. Dès lors il n'est pas étonnant qu'aujourd'hui, comme dans d'autres temps sous d'autres formes iniques, la 'Cité du monde' s'insurge contre eux, surtout les hommes qui par des pactes sacrilèges sont plus étroitement liés et plus servilement soumis au 'Prince du monde lui-même.'

Il est clair qu'ils considèrent la dissolution et l'extinction des Ordres religieux comme une manœuvre habile pour réaliser leur dessein préconçu de pousser les Nations catholiques dans la voie de l'apostasie et de la rupture avec Jésus-Christ. Mais s'il en est ainsi, on peut dire de vous en toute vérité : 'Vous êtes heureux,' parce que vous n'êtes haïs et poursuivis qu'à cause du genre de vie que vous avez librement choisi par attachement pour le Christ.

Si vous suiviez les maximes et les volontés du monde, il ne vous inquiéterait pas et vous comblerait même de ses faveurs. 'Si vous étiez du monde, le monde aimerait ce qui est à lui,' mais parce que vous marchez dans des voies opposées aux siennes,

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<sup>1</sup> Matt. v. 11.



vous êtes exposés aux insultes et à la guerre. ‘A cause de cela le monde vous hait.’<sup>1</sup> Le Christ lui-même vous l’a prédit. Aussi vous regarde-t-il avec d’autant plus de complaisance et de prédilection qu’il vous voit plus conformes à lui-même quand vous souffrez pour la justice. Et vous, ‘participant aux souffrances du Christ, réjouissez-vous.’<sup>2</sup> Aspirez au courage de ces héros qui ‘s’en allaient joyeux à la vue de l’assemblée parce qu’ils avaient été jugés dignes de souffrir pour Jésus Christ.’<sup>3</sup>

A cette glorie qui vient du témoignage de votre conscience,<sup>4</sup> se joignent, sans que vous les recherchiez, les bénédictions de tous les honnêtes gens. Tous ceux qui s’intéressent vraiment à la paix et à la prospérité du pays, estiment qu’il n’y a pas de citoyens plus honnêtes, plus dévoués et plus utiles à leur patrie que les membres des Congrégations religieuses : et ils tremblent à la pensée de perdre, en vous perdant, tant de biens précieux qui tiennent à votre existence. C’est une multitude d’indigents, de délaissés, de malheureux, au profit desquels vous avez fondé et vous soutenez toutes sortes d’établissements avec une intelligence et une charité admirables. Ce sont les pères de famille qui vous ont confié leurs fils et qui jusqu’à présent comptaient sur vous pour leur donner l’éducation morale et religieuse, cette éducation saine, vigoureuse et féconde en fortes vertus qui ne fut jamais plus nécessaire qu’à notre époque ! Ce sont les prêtres qui trouvent en vous d’excellents auxiliaires de leur important et laborieux ministère. Ce sont les hommes de tout rang qui, par ce temps de perversion, trouvent des directions utiles et des encouragements au bien dans vos conseils, autorisés par l’intégrité de votre vie. Ce sont surtout les Pasteurs sacrés qui vous honorent de leur confiance, qui vous considèrent comme les instituteurs expérimentés du jeune clergé et reconnaissent en vous ces ‘vrais amis de leurs frères et du peuple’<sup>5</sup> qui offrent pour eux à la clémence divine des prières et des expiations incessantes.

Mais personne ne peut apprécier les mérites insignes des Ordres religieux avec plus justice que Nous, qui du haut de ce Siège devons veiller aux besoins de l’Eglise universelle.

Déjà dans d’autres actes Nous en avons fait une mention particulière. Qu’il Nous suffise en ce moment de louer la grande ordeur avec laquelle ils suivent non seulement les directions, mais les moindres désirs du Vicaire de Jésus-Christ, entreprenant

<sup>1</sup> Ioann. xv. 19.

<sup>2</sup> I. Petr. iv. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Act. v. 41.

<sup>4</sup> II. Cor. i. 12.

<sup>5</sup> II. Machab. xv. 14.

toutes les œuvres d'utilité chrétienne et sociale qu'il leur indique, s'en allant sur les plages les plus inhospitalières, bravant toutes les souffrances et la mort elle-même, comme plusieurs l'ont glorieusement prouvé dans la dernière révolution de la Chine.

Si, parmi les plus chers souvenirs de Notre long pontificat, Nous comptons d'avoir élevé par Notre autorité un grand nombre de serviteurs de Dieu aux honneurs des autels, ce souvenir Nous est d'autant plus doux qu'ils appartiennent en majorité aux Instituts réguliers à titre de Fondateurs ou de simples religieux.

Nous voulons rappeler encore pour votre consolation, que parmi les hommes du monde distingués par leur situation et par leurs connaissances des nécessités sociales, il ne manque pas d'esprits droits et impartiaux, qui se lèvent pour louer vos œuvres, pour défendre votre droit inviolable de citoyens et votre liberté encore plus inviolable de catholiques. Certes il suffit de n'être pas aveuglé par la passion pour voir combien c'est montrer peu de prévoyance et de noblesse que de frapper des hommes qui sans rien espérer et sans rien demander pour eux-mêmes se dépensent tout entiers au service de la société. Que l'on considère seulement avec quel zèle ils s'appliquent à développer chez les enfants du peuple les germes de bonté naturelle qui autrement seraient étouffés, à leur détriment et au détriment d'autrui. Semences précieuses que, la grâce aidant, les religieux cultivent patiemment assidûment, préservent de toute atteinte mortelle et conduisent à maturité. C'est ainsi que sous leur influence s'épanouissent comme des fruits magnifiques l'amour éclairé de la vérité, l'honnêteté, le sentiment du devoir, la fermeté du caractère et la générosité dans le sacrifice. Et quoi de plus propre à assurer l'ordre et la prospérité des Etats ?

Cependant, chers fils, puisque la malignité du monde vous poursuit au point de prétendre faire œuvre utile et louable en foulant aux pieds dans vos personnes les droits les plus sacrés, et qu'elle croit ainsi 'rendre hommage à Dieu'<sup>1</sup>; adorez avec une humilité confiante les desseins de Dieu. S'il laisse parfois le droit succomber sous la violence, il ne le permet que dans des vues supérieures de plus grand bien, en outre c'est sa coutume de secourir efficacement et par des voies imprévues ceux qui souffrent pour lui et se confient à lui.

S'il place des obstacles et des contradictions sur la route de

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<sup>1</sup> Ioann. xvi. 2.

ceux qui professent par état la perfection chrétienne, c'est afin d'éprouver et de fortifier leur vertu, c'est plus particulièrement pour affermir et retremper leurs âmes exposées à s'affaiblir dans une longue paix.

Tâchez donc de correspondre à ces vues paternelles de Dieu. Adonnez-vous avec un redoublement d'ardeur à une vie de foi, de prière et d'œuvres saintes. Faites régner parmi vous la discipline régulière, l'union fraternelle des cœurs, l'obéissance humble et empressée l'austérité du détachement et l'ardeur pieuse pour la louange divine. Que vos pensées soient hautes, vos résolutions généreuses et votre zèle infatigable pour la gloire de Dieu et l'extension de son regne ! Puisque, parle malheur des temps, vous vous trouvez ou déjà frappés ou menacés par des lois funestes de dispersion, vous reconnaîtrez que les circonstances vous imposent le devoir de défendre avec plus de zèle que jamais l'intégrité de votre esprit religieux contre le contact dissipant du monde, et de vous tenir toujours prêts et aguerris contre toute épreuve.

Sur ce point Nous vous rappelons que diverses instructions ont été adressées aux Réguliers par ce Siège Apostolique et que d'autres prescriptions sont émanées des Supérieurs eux-mêmes. Il faut que les unes et les autres gardent leur pleine vigueur et soient observées en conscience.

Et maintenant, religieux de tout âge, jeunes ou vieux, levez les yeux vers vos illustres Fondateurs ! Leurs maximes vous parlent, leurs status vous guident, leurs exemples vous précèdent ! Que votre application la plus douce et la plus sainte soit de les écouter, de les suivre, de les imiter ! C'est ainsi qu'ont agi un grand nombre de vos aînés dans les temps les plus durs. C'est ainsi qu'ils vous ont transmis un riche héritage de courage invincible et de vertus sublimes. Montrez-vous dignes de tels pères et de tels frères afin que vous puissiez dire tous, en vous glorifiant justement : ' Nous sommes le fils et les frères des saints ! ' C'est ainsi que vous obtiendrez les plus grands avantages pour vous-mêmes pour l'Eglise et pour la société. En vous efforçant d'atteindre le dergé de sainteté auquel Dieu vous a applés, vous mériterez les récompenses surabondantes qu'il vous a promises. L'Eglise, cette mère si tendre qui a comblé vos Instituts de ses faveurs, obtiendra de vous, en échange, une coopération plus fidèle et plus efficace que jamais à sa mission de paix et de salut. La paix, la salut, voilà les deux besoins urgents de la société



actuelle travaillée par tant de causes de corruption et d'affaiblissement. Pour la secouer, pour la soulever, pour la ramener repentante aux pieds de ce très miséricordieux Rédempteur, il faut des hommes de vertu supérieure, de parole vive, de cœur apostolique, qui aient, en même temps, la puissance médiatrice d'attirer les grâces célestes. Vous serez de ces hommes. Nous n'en doutons pas, et vous deviendrez ainsi les bienfaiteurs les plus opportuns et les plus insignes de la société.

Chers fils, la charité du Seigneur Nous inspire une dernière parole pour raffermir en vous les sentiments dont vous êtes animés envers tous ceux qui attaquent vos Instituts et veulent entraver votre action.

Autant par conscience vous devez garder une attitude ferme et digne, autant par profession vous devez vous montrer toujours doux et indulgents, parce que c'est dans le Religieux que doit particulièrement resplendir la perfection de cette vraie charité qui se laisse toucher par la commisération, mais qui ne connaît point la colère. Sans doute à vous voir ainsi payés d'ingratitude. à vous voir ainsi repoussés, la nature s'attriste, mais, cher fils, que la foi vous réconforte par ses oracles ! Elle vous rappelle l'exhortation sublime : 'Triomphez du mal par le bien.' Elle vous met sous les yeux l'incomparable magnanimité de l'Apôtre : 'On nous maudit et nous bénissons ; on nous persécute et nous supportons ; on blasphème contre nous, et nous bénissons.'<sup>1</sup> Par dessus tout elle vous invite à répéter la supplication du Bienfaiteur suprême du genre humain, Jésus, suspendu sur la croix : 'Père, pardonnez-leur !'

Donc, chers fils, 'fortifiez-vous dans le Seigneur.'<sup>2</sup> Vous avez avec vous le Vicaire de Jésus-Christ, vous avez avec vous tout la monde catholique qui vous regarde avec affection, respect et reconnaissance.

Du haut du ciel vos glorieux pères, vos glorieux frères vous encouragent. Votre chef souverain, Jésus-Christ, vous ceint de sa force et vous couvre de sa vertu.

Fils bien-aimés, adressez-vous à son Cœur divin avec une confiance filiale et de ferventes prières. Vous y trouverez toute la force nécessaire pour vaincre les plus furieuses colères du monde. Il y a une parole qui retentit à travers les siècles, toujours vivante, toujours pleine de consolation : 'Ayez confiance, j'ai vaincu le monde.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rom. xii. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Cor. iv. 12, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Eph. v. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Ioann. xvi. 33.

Puissiez-vous trouver encore quelque consolation dans notre Bénédiction qu'en ce jour, consacré à la mémoire triomphante des Princes des Apôtres, Nous sommes heureux d'accorder dans toute sa plénitude à chacun de vous et à toutes et chacune de vos Familles, qui Nous sont très chères dans le Seigneur.

Donné à Rome près Saint Pierre le 29 Juin de l'année, 1901, vingtquatrième de Notre Pontificat,

LEON XIII PAPE.

#### PAPAL EULOGY OF URSULINE NUNS

LEO XIII PIAS MULIERES SOCIETATIS S. URSULAE LAUDAT ET APL.  
BENED. RECREAT

LEO PP. XIII

AD FUTURAM REI MEMORIAM

Romanorum Pontificum Decessorum Nostrorum vestigiis insistentes erga pias sanctarum virginum Congregationes, quae ad pietatis et charitatis opera exercenda institutae, potissimum tam gravibus Ecclesiae temporibus optime de christiana re mereri, sibi gloriae ducunt, grato quidem ac sollicito studio, curas cogitationesque nostras convertimus. Has inter frugiferas, quibus Ecclesia Christi laetatur, Congregationes, minime Nos latet iure et merito arcessendam esse piam mulierum unionem, quam sancta Angela Mericia sub titulo Societatis S. Ursulae, primum instituit; fel. rec. Paulus PP. III, datis sub plumbo Litteris quinto idus Iunii anno Incarnationis Domini MDXXXIV probavit; Sanctus Karolus Borromaeus confirmavit; Decessor Noster Pius PP. IX rec. mem. meritis laudibus est prosequutus; tandem a. MDCCCLXVI Hieronymus Verzeri Brixienis Antistes nonnullis innovatis articulis ad pristinam formam restituit. Haec enim societas in aedificationem familiarum et ad effundendum late per mundum bonum Christi Jesu odorem erecta, uberrimos iugiter in Ecclesiae Dei emolumentum protulit fructus. Et sane virgines dictam in societatem adlectae tum Brixia tum Mediolani, tum Bononiae, tum Ianuae, tum etiam in hac alma Urbe Nostra, atque in longo terrarum marisque spatio dissitis Africae regionibus iuxta instituti tabulas, tam doctrinae christianae tradendae, quam pluribus catholicis pietatis charitatisque operibus vacant. Hae pueros ac puellas ad S. Synaxim prima vica properantes, praemissis piis exercitationibus instruunt, hae Filiarum Mariae Unionibus, scholis festivis, infantium asyis, societatibus mutui inter operarias auxilii

praesunt, advigilant; hae aegrotantibus assident; indumenta ac sacra suppellectilia Ecclesiis pauperibus comparant; hae bonorum in vulgus diffusionem librorum curant; hae precibus, verbo ac vitae innocentis exemplo et devios ad virtutis semitas revocant, et innumeras prorsus animas Christo lucrificiunt. Quae cum ita sint Nos precibus annuentes Emi. Mediolanensis Antistitis S.R.E. Cardinalis Ferrari, et Episcopi Brixienis, aliorumque Longobardiae Episcoporum, nec non dilectarum in Christo filiarum Magdalenae Girelli ac Iuliae Vismara dictae Societatis Moderatricium Generalium tum Brixiae cum Mediolani ipsas virgines hortantes, ut in inceptis insistant, neque unquam a primaeva Regula deflectant, quam ipsa Sancta Angela tradidit illique pie unioni veluti testamento reliquit, omnibus et singulis filiabus Sanctae Angelae Mericiae actu existentibus, quae integre servantes Regulam uti supra diximus a Paulo Papa III. approbatam et nuperrime in pristinum restitutam ab Hieronymo Verzeri Episcopo naviter incumbunt ad propriam ac proximorum salutem industrio studio procurandam, ut meritis praemium nanciscantur, et novum ad potiora capessenda stimulum coelestium munerum auspicem, Nostraeque voluntatis ac benevolentiae pignus, Apostolicam per praesentes Benedictionem peramanter impertimur. Volumus vero ut praesentium Litterarum transumptis seu exemplis, etiam impressis manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur, quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub anulo Piscatoris die XII Iulii MCMI, Pontificatus Nostri anno vigesimoquarto.

ALOIS. Card. MACCHI.



## NOTICES OF BOOKS

L'ACTION DU CLERGÉ DANS LA REFORME SOCIALE. Par Paul Lapeyre. Paris: Lethielleux, 10, Rue Cassette. Price, 3 fr. 50 c.

THIS is the work of a French layman, who understands his country, who desires to serve the Church, and who appeals to the clergy to come out from their seclusion and wield the full power they hold to rescue France from the peril that threatens her. M. Lapeyre understands thoroughly the difficulties they have to contend with. He does not indulge, like Mr. Michael Davitt, in sweeping generalizations and dogmatic assertions, based on utterly untrustworthy and misleading information.

If there is one thing remarkable about the clergy of France during the past ten or fifteen years it is the wonderful unanimity with which they have followed the advice of Leo XIII. There were no more strenuous supporters of the monarchy in former days than the people of Brittany; yet when a vacancy occurred in one of the constituencies there, not many years ago, the clergy fought a stirring battle against the Comte de Blois, the Monarchical candidate, an excellent Catholic, and a man of the highest character, and returned by a big majority the Abbé Gayraud, who was pledged to support the Republic against all attacks. The writer of this note happened to be in France at the time and to meet a good many of the clergy, both secular and regular, in different parts of the country. They were almost unanimous in support of the action of the clergy of Brest. The religious were particularly emphatic in their support of the policy of the Pope. A few of the older curés still held out in private; but they did not seek to influence anyone with their opinions.

The clergy generally were thoroughly alive to the necessity of changing the character of the Republic; but in order to do that they felt that the only course for them to follow was to accept honestly and absolutely the Republican form of government. But the men who have captured the government of France are like the British Jingoës who denounce as pro-Boers all who differ from them on the subject of the war; if you do not see eye to eye with the Rousseaus and the Bourgeois, the

Millerands and the Brissons, you are an enemy of the Republic and an agent of the Monarchy, and men are to be got in foreign countries to take them at their word and to brand the poor Carmelites and Capuchins, the Benedictines and Trappists, who are hunted like malefactors from their country, as enemies of the Republic !

Why, one of the commonest charges made against the Bishops of France by Monarchists and Imperialists is that they are the slaves of the Republic and that they have pressed their clergy into the service in the most high-handed fashion. And as for the Religious Orders, they are more directly under the control of the Pope than the secular clergy and if they had not obeyed his directions in the spirit as well as in the letter they would very soon have felt the pressure of his authority. That they inculcated monarchical principles in their schools is a thing that may be asserted with impunity over here ; but it would be received with a rather grim smile where people know how much truth there is in it. Probably the assertion was intended more as a lesson to the clergy of Ireland than as a satisfactory explanation of the expulsion of the Religious Orders from France. We should be the very last to object to such a lesson when it is founded on knowledge or on authority, and Mr. Davitt is a man whose disinterestedness and sincerity we should never think of calling into question. But we think that in this matter he has not drawn his information from trustworthy sources. We think he can safely be defied to produce any proof that the Religious Orders of France, the Pope's own Body Guard, as they are sometimes called, disobeyed the instructions of the Holy See and inculcated monarchical principles and opposition to the Republic in their schools. They have indeed inculcated opposition to Freemasonry, to the secret power of the lodges, to anti-Christian legislation, to the infamies of De Lanessan, to the wholesale banishment of religion from the public schools ; all this, of course, is opposition to the Republic and is the work of traitors and conspirators.

In a great many respects the antidote to false notions of this kind will be found in the little work mentioned at the head of these observations. It deals with a problem that requires great skill and delicacy of treatment, and it has gone more deeply than one might be inclined to believe into the nature of the disease from which the Republic suffers, and of the remedies that many people consider necessary. We do not say that the work is very

profound or very original; but for a *livre de circonstance*, and a popular treatise on a popular question, it is exceedingly clever and interesting.

J. F. H.

ST. ANDREW THE APOSTLE, PATRON OF SCOTLAND. By the Rev. Gerald Stack. Catholic Truth Society of Scotland, 52 Sauchiehall-street, Glasgow.

It is not easy to write a biography of one of the saints of the New Testament. With the exception of the Blessed Virgin, St. Joseph, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Mary Magdalen, the details known are of the scantiest. If, therefore, one wishes to produce a sketch of any of the less known of the Apostles a good deal of filling has to be done in the way of description either of scenery or of the ways and habits of life that prevailed in the life-time of the Apostles. Father Stack has adopted this method in his admirable sketch of St. Andrew. He has made the most of the few facts that are narrated of St. Andrew by the four Evangelists and the other sacred writers. He has filled up the narrative of these events with a very interesting account of the 'Home Teaching,' the 'School Life,' and the 'Peasant Life' of Palestine in the days of the Apostles.

Perhaps the most interesting part of Father Stack's sketch is that in which he tells how St. Andrew became Patron of Scotland. For the sake of those of our readers who may not come across the pamphlet, we give this interesting sketch in Father Stack's own words :—

'The legendary accounts which were once current, and which represented the relics of St. Andrew as having been brought to Scotland directly from Patrae or from Constantinople, are now generally rejected. In consequence of the researches of Dr. Skene, it may now be regarded as certain that the devotion to St. Andrew was introduced into this country from England. The following is a brief statement of the events which led to St. Andrew being adopted as the national patron. It has been already stated that on the translation of St. Andrew's body from Patrae to Rome, portions of the Saint's relics found their way to several of the important cities of the Roman Empire. It was natural that Rome should be among the number of the cities thus favoured. St. Wilfrid, the great champion of Roman discipline, who had been chiefly instrumental in converting king Oswy and the



Northumbrians into Roman usage, had made several journeys to Rome, and when, in A.D. 674, he founded the church of Hexham, he dedicated it to Saint Andrew, towards whom he entertained a special devotion. Bishop Acca, who, in A.D. 709, succeeded St. Wilfrid in the See of Hexham, obtained certain relics of St. Andrew, with which he enriched the church that had been founded by his saintly predecessor. Acca was forced to retire from his diocese in A.D. 732, and during his exile spent some time in Fife. These events explain how a portion of the relics of St. Andrew were brought into Scotland.

‘At the time when Bishop Acca took refuge in Fife, the Pictish monarchy was ruled by Angus MacFergus, who reigned from A.D. 731 to A.D. 761, and who was, perhaps, the most powerful king that ever sat upon the Pictish throne. In A.D. 736 he completely subdued the Scots of Dalriada. The crowning victory gained by the king’s arms in this campaign against the Scots was attributed by him to the protection of St. Andrew, whose relics had lately been brought into his dominions, and whose patronage had been specially invoked in his behalf. Gratitude prompted the victorious monarch to erect and richly endow a church in honour of his patron at a place formerly known as Kilrymont, but which was destined ever after to be known by the name of St. Andrews. Some years later, in conjunction with the Anglie kingdom of Mercia, he inflicted severe losses on the kingdom of Northumbria, and these new successes seemed to have confirmed his devotion to his patron St. Andrew, and to have prompted him to make new endowments in honour of that Apostle.

‘In A.D. 756 Angus further extended his conquests. In alliance with his former enemy, Eadberct, king of Northumbria, he marched against the Strathclyde Britons and put an end to a contest which had lasted some twelve years, by subduing their capital Alelyde, or Dumbarton. Thus, before his death, in 761, the northern monarch had elevated the Pictish kingdom to a certain supremacy extending, more or less, over all the territory now comprised in Scotland, and the solid establishment of the veneration of St. Andrew in the Pictish dominions, and his adoption as the special patron of the Pictish monarchy, prepared the way for his ultimate reception as patron of the Scottish nation.

‘In A.D. 844 the Pictish and Scottish kingdoms were finally united in the person of Kenneth MacAlpin, king of Dalriada; and Malcolm III. (A.D. 1005-1034) completed the unification of the territory of Scotland by the acquisition of Strathclyde and Bernicia. From this time forward the consolidation of the kingdom of Scotland was gradually completed, and St. Andrew, the chosen patron of the Pictish power, became ultimately recognized as the patron of the Scottish monarchy, of the Scottish people, and of the Scottish Church.’

We noticed only one printer's error, but that is a rather inconvenient one—'Sottish monarchy,' p. 25. On the whole the pamphlet is admirable, and well suited to excite the devotion of the people to their patron saint. That was the main object of the author in contributing so valuable a work to the Catholic Truth Society of Scotland.

J. B.

'BUT THY LOVE AND THY GRACE.' By Francis J. Finn, S.J., author of *Percy Wynn*, *Tom Playfair*, etc. New York: Benziger Brothers.

WE were, we believe, the very first, on this side of the Atlantic, to call attention to the remarkable stories of Father Finn, and to recommend them to all schools and colleges as elevating and, at the same time, stimulating reading for boys. Father Finn seems now to have turned his thoughts from the school, and to have given them to the active and busy life of the world. The heroine, as we may truly call her, of the present story, Regina O'Connell, is a poor girl who goes to confession every week, and who finds in her devotion to religion, not only the compensation for many trials and afflictions, but the strength to bear them with a joyful heart. The story is short; it is well told; and no one who begins to read it is likely to leave it down unfinished. There is just, perhaps, a little excess of melancholy, a superabundance of affliction, a tone of predominating grief, that we should like to see reduced to more common standards of experience; but, on the whole, the story promises well for Father Finn's new departure, and we wish him as great a measure of success with his new class of readers as he has won in the schools.

There is one word of criticism that we must be permitted to indulge in. Father Finn gives Irish names to nearly all the characters in this work, particularly to the lowly and the humble, and we are glad of it; but why give English names—"Percy Wynn," "Tom Playfair," etc.—to all his school heroes? Is there not a touch of snobbishness in all this? But it is scarcely fair to blame Father Finn for a fault which is just as characteristic of some of our own countrymen, who cry very loudly for the Irish language, and yet, when they wish to depict a respectable character, take care to give him an English name. All such people ought to be discountenanced.

J. B.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH FROM WITHIN. With Preface by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1901. Price, 6s. 6d. net.

WE gather from Cardinal Vaughan's preface that the author of this sketch is a member of the laity, and we quite subscribe to the idea that it has many advantages over one drawn by a priest. It is freer, says the Cardinal, and perhaps more actual. It does not pretend to be professional. It is not authoritative:—

'The book is written by a member of the laity; by one who has lived for years—from childhood—among men and women of the world; who has mixed freely with Protestants; who has travelled much, and has also lived much at home, occupied with books as well as with the discharge of many and diverse duties.'

Such a writer, having at the same time the deeply religious sense and an acute mind, is particularly well qualified to turn out a book that should prove a guide and a help to many persons concerned about their souls. The deep interest taken in the work by Cardinal Vaughan shows what importance he attaches to it, and he has touched off in the preface the features of the volume that are most likely to commend it to the public, whether Catholic or non-Catholic:—

'There is something' [writes His Eminence] 'that certainly differentiates the intimacy of Catholic life from other forms of life that may be domestic, beautiful, tender and affectionate, but are not also Catholic. People hear of Catholic views, Catholic feelings and instincts—of ways and practices that are peculiarly and distinctively Catholic. They come across them now and then; they get glimpses and touches of them in Catholic homes. But generally they get no systematic presentation of them, unless they live on very intimate terms with Catholic friends; and even then the presentations of them is often but fragmentary and disconnected. The author of this book sketches for the reader many and various phases of Catholic life so that at last he may get a very fair and complete picture of the whole. The outsider, therefore, may feel pretty confident, when he has gone through the book, that he has penetrated a Catholic home of the educated class, and this without the trouble of introductions, and subjection to the many inane formalities of society in a strange house.'

A work so highly praised by a member of the Sacred College needs no commendation from us. At the same time we are happy to call attention to some special merits of the work on which His Eminence does not dwell. There are towards the end



of the book two or three chapters—those on ‘Giving and Taking Scandal,’ ‘The Cultivation of Catholic Instincts,’ ‘Marriage and the Bringing up of Children,’ ‘Vocations and Religious Orders’—that seem to us to present Catholic doctrines and ideas in a language so fresh and unconventional, that we think they ought of themselves ensure the success of the book.

J. B.

CORAM SANCTISSIMO. London : Sands & Co.

THIS is another work from the pen of Mother M. Loyola. It contains forty visits to the Blessed Sacrament. These show that Mother M. Loyola is as much at home when depicting the trials, the aspirations, and the consolations of adults as in leading little children along the road of true penance. Each visit seizes, generally with thrilling vivacity, *one* idea; the subject is weighed in the presence of our Lord, the conclusions are always practical. Take, for example, ‘The Visit XL. *Life*.’ It opens: ‘Life is a school, neither more nor less. *Not more*. Therefore we must not expect to find satisfaction. . . . *Not less*. Therefore we must beware of squandering the time given us for our final state. . . . Let me be schooled by the tasks and trials, the little joys and sorrows and passing brightness of this life. . . . And when my school days are over and my lessons here are learned dear Father, take me home.’ In like manner we have *Praise*, ‘*Possumus*,’ *Changes*, *Darkness*, *Responsibility*, etc. All speak to the mind and heart.

J. M.

DE SACRAMENTIS. Auctore H. Noldin, S.J., S. Theologiae Professore in Universitate Oenipontana, Sumptibus Ranch. (Pustet). 1901.

THIS volume of Moral Theology deals with the Sacraments in general, Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction and Holy Orders. Father Noldin does not profess to treat these subjects with all the fulness of the larger works which are useful principally for professors and priests who desire to study profoundly the many interesting and practical questions which abound in Moral Theology. He professes to write a work for the use of schools in which the varied course of theological

learning prevents a very deep examination of any particular branch of divinity.

Though Father Noldin's work is limited by the end in view it deserves the attention of all theologians. It serves admirably for the end primarily in view. Its clearness makes it a very welcome companion for the hard-worked student. Its comparative completeness renders it sufficiently ample in dimensions for all practical purposes. Its practical nature makes it a very useful book not only for the student in the seminary but also for the missionary priest who cannot always devote as much time to the study of theology as he may desire.

It would be too much to expect that we could agree with all Father Noldin's opinions. We find no opinion, however, in the book which has not eminent supporters. Some of his views, nevertheless, in our opinion border on laxity. We may mention specially in this connection the opinion which is put forward in page 287, n. 270. Father Noldin holds, in that place, that a mortal sin not yet directly remitted by the absolution of the priest is validly confessed even if it be confessed as a sin already directly remitted in the Sacrament of Penance. Though this view has some modern upholders we think it intrinsically improbable. The priest in the Sacrament of Penance is a necessary judge of every cause that demands reconciliation with God. He must then know, as far as possible, whether or not his penitent necessarily requires reconciliation with the Almighty. He cannot know this unless the penitent explains whether his mortal sins were committed before or after his last valid confession. No doubt the sin in itself is the same whether it be already remitted or not but it is not the same in its present relations to God. These are the relations of which the priest is appointed judge in the tribunal of Penance. Again, it is the duty of the priest to impose a suitable penance on his penitent. Now a mortal sin already remitted deserves only a light penance whilst a mortal sin not already remitted demands a grave penance. How can the priest then fulfil this duty of imposing a suitable penance unless he knows whether or not the mortal sin confessed has been already remitted in the Sacrament of Penance.

On page 263, n. 245b., Father Noldin says that contrition must be supernatural '*ratione motivi*.' He explains this to mean that the contrition must have some relation to God and must not be from a merely temporal motive such as health, fame, etc.

He rejects the view that the motive of contrition must be known by revelation through the *lumen fidei*. We quite agree with Father Noldin in this latter point though we would add that inasmuch as there is question of the validity of the Sacrament the view rejected by him must be upheld in practice since it is a probable opinion. We think, however, that Father Noldin's first statement is not sound as expressed by him. We do not see how a relation to God from a merely natural point of view can be called a supernatural motive. Father Noldin does not explain how faith is necessary in his view for an effective act of contrition. We presume that he does admit the necessity of faith in some way.

We do not wish to speak of other opinions of Father Noldin. Though we may differ from some of them none of them are rashly held by him. We recommend his book very strongly. It is very suitable as a class book for theological students. It is very useful for the missionary priest. We hope that other volumes will proceed from the pen of the learned author.

J. M. H.

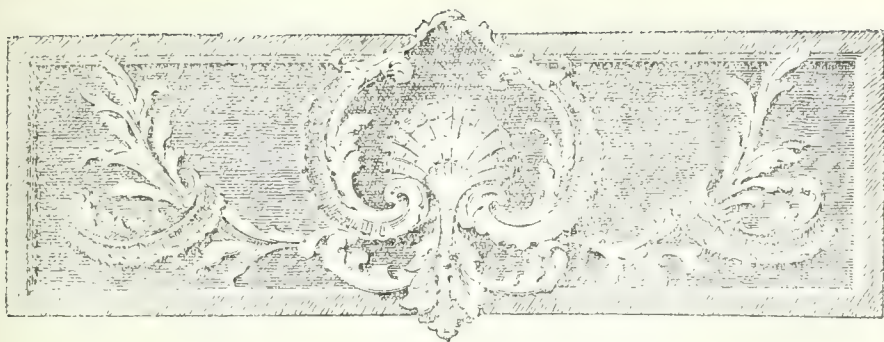
DE GEMINO PROBABILISMO LICITO. DISSERTATIO CRITICO-PRACTICA EXARATA CONCILIATIONIS GRATIA. Auctore D. Majolo De Caigny, O.S.B. Brugis Typis Désclée, De Brouwer et Soc. 1901.

THIS interesting little volume is an attempt to reconcile Aequiprobabilism with Probabilism. Some years ago the author wrote a Dissertation in favour of Aequiprobabilism. The conclusions put forward in that book lead logically, in the author's opinion, to the mode of reconciliation which he at present suggests. He is prepared to accept the principle of Probabilists: *lex dubia non obligat*. He gives his interpretation of this saying. When one opinion is certainly more probable than another opposing view then it is practically certain. Consequently if it be in favour of the law the law is no longer in practical doubt and must, therefore, be followed. If neither opinion be clearly the more probable, then the law is doubtful and consequently the opinion which favours liberty can be followed with a safe conscience. This is, *a fortiori*, true if the opinion which favours liberty be certainly the more probable. Father De Caigny thinks that all reasonable Aequiprobabilists and Probabilists will admit these conclusions.



We have always thought that there is very little difference, in practice, between Aequiprobabilism and Probabilism as explained by the moderate upholders of both systems. We think, however, that in theory it is not easy to reconcile both views. We fear that Father De Caigny leaves untouched a very important portion of the opinions of Probabilists. We fear that Probabilists will not admit that an opinion always ceases to be solidly probable when the opposing view is clearly more probable. As long as an opinion remains solidly probable the opposing opinion cannot be free from reasonable practical doubt though it may be favoured with a greater degree of probability. A Probabilist will in those circumstances apply his principle; *lex dubia non obligat*. Thus, theoretically, no common resting ground can be found for the two systems.

J. M. H.



## THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE

**T**HE present position of the Catholic University School of Medicine is, I think, only imperfectly understood, even by the friends and supporters of the University. During the past few years, the School has advanced by leaps and bounds, both as regards the efficiency of its work, and the number of its students. It has lately fallen to my lot, to give a short account of this progress, before the Royal Commission now sitting on Irish University Education; and I frankly confess that the facts which it was my pleasant duty to collect and set forth, were a surprise even to myself.

The success which the School has achieved, is largely due to the hearty support it has received from the Catholic clergy and people of Ireland. And the idea has occurred to me, that the publication of my statement, in the *I. E. RECORD*, would be gratifying to our friends, and would help to secure for the School a continuance of their sympathy and support. I have accordingly prepared it for publication, from my notes; and it appears in the following pages pretty nearly as it was spoken before the Commission.

### I.—CONSTITUTION OF THE GOVERNING BODY.

At the outset, it is well to explain that the Catholic University School of Medicine stands on a somewhat different footing from that of University College in St. Stephen's

Green. It is managed by a Board of Governors, created by an Order of the Lord Lieutenant in Council under the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act of 1885. This Board of Governors is a Body Corporate, with perpetual succession and a common seal; and it has power to acquire and hold property, real and personal, for the purposes of the School. Thus the School has a legal position in the eyes of the State, comparable with that of the other Medical Schools in Ireland, governed by chartered bodies. I propose to tell the Commissioners very briefly how this has come about.

The School was founded by the Catholic Bishops of Ireland, in the year 1855. The buildings were purchased and equipped out of monies collected from the people, who were just then recovering from the effects of the great famine. The teaching staff were paid, for many years, by means of an annual collection made for the purpose; and the cost of maintenance was met, partly out of the same annual collection, and partly out of capital. But, about twenty years ago, the capital fund of the University was exhausted, and it was found no longer possible to continue the annual collection. Since then, the Professors have received no salaries, and the cost of maintaining the buildings and equipments, has been a first charge on the fees paid by the students. What remains of the fees, after this charge is defrayed, is divided between the Professors and Lecturers, according to a Scheme arranged by the Faculty of the School.

In the year 1891, the Bishops gave their consent that the School, and its endowments, should be dealt with by the Educational Endowments Commission, constituted under the Act of 1885. A Scheme was accordingly prepared by the Commissioners, for the future government and management of the School; and this Scheme, after passing through the various stages provided by the Act, was finally approved by the Lord Lieutenant in Council, on the twenty-fourth of May, 1892. The endowments transferred to the new Governing Body were: (1) The buildings and equipment of the School; (2) A sum of £1,000, part of a bequest at the time



in the hands of the Bishops, for the purposes of the Catholic University; and (3) £500 Bank of Ireland Stock, another bequest, yielding about £55 a year. This was the sum total of the endowments with which the School was launched on its new career.

The sum of £1,000, just mentioned, together with a further sum of £3,000, which was soon afterwards acquired from another source, was spent almost immediately, by the new governors, in improving the buildings and equipment of the School; and the income of the Bank of Ireland Stock was allocated to Prizes for the students. Accordingly, the buildings and equipment, as they now stand, and the small income of £55 a year, constitute at present the whole endowment of the School.

It is provided by the Scheme of the Educational Endowments Commission that the Governing Body shall consist of four *ex-officio* members; three representatives of the Faculty of Medicine in the School; three representatives of medical science outside the School; and one representative of the Bishops. The following is a list of the Governors, at the present time.

*Ex-Officio Members.*

1. Most Rev. William J. Walsh, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin, Chairman.
2. Right Rev. Gerald Molloy, D.D., D.Sc., Rector of the Catholic University, Vice-Chairman.
3. Sir Christopher Nixon, LL.D., M.D., F.R.C.P.I., Dean of Faculty.
4. Very Rev. Robert Carbery, Dean of Residence.

*Representatives of the Faculty.*

5. Patrick J. Hayes, M.D., F.R.C.S.E., F.R.U.I.
6. Ambrose Birmingham, M.D., F.R.U.I., F.R.C.S.I.
7. D. J. Coffey, M.A., M.B., F.R.U.I.

*Representatives of Medical Science.*

8. Thomas More Madden, M.D., F.R.C.S.E.
9. Richard F. Tobin, F.R.C.S.I.
10. Joseph F. O'Carroll, M.D., F.R.C.P.I.

*Representative of the Bishops.*

11. Most Rev. John Healy, D.D., Bishop of Clonfert.

## II.—NO SHARE IN PUBLIC ENDOWMENTS.

In order to understand fully the position occupied by the Catholic University Medical School, it is important to bear in mind that there are six Medical Schools in Ireland, and six only: three in Dublin, and three in the provinces. The three Medical Schools in Dublin are, the School of Trinity College, the School of the College of Surgeons, and the School of the Catholic University. In the provinces, the three Schools are those of Queen's College, Belfast, Queen's College, Cork, and Queen's College, Galway. All these Schools, with the single exception of the Catholic University School, have received large endowments from public funds.

The Schools of the three Queen's Colleges, with which the School of the Catholic University is brought into direct competition, under the Royal University, were all built and equipped out of public money; the salaries of the Professors are paid by the Imperial Treasury; and from the same source, an annual grant is made for the working expenses and maintenance of the Schools. Moreover, special grants are made, from time to time, for additions and improvements, as occasion requires. Thus, for example, in the three years 1891-1894, Belfast received special grants amounting to £7,842, chiefly for its chemical department. The Catholic University School, and it alone, has received nothing from the State.

## III.—PROGRESS OF THE SCHOOL.

The number of students in the School has been rapidly increasing of late years, especially since the creation of the new Governing Body, in 1892; and I am informed that it is now the largest of all the Medical Schools in Ireland. I have asked for returns showing the progress of the School, in this respect, as compared with the other Medical Schools. It appears that the most authentic evidence on this point, applicable to all the Schools, is furnished by the number of new students, from each School, registered each year by the General Medical Council. Accordingly I have prepared a Table showing how this register stands, for the last five years, in the case of all the Irish Schools. It will be seen that, whereas in the first year of the period, the Catholic

University stands only fourth on the list, as regards the number of new students, in the last year of the period, it stands first.

TABLE I.

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF NEW STUDENTS REGISTERED FROM EACH OF THE IRISH MEDICAL SCHOOLS, IN EACH YEAR FROM 1896 TO 1900 INCLUSIVE.

	Catholic Univ.	Trinity College <sup>1</sup>	Coll. of Surgeons	Belfast	Cork	Galway	Total
1896	43	64	59	47	42	9	264
1897	45	47	38	49	22	8	209
1898	55	56	35	38	37	10	231
1899	50	57	50	50	38	13	258
1900	72	48	43	46	32	10	251
Total,	265	272	225	230	171	50	1213

Another kind of evidence bearing on this subject, is furnished by the number of students returned by each School, as being engaged each year in practical anatomy, commonly called 'Dissections.' This return is available for the Dublin Schools only; and it is shown in the following Table for the last five years. Here again, we can see the progress of the Catholic University School. In the first years of the period, it stands lower than the other two Dublin Schools, whereas in the last year it stands higher.

TABLE II.

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF STUDENTS 'RETURNED FOR DISSECTIONS,' IN EACH OF THE DUBLIN MEDICAL SCHOOLS, IN EACH YEAR FROM 1896 TO 1901 INCLUSIVE.

	Catholic University	Trinity College <sup>2</sup>	College of Surgeons
1896-7	118	185	170
1897-8	115	188	150
1898-9	113	181	141
1899-00	123	170	130
1900-01	156	141	125

<sup>1</sup> In my evidence before the Commissioners, the return for Trinity College was left out, as Trinity College is excluded from their inquiry.

<sup>2</sup> In my evidence before the Commission, Trinity College was left out, as before.



It will be observed that, in the year 1900-1901, there was a sudden rise in the number of students 'returned for Dissections' from the Catholic University School, while there was rather a falling off in the other two Schools. I was anxious to ascertain whether this rise might not be due to some temporary or accidental circumstance; and accordingly I thought it well to obtain the return for the current year, 1901-1902. This return was furnished to me just before the sitting of the Commission, and shows the numbers as follows: Catholic University, 162; Trinity College, 115; College of Surgeons, 130. Thus it appears that the great rise of last year has been fully maintained in the present year.

The most direct evidence of the size of a school, is to be found in the actual number of students attending lectures from year to year. This evidence we have not got either for Trinity College or for the College of Surgeons. We have it, however, for the three Queen's Colleges, and for the Catholic University School; and as it enables us to trace the progress of each of these Schools from year to year, I thought it would be interesting to give the record for a somewhat lengthened period, say for fifteen years, from 1886-1887 to 1900-1901.

TABLE III.

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF STUDENTS ATTENDING LECTURES IN THE MEDICAL SCHOOLS OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY, AND EACH OF THE THREE QUEEN'S COLLEGES, IN EACH YEAR FROM 1886-1887 TO 1900-1901.

—	Catholic University	Belfast	Cork	Galway	Total
1886-7	105	240	176	45	566
1887-8	108	227	177	40	552
1888-9	120	222	172	42	556
1889-90	153	250	167	46	616
1890-1	158	229	180	37	604
1891-2	183	270	190	38	690
1892-3	158	243	200	41	642
1893-4	201	248	195	46	690
1894-5	203	212	172	54	641
1895-6	195	228	168	34	625
1896-7	200	227	164	32	623
1897-8	195	223	138	20	576
1898-9	210	206	137	29	582
1899-00	203	214	135	39	591
1900-01	260	226	130	29	645

A glance at this Table will show that the Catholic University School has been steadily advancing during the whole period under review. At the beginning of the period, it was far below both Belfast and Cork ; about the middle of the period, it passed Cork, and has ever since remained ahead of it ; while towards the end of the period, it closed up on Belfast, and eventually passed it. Again, it will be seen that the numbers of the Catholic University School have more than doubled within the period, while those of all the other Schools have fallen off. It is interesting also to note that a sudden increase of students in the Catholic University School, came in the year 1893-1894, and has since been steadily maintained. This was the first year after the management of the School had been handed over to the new Governing Body.

#### IV.—EFFICIENCY AS A TEACHING INSTITUTION.

I have dwelt with some minuteness on these details, because it seems to me that the remarkable growth of our School, without the aid of public endowments, is a proof that it enjoys the confidence of a large section of the people of this country. I now pass on to show that it deserves that confidence, by reason of its efficiency as a teaching institution. There are two ways in which this efficiency may be tested : First, by the qualifications of the teaching staff ; and Secondly, by the success of the students, in open competition with the students of other Schools.

As regards the teaching staff, I submit a list of the Professors and Assistant Teachers, in the various departments, with a statement of their qualifications, as they are usually set forth in the Programme of our School. The senior members of the staff are all men of established reputation, whose names speak for themselves. Of the junior members, whose names are not yet so well known to fame, I may say generally that they have nearly all passed through the Royal University, and have obtained the highest Honours and Prizes, both during their medical Course, and after taking out their degree.

## THE TEACHING STAFF.

## ANATOMICAL DEPARTMENT.

A. Birmingham, M.D., B.Ch., B.A.O., R.U.I., F.R.C.S.I., L.R.C.P.I. ; Fellow and Examiner in Anatomy, Royal University, Ireland ; Examiner in Anatomy, University of Cambridge, and Royal College of Surgeons and Conjoint Board, R.C.P. and R.C.S., Ireland ; Past President, Anatomical and Physiological Section, Royal Academy of Medicine, Ireland ; Past Vice-President and Secretary, Anatomical Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

*Demonstrators of Anatomy.*

P. J. Fagan, F.R.C.S.I. ; Surgeon to St. Vincent's Hospital, Extern Department.

George M. Keating, B.A. (in Biology), R.U.I., M.B., B.Ch., B.A.O., R.U.I., F.R.C.S.I.

## PHYSIOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

*Emeritus Professor.*

Charles Coppinger, F.R.C.S.I., M.D., M.Ch. (*Hon. Causa*), R.U.I. ; Surgeon to the Mater Misericordiæ Hospital ; Consulting Surgeon to St. Michael's Hospital, Kingstown ; Examiner in Physiology, Royal College of Surgeons, Ireland.

*Professor.*

Denis J. Coffey, M.A., M.B., B.Ch., B.A.O. ; Fellow and Examiner in Physiology, Royal University, Ireland ; Lecturer on Physiology and Biology, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.

*Demonstrator of Histology.*

Michael Curran, M.A., M.B., B.Ch., B.A.O., R.U.I.

## DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY.

Hugh Ryan, M.A., D.Sc. ; Fellow, and Examiner in Chemistry, Royal University of Ireland.

*Assistant to the Professor.*

George Ebrill, B.A. (in Chemistry and Physics), R.U.I.

## DEPARTMENT OF SURGERY.

Patrick J. Hayes, F.R.C.S.E., M.D., M.Ch. (*Hon. Causa*), R.U.I. ; Senior Surgeon, Mater Misericordiæ Hospital ; Consulting Surgeon, St. Michael's Hospital, Kingstown ; Visiting Surgeon, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth ; Fellow and Examiner in Surgery, Royal University of Ireland.

*Assistant to the Professor.*

John S. M'Ardle, F.R.C.S.I. ; Surgeon to St. Vincent's Hospital ; Member of Council R.C.S.I.



# MEDICINE.

Sir Christopher Nixon, M.D. (*Hon. Causa*), R.U.I., A.B., M.B., LL.D., Univ. Dub.; Fellow, R.C.P.I.; Licentiate, R.C.S.I.; Senior Physician to the Mater Misericordiæ Hospital; Member of Senate of Royal University of Ireland; Member of General Medical Council; Visiting Physician to St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.

# MIDWIFERY AND DISEASES OF WOMEN.

Alfred J. Smith, M.B., M.Ch., M.A.O. (Irel.), F.R.C.S.I., L.M.R.C.P.I.; Examiner in Midwifery, &c., Royal University of Ireland; Gynæcologist, St. Vincent's Hospital, Stephen's-green; Fellow and Member of Council, British Gynæcological Society, London.

# DEPARTMENT OF PATHOLOGY AND BACTERIOLOGY.

Edmond J. M'Weeney, M.A., M.D., M.Ch., M.A.O., M.R.C.P.I.; Examiner in Pathology, Royal University of Ireland; Pathologist to the Mater Misericordiæ Hospital; Bacteriologist to the Local Government Board, Ireland; President of the Pathological Section of the Royal Academy of Medicine, Ireland.

# DEPARTMENT OF MATERIA MEDICA AND PHARMACY.

Martin J. Dempsey, B.A., M.D. (with Gold Medal), B.Ch., B.A.O., R.U.I.; Fellow, Royal College of Physicians, Ireland; Examiner in Materia Medica, Royal University; Physician, Mater Misericordiæ Hospital.

## *Assistant to the Professor.*

Lewis More-O'Ferrall, F.R.C.S.I., L. and L.M.R.C.P.I.; Physician to the Children's Hospital, Dublin.

# DEPARTMENT OF MEDICAL JURISPRUDENCE AND HYGIENE.

Antony Roche, M.R.C.P., L.M., L.R.C.S.I.; Fellow of the Sanitary Institute of London; Member of the Society of Public Analysts; Examiner in Medical Jurisprudence and Hygiene, Royal University of Ireland.

# DEPARTMENT OF OPHTHALMOLOGY.

Louis Werner, B.A., M.B., B.Ch., F.R.C.S.I.; Ophthalmic Surgeon, Mater Misericordiæ Hospital; Examiner in Ophthalmic and Aural Surgery, Royal University; Assistant Surgeon, National Eye and Ear Infirmary.

# DEPARTMENT OF BIOLOGY.

## *Biology.*

George Sigerson, M.D., M.Ch., F.R.U.I., L.R.C.P.I., M.R.I.A.; Examiner in Biology, Royal University of Ireland; Fellow of the Linnean Society, London.

*Practical Biology (R.U.I. Course).*

Alexander J. Blayney, M.A., M.B., B.Ch., B.A.O. (with First Place, First Honours, and First Exhibition), F.R.C.S.I.; Examiner in Biology, Royal University of Ireland; Assistant Surgeon to the Mater Misericordiæ Hospital.

*Elementary Biology.*

Denis J. Coffey, M.A. (in Biology), M.B., B.Ch., B.A.O.; Winner of University Studentship, R.U.I.; Lecturer on Biology, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.

## DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICS.

*Natural Philosophy (R.U.I. Course).*

J. A. M'Clelland, M.A., Royal University, B.Sc., Cambridge (for research work); Fellow and Examiner in Natural Philosophy, Royal University of Ireland.

*Elementary Physics.*

P. J. Fagan, Fellow and Licentiate, R.C.S.I., L. and L.M.R.C.P.I.; Surgeon to St. Vincent's Hospital, Dublin (Extern Department).

## DEPARTMENT OF DENTISTRY.

Kevin E. O'Duffy, L.D.S., R.C.S.E.; Dental Surgeon to St. Vincent's Hospital, Dublin; Lecturer on Mechanical Dentistry, and Assistant Dental Surgeon, Dental Hospital, Ireland; President, Dental Students' Society of Ireland.

With respect to the students of the School, it is well to point out that they are free to present themselves either for the Conjoint examinations of the College of Physicians and the College of Surgeons, or for the examinations of the Royal University. In the one case, the successful candidates get a Licence to practice; in the other, they get a medical Degree. The Conjoint examinations offer the more easy approach to the medical profession; partly, because the examinations of the Royal University are of a higher standard of difficulty; and partly, because the Royal University requires a student to pass the Matriculation examination, and the First University examination in Arts, before he is allowed to present himself for his first examination in Medicine. Hence the Conjoint examinations are the more popular with students; especially with those who wish to reach their profession in the shortest time, and with the least trouble to themselves.

I find that, for the last eight or ten years, on the average, about 40 per cent. of the students of our School go up for the examinations of the Royal University, and 60 per cent. for the Conjoint examinations. There is no room for competition at the Conjoint examinations, as no Prizes are offered. But the Royal University offers, each year, to competition a small number of Exhibitions and other Prizes, in connection with their medical examinations. Taking the returns of the last eight years, I have made out the following Table of the Exhibitions gained, in that time, by the students of our School, and of the other Medical Schools that enter into the competition. I have also set down, for the purpose of comparison, the number of students, from each School, who have passed the examinations in the same time.

TABLE IV.

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF EXHIBITIONS GAINED BY THE STUDENTS OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, AND THE SCHOOLS OF THE THREE QUEEN'S COLLEGES, AT THE MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS OF THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY, IN THE YEARS 1893-1900.

— — —	Catholic Univ.	Belfast	Cork	Galway	Total
First Class Exhibitions -	17	13	6	2	38
Second Class Exhibitions -	15	22	13	4	54
Total, -	32	35	19	6	92
Number of Passes in the same time, - -	422	859	396	144	1,821

This Table shows that our School gained one Exhibition for every 13.2 students that passed the examinations; Belfast, one for every 24.5 students; Cork, one for every 21 students; and Galway, one for every 24 students. It is only fair, however, to take into account that the students who go up to the examinations of the Royal University, from our School, are only 40 per cent. of the whole, and that they are presumably a better class, taken all round, than



those who go up for the Conjoint examinations ; whereas, in the Queen's Colleges, a much larger proportion go up for the Royal University examinations. All I want to urge is, that our students are well able to hold their own, in fair and open competition, against the students of the endowed medical schools. And in this connection, I may be allowed to observe that we have gained a larger number of First Class Exhibitions than any other school. Therefore, putting the best against the best, we stand absolutely first.

The Senate of the Royal University offers, each year, to competition, a Travelling Medical Scholarship of £100, subject to the condition that the successful candidate must go to some foreign school of medicine, and study there for a period of six months. Since 1893, four such Scholarships have been awarded, and one of these has been gained by a student of our School. A still higher Prize is the Medical Studentship, which is worth £200 a year, for two years. This Studentship was first established in 1893 ; and since then, five have been awarded altogether, of which students from our School have gained two. Two Studentships in Biology, and only two, have been awarded since the foundation of the University ; and both of these have been gained by students of our School. Lastly, it is the practice of the Senate, from time to time, to award a Gold Medal, in the case of highly distinguished answering, at the M.D. examination. Since 1893, six Gold Medals have been thus awarded ; and of these, students from our School have gained four.

#### V.—MATERIAL RESOURCES : CLAIM FOR ENDOWMENT.

It remains for me to give some account of the material resources of the School. I have already mentioned that the Governing Body expended all their available funds—about £4,000—in the year 1892, on the improvement of the buildings and equipment. But this was only a temporary make-shift. All that we could do with £4,000 was to add a little to the buildings ; to provide some necessary apparatus ; and generally, to put the School into decent working order, while waiting for better things. A sum of £4,000 is very

small compared to the requirements, at the present day, of a well-equipped medical school for two hundred and sixty students. Moreover, I should tell the Commissioners that the School buildings, originally intended for about a hundred students, are totally inadequate, even with the additions recently made, to afford accommodation for the immense numbers now crowded into them. One unfortunate result of this deficiency of accommodation, is that it doubles the labours, in some cases, of our teaching staff; some of our Professors being obliged to divide their classes into two sections, and give every lecture twice over, first to one section and then to the other.

It appears to me that one of the most urgent needs connected with University education in Ireland, at the present moment, is to provide this School with buildings and equipment, together with an endowment for maintenance, worthy of the work it is doing, and such as will enable it to carry on that work more efficiently, and under more favourable conditions. I submit that we are entitled to such a provision on the ground of justice. We are also entitled to it on the ground of public policy. Our School is the largest medical school in Ireland; we have an efficient teaching staff; our students gain the highest prizes in open competition with the students of the endowed schools; they are destined to fill posts of great responsibility in the public service—in the army, in the navy, in workhouse hospitals, in county infirmaries, in dispensaries. Surely it is the interest of the State that these men should get their training in well-appointed and spacious halls, and that the teaching staff, which is charged with their education, should be provided with all the resources that modern science can supply.

If the case that I have made, on behalf of the Catholic University School of Medicine, should commend itself to the Commission as fair and reasonable, it is easy to point out the remedy, or, in the words of the warrant, 'the reform,' that is desirable in order to render the condition of this School, so far as its scope extends, 'adequate to the needs of the Irish people.' None of the difficulties that are said

to surround the general University question have any bearing on the Medical School. Here, we have in existence a Governing Body, created by an Order of the Lord Lieutenant in Council, under an Act of the Imperial Parliament ; and all that is needed is to furnish that Body with a capital sum sufficient to provide the necessary buildings and equipment, together with an annual grant for maintenance, and for the salaries of the teaching staff, on a scale commensurate with that which is adopted in the medical schools already endowed by the State.

#### VI.—ORIGINAL RESEARCH.

I should like, if I may, to add a few words on the subject of original research. It is the business of a medical school, not only to teach what is already known, but also to extend the bounds of human knowledge, in the various branches of medical science. Great progress is made, from day to day, in Physiology, Pathology, Bacteriology, Anatomy, Chemistry ; and I submit that it is the duty of every medical school to take part in this progress. Some of the Commissioners will, perhaps, remember how strongly this principle was urged by the late Professor Huxley, during the last twenty years of his life ; and it is now, I think, generally accepted, almost as an axiom, by the highest authorities on the subject. I would, therefore, suggest that, in the reforms they may recommend, the Commissioners should not lose sight of original investigation. I feel confident that there is in Ireland a great store of intellectual power available for the work of research, if only the means and the opportunity were afforded for its development.

I do not confine this claim to medical schools. What I say with respect to original investigation in the various branches of medical science, I would say likewise for every other department of University work. But the case of medical schools comes vividly before me, at the present moment, because we have just now, in our own School, several men who have every qualification for carrying out original research, and who lack only the material resources necessary for doing it. Perhaps I may be allowed to give some evidence on this point.



I will take three typical examples. Among the subjects that lend themselves most readily to original research, in a medical school, are certainly included Pathology, Bacteriology, Physiology, and Chemistry. Now, in each of these departments, we are fortunate enough to have at present, among the younger members of our staff, a Professor specially prepared and equipped for original investigation. I will sketch very briefly the training which each of them has had.

To begin with the Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology. He read a complete course of Arts, and a complete course of Medicine, in the Royal University; getting the M.A. Degree in Arts, in 1887, and the M.D. Degree in Medicine, in 1891. During his course in Arts, he obtained a Studentship in Modern Languages, worth £100 a year for five years. Having a bent for research, he took advantage of his Studentship to go to the University of Vienna, in 1888, to study Pathology; and, in 1889, he went to Berlin, to work at Bacteriology, under Professor Koch. After his return, he took out his Degree of M.D., and was appointed professor of Pathology and Bacteriology in our School; this being, I understand, the first appointment of a special professor, in these subjects, made in any Irish medical school. I may say, he is now recognised as one of the leading authorities on Bacteriology in this country; and his lectures are attended not only by medical students, but by a considerable number of qualified professional men. He devotes a good deal of his time to original investigation, but he is greatly hampered in his work for want of space.

Next in order comes the Professor of Physiology. He also read a course of Arts and a course of Medicine, in the Royal University; getting his B.A. Degree in 1886, and his M.B. in 1888. He afterwards took out his M.A. in 1897. He got a Studentship in Biology, in 1889, which was worth £100 a year for three years; and, in 1890, he was appointed Assistant to the Professor of Physiology in our School. Wishing to make himself acquainted with the methods of teaching, and to put himself in touch with the work done, in other universities, he went to Louvain for three months

in the summer of 1894, and worked at Histology under Professor Gilson ; in 1896, he went for six weeks to Leipzig ; in 1897, for six weeks to Marburg ; in 1899, for two months to Munich, where he worked in the laboratory of Von Kupfer, chiefly at the histology of the nervous system ; in 1900, he went again to Leipzig—this time for three months—and worked, at the same subject, in the laboratory of Professor His ; and, lastly, in the summer of 1901, he went for three months to Madrid, and worked in the laboratory of Professor Ramon y Cajal, who I am informed is the highest authority in Europe on this particular branch of Histology. All this time, this laborious student was doing hard work in our School, first as Assistant to the Professor of Physiology, afterwards as Lecturer in the subject, from 1893, and finally as full Professor from 1897. It would be difficult, I think, to find anywhere a more striking example than this of a keen desire for original investigation, combined with great devotion to work.

My third example is our Professor of Chemistry. He read a full course of Arts in the Royal University, taking his B.A. Degree in 1895, and his M.A. in 1897, both with First Class Honours, in Chemistry and Experimental Physics. At the M.A. examination, he was awarded a Gold Medal for highly distinguished answering in these subjects. In 1898, he got a Studentship in the same subjects, which was worth £100 a year for three years. He was also awarded, about the same time, a Scholarship, by the Commissioners of the great Exhibition of 1881. By the aid of these Prizes, he was able to spend two years in the laboratory of Professor Fischer of Berlin, devoting himself largely to original research. On his return to Ireland, he got the Degree of D.Sc. in the Royal University, and afterwards a Fellowship. A vacancy having occurred, about the same time, in the Chair of Chemistry, in our School, he was appointed to fill it. Since his appointment, he has devoted the greater part of his fees to the improvement of the chemical equipment of the School, and to the maintenance of his department.

Now, it seems to me that these men—and I put them forward only as examples, we have others of the same

stamp—have given abundant evidence of the qualities that go to make up the successful investigator: capacity, devotion to their work, trained skill, and, permeating all, the magnetic influence of the great masters at whose feet they have sat. But, under the present conditions of our School, original investigation is practically impossible to them. They have no space to work in; the equipment at hand is deficient for research; and their time is wholly absorbed in teaching. What they need is not much, but it is essential. In the first place, more room; next, assistance in carrying on the teaching work of the School, so as to leave them more leisure for original work; thirdly, improved equipment; and lastly, a modest competence to enable them to live.

Just one word more. There are certain favoured spots dotted over the Globe, which supply gold for the use of the whole civilized world. In Ireland, there is a gold-mine of intellect, which once was the wonder of Europe, but which for centuries has been little worked, owing to the unhappy circumstances of her history. But the mine is still there; and it needs only a comprehensive Scheme of University Education to make it available for the use of the nation, and of the world. Such a scheme of education has long been the dream of enthusiasts. It depends largely on the work of this Commission, whether or no it is now, at last, to become a reality.

GERALD MOLLOY.



## IRELAND AND AMERICA

## SOME NOTES OF A MISSION TOUR IN THE UNITED STATES

## I

ON landing in New York I realized for the first time that America was a foreign country. I had always been accustomed to look on the United States as an expansion of Ireland and Great Britain, especially of Ireland. I was speedily undeceived. In numberless instances I found the sharpest contrasts between the new country and the old. The character of the people, their features, their habits, their tastes, their amusements, their manners—all, with the exception of their language, made me think that America resembled Ireland much less than does France or Italy or Germany. Indeed for a while I felt as if I had been wafted away into quite another sphere of existence and as if my voyage across the ocean had been an aerial journey to Mars or Mercury. This feeling of strangeness and isolation, however, soon wore off and I felt myself akin to the world around me.

I expected much from New York and, as usual in cases of great expectations, I was somewhat disappointed. My first impressions of the great city were decidedly unfavourable. The sight that thrust itself most aggressively upon me was that of the huge ugly overgrown 'stores' and hotels, which shot abruptly up into the sky, looking down with contempt on the mere ten or twelve-storey buildings which flanked them on either side. I could not help imagining that the streets had been suddenly run up while the city architect was enjoying his holiday in Coney Island, or that they had been planned by him in some hideous nightmare.

Not of course that there are not magnificent buildings in New York, and very many of them, too, buildings that vie in splendour and in beauty with any to be found in London, or Paris, or Berlin. I need only instance St. Patrick's Cathedral, which crowns Madison-avenue, and which is

undoubtedly the chief architectural glory of the city. Still I cannot help feeling that on the whole New York lacks grace and symmetry and picturesqueness. As a city I should prefer Boston with its stately mansions, its magnificent parks and boulevards, its splendid library, its broad open streets and its unique underground tramway system. Washington and Buffalo, too, impressed me as being more beautiful than New York; but I think Chicago sins infinitely more than the latter place against the canons of civic architecture as well (so it is said) as against certain other canons of much greater moment.

Perhaps, in fairness, I ought to add that my first impressions of New York might have been tinged by some little personal disappointments. There was some excuse for the bias if it did exist. I landed on the coldest, dreariest and wettest day that I experienced in America; I was charged  $2\frac{1}{2}$  dollars (10s.) for a two-mile drive in a cab (what would cost only 75 cents. in any other American city). Worse still, the entire male and female population seemed to be worked up to a state of the wildest patriotic excitement. Such shouting and hand-shaking, such cheering and laughing, such streamers and bunting, such triumphal arches and triumphal greetings! The Stars and Stripes of course floating from every house and waved by every hand, and thrust into every face, and depicted in every brooch and button and pin. Everybody seemed to be stricken with an acute attack of neurotic insanity.

It was all for Dewey, who was to arrive the next day—Dewey the ‘hero’ of Manila; the conqueror of the Spanish eastern flotilla; the greatest Admiral, you were gravely informed, that ever commanded a vessel since the days of Noah! I was due in Boston in three days to take part in my first mission in America, and being in deadly terror of the Dewey fever I thought it better to cut short my visit to New York and to set out at once for the Puritan capital. For if the eve of the festival was such as I have intimated, what might not one have expected when the great day itself was ushered in amidst the booming of cannon and the beating of drums and the brazen defiance of military bands

and the deep loud huzzas of the millions of men and women who thronged the streets?

And here I may ask leave to say a word about myself personally in order to explain the genesis of these 'notes.' Late in the autumn of 1899 I was sent, with three other Oblate Fathers of Inchicore, to preach a series of missions in the United States. Usually we do not undertake missions in Ireland during the winter months (except in towns and cities) whereas it is only during winter that missions can be given in America. If one had physical endurance enough, therefore, he could labour at missions in America during winter and spend the remainder of the year at the same work in Ireland. From my experience I would not advise anyone to try it. To try it once, I think, would obviate a second attempt. We intended to be back for our home missions in five months, but so great was the pressure brought to bear on us that the five months became eight, and we left America only when the excessive heat made it impossible for us to undertake any further engagements.

Apart from the duties that I was sent to discharge in America, I valued very highly the privilege of being able to visit a land in which, in common with all Irishmen, I had always felt the keenest interest. America, indeed, is a country that must rivet the attention of all other countries, and must compel the admiration of every race. The great Republic is as yet a mere youth amongst the nations. It suffers, perhaps, from some of the excesses and follies of youth, but with these I am not now concerned. The vastness of its territory, the extent and variety of its industries, its boundless material resources, its enormous wealth, its fearless enterprise, its insatiable activity, its grim fixed determination to keep ahead of all other nations in the arts of peace and war—all these things unite in making the States one of the greatest, if not the very greatest, of all the Powers that ever ruled the destinies of men. Irishmen may be allowed to indulge in a little national pride as they remember that in the building of this great social and political fabric Irish hands and brains and blood have been a chief factor.



A word as to the missions generally which formed the object of our visit to America. I say generally, for all the missions were conducted on the same lines, and what is said of one is true of all. Mission work is considerably harder in the States than at home. This is on account of the early and late hours and of the frightful severity of the weather. The mission is in full swing at 5 o'clock every morning. Whilst one of the Fathers celebrates Mass, the others are engaged in the confessionals. At the end of Mass there is a short instruction, and the service must be over at 5.45 to allow workmen and others to repair to their various employments. At 8 o'clock there is another Mass, followed by a sermon. At 3.30 p.m. the Church is filled with children gathered as well from the State schools as from those under the management of the clergy. At this service there is, of course, an instruction, and usually some very good singing by the children and their teachers. All American children are taught to sing, and all seem eager to display their vocal powers in church. In the evening at 7 o'clock, there is the usual mission service of Rosary, Sermon, and Benediction. Confessions are heard throughout the day, except from mid-day to 3 p.m.; but the great majority of the people prefer to discharge their duty in this respect either very early in the morning or from 7 to 11 at night. This gives the missionaries little time for sleep; but it is the custom to retire to rest, and, if possible, to sleep for an hour or two after dinner, the usual time for dinner being about mid-day.

As a rule, our missions lasted a month; but this gave only a week to each section of the people. The first week was exclusively for married women, the second for women unmarried, the third for married, and the fourth for unmarried men.

There is a manifest drawback in this arrangement—the shortness of time allowed to each section. In the course of a week you can thunder with effect on the great truths of religion; you can, with the grace of God, soften hearts that were hardened, and give hope to souls that were despondent; you can bring sinners to the sacraments and to the

beginning of a good Christian life; you can stir up pious and salutary emotions, and emotionalism, no doubt, has its uses in religion.

But it is not the 'fireworks,' as a venerable parish priest once said to me, that do the real work of a mission. It is not the powerful, vehement, impassioned discourses on the great truths that produce the lasting effects. I would depend much more on the clear, sound, solid instructions on doctrine and morals, delivered morning after morning for three or four weeks—instructions which convey to the minds of the people a correct if elementary knowledge on the chief points of dogmatic and moral theology. Religious emotionalism passes away; religious knowledge remains.

This, I will take leave to add, is worthy the attention of our good parish priests in Ireland. With us, too, the week for women and the week for men seems to be gradually supplanting the good old three or four weeks' mission, during which you had time to impart to the people a body of religious doctrine in a way that they were not likely soon to forget.

In America there are priests who regret the mere week mission, but who are seemingly powerless to remedy the defect. If we did not divide our people, they say, into four sections, the Church would be always inconveniently crowded, and hundreds could not find even standing room. The people, they will tell you, moreover, are so enthralled with their worldly affairs that they could not be induced to give more than one week's attendance to the spiritual exercises of a mission. I think that both these statements are unquestionable as far as America is concerned.

The attendance at missions in the States is quite as good as at home. Our missions were nearly altogether amongst Catholics of Irish birth or blood. Naturally they were glad to see missionaries fresh from the old country, and they received us everywhere with a truly Irish welcome. Better still, our countrymen and countrywomen everywhere gave us proofs undeniable that in leaving the shores of Ireland they brought with them all the vigour of their Irish faith and all the sweetness of their Irish piety. As I shall

have occasion to remark later on, many, very many, even amongst Irish-born Catholics, give up the practices of religion almost as soon as they arrive in America, and drift gradually into the ranks of indifferentism and unbelief. This we gathered from those who were able to speak with knowledge on the subject ; but from all that we, strangers, could see with our own eyes, our people in America are as full of faith and fervour as if they still lived in their own homes. Every morning we saw them in their hundreds, trooping into the church at five o'clock, with a long and hard day's work before them, and with the thermometer often some degrees below zero. In the evening the church, however spacious, was crowded to its fullest capacity, all being manifestly eager to profit of the message that was brought to them. It was gratifying to see the men almost as assiduous in their attendance at the mission exercises as the women. Indeed, in one church (at Springfield, Mass.) it was remarked that the number of men's confessions exceeded that of the women's.

I mentioned, incidentally, that during the mission confessions are heard during the hours of the public service. There is no difficulty in this, as in every church there is a crypt or basement. This crypt is for every-day use, while the church proper is reserved for Sunday services and other solemn occasions. Whilst sermon, or Mass, or Benediction goes on in the church, therefore, confessions are heard in the basement, and it is only in the basement that confessionals are placed.

The basement is also used for the children's Sunday Mass and Sunday-school. Indeed it may be called the children's own church. Nowhere more than in America are bishops and priests more fully alive to the vital necessity of planting in the child's mind a thorough knowledge of Christian doctrine, and nowhere is the Sunday-school system brought to a higher perfection. I have often seen over one thousand children assembled for catechism on the Sunday all settling down to work with the grimmest earnestness and ruled in their work by the strictest discipline. A priest is always present as general superintendent, but the teaching is done



by lay people who are chosen from amongst the best educated and the most intelligent men and women in the parish, and who regard it as a very great honour to be entrusted with so noble a duty. Regularity of attendance is ensured by a frequent and judicious distribution of prizes, by the award of medals, of certificates of merit and proficiency, and above all by the constant vigilance of the Rev. Director of the school. After catechism there is, of course, Benediction, and the whole service is made bright and attractive by music and singing. The children, indeed, seem to need very little pressure to secure their attendance, and their parents, however careless and indifferent themselves, will generally insist on their children going to the Sunday Mass and the Sunday-school.

In the Sunday-school, as in the church, the American priest is remarkable for method, order, and punctuality. Indeed the whole parochial machinery works with clock-like regularity. The pastor is in his 'office' every morning at a fixed hour for the transaction of business—arranging about baptism, marriages, school attendance, funerals, or Requiem Masses. By the way, there is always a *Missa Cantata* if not a solemn High Mass *corpore presente* on the occasion of the funeral even of the poorest parishioner. Sick calls, too, are given before a certain hour in the morning, and are always attended to before mid-day. The priest, in fact, very properly imitates the business habits of the country in the discharge of his sacred duties, and the duties are made easier by order and punctuality.

The clergymen whom we met in the course of our mission tour were chiefly American by birth and of Irish parentage. There was a time when Ireland directly supplied the chief portion of the English-speaking priests of the States. In the various dioceses which we passed through the local supply of clergymen was quite equal to the demand, and in one or two instances we found that there were as many as fifty or sixty priests lent to other dioceses. In some of the Western States, however, bishops have still to depend mainly upon Ireland for their clerical recruiting ground, whilst in every diocese you are sure to meet a sprinkling of priests

who were born, educated, and ordained in Ireland. As to the high dignitaries of the American Church such names as Gibbons, Corrigan, Feehan, Riordan, Ryan, Williams, Kane, Brady, Burke, Byrne, Donohoe, Phelan, Fitzgerald, Foley, O'Dea, O'Gorman, O'Hara, M'Quaid, sufficiently bear witness to their nationality.

As to the progress of Catholicity in the States it has been in one way as rapid and as marvellous as any growth of faith that we find in the Church's history. The Church in the States has been, like the mustard seed of the Gospel, 'at first, indeed, the least of all seeds, but when it is grown the greatest among herbs and becometh a tree so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof.' One hundred and fifty years ago there was but a handful of Catholics in Maryland and Pennsylvania—the only two colonies in which Catholics were allowed to exist, but in which also existence for them was made so irksome as to be almost intolerable. About a score of priests moved about amongst them, carefully concealing their sacred profession from those outside the Church; Holy Mass was offered secretly in private houses, and in some few places openly, in log cabins which were dignified with the title of chapels. There was no real Church government in the country—all the thirteen English Colonies being nominally under the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of London. It is only one hundred and ten years since our illustrious countryman, the Most Rev. John Carroll, was consecrated the first bishop in the States, which, in breaking the British yoke, had established freedom of worship for Catholics and Protestants alike. At that time the Catholics could not have been more than forty or fifty thousand, and though emancipated, they still bore the marks of the chains, which they had worn so long. They had about twenty-five chapels of very modest dimensions, some few mission stations, and thirty-five priests. What a contrast between the American Church of 1790 and the American Church of to-day! To-day the Catholic Church is unquestionably the greatest religious power in the country. It has an Apostolic Delegate, a Cardinal, 14 Archbishops, 80 Bishops, 3 Vicars

Apostolic, 1 Prefect Apostolic, and about 12,000 priests. There is no religious census taken by the state in America, but we have it on various authorities, Protestant as well as Catholic, that in the States there are now at least 10,000,000 Catholics.

The Church in America, too, is fully equipped in every respect for the accomplishment of her divine mission. She has her great Catholic University at Washington, still, indeed, in its infancy, but already showing signs of intellectual activity and vigour. She has 7 other Universities of lesser note, but all of them centres of learning and religion. She has over 100 seminaries with a total of 5,000 students, 191 colleges for boys and 655 for girls, 4,000 parochial schools, 251 orphanages, 554 other charitable homes, and she reckons in round numbers a total of 1,000,000 children in her various institutions.

The American Hierarchy, recognizing the vast amount of good that can be accomplished, by a sound, healthy Press, gives every encouragement to the diffusion of Catholic literature. We find in the States the gratifying number of five hundred and fifty Catholic newspapers or periodicals. Most of these are in English, but there is a goodly number also in German, French, Polish, Slavonic, Magyar, Indian, or other languages. Many of these are under the immediate supervision of the Bishop, in whose diocese they are published, and some of them are regarded as the Bishops' official organs. It would be impossible to tell the good effects wrought throughout the length and breadth of the country by this great network of Catholic publications. This is one of the things certainly in which our kin across the seas are ahead of us in Ireland.

True to its Apostolic mission, the Church in America not only guards its own flock with zeal and love, but labours hard and labours successfully to gather other sheep into the one fold of the one Shepherd. Missions to non-Catholics, conducted chiefly by the Paulist Fathers, are now very general throughout the country. I was told that at many of these missions the church was crowded with Protestants, who came in an earnest and reverent spirit to weigh the



arguments set before them on the claims of Catholicity. In almost every parish in which we ourselves gave missions, we found that there was constantly a certain number of Protestants preparing, by reading and instruction, for admission into the Church. We were not, therefore, surprised to learn that year by year thousands of Protestants seek and find peace and rest in the bosom of the Catholic faith. The holy war against infidelity and heresy is waged actively in every diocese and in every parish; and if Protestants are not always converted by the arguments addressed to them, their prejudices against Catholicity are very much modified if not utterly destroyed. Wherever you go, indeed, in America, you behold clear signs of activity and zeal. From one extremity to the other of the great Republic, the Church throbs with life and vigour, and its pulsations are felt through the whole social and political body of the country.

But we must look at the reverse side of the medal. The population of the States has been increasing by leaps and bounds. Has the Church increased her membership in the same ratio? The answer must, unfortunately, be a decided negative. There are many converts, but there are many more apostates. Large numbers are rescued from infidelity or heresy, but larger numbers lapse into indifferentism and irreligion. They begin by being bad Catholics and they end in agnosticism. It is very hard to give even an approximate guess at the number of these deserters, but it is, alas! too evident that they may be counted by the million. During the last sixty years, I think, it is no exaggeration to say, that as many as 4,500,000 men and women of the Irish race emigrated to America. Of these nearly all were Catholics, and nearly all left their homes in the prime of youth or in the full strength of early manhood. With the proverbial fertility of the Irish race is it too much to say that, at present, there ought to be as many as 10,000,000 Catholics of Irish birth or blood in the United States? But beside these you have to reckon some millions of Catholics from other countries, from Germany, Poland, Italy, France, Austria, and Canada. I do not think, therefore, that I am very

wrong in asserting that if all emigrants and their children had remained faithful to the Church, we should to-day have in America a population of 20,000,000 Catholics. In other words the leakage of the past sixty years must have amounted to more than half the Catholic population, as account must be taken of the large numbers of converts that I have alluded to.

One out of every two lost to the Church. Ten out of twenty millions gone in the way of unbelief and perdition ! The figures are appalling. To say that we have in the States ten million less Catholics than we ought to have is not, of course, to assert that there have been so many actual deserters from the Church, but only that there are so many unbelievers or religious waifs and strays, most of whom would be Catholics but for the apostasy or the religious indifference of their parents.

And let us always bear in mind that those who so fall away not only renounce the Catholic faith, but, as a rule, fling away belief in every form of Christianity, and reject every idea of the supernatural. In these latter times you hardly ever hear of a Catholic going over to any one of the numberless sects in the country. They become atheists and materialists pure and simple. Their only God is the dollar, their only heaven a luxurious home, their only hell a life of poverty or privation. They think no more of a future state than the ox or the ass.

What is the proportion of Irish Catholics who are thus swallowed up in the dark abyss of unbelief ? One cannot conjecture with anything like accuracy, but there is no doubt that the proportion is large. Indeed, there are reasons to fear that the great majority of the apostates are of Irish extraction, and not a few of Irish birth. For the Irish seem to get much more easily Americanized than other people and to be Americanized (I use the word, of course, in an obvious sense) is to be dechristianized. Other immigrants, such as Germans and Canadians, keep up their own language, and their ignorance of the language of the country is a protection for their faith. The Irish unfortunately have not a language of their own to preserve, and the

consequence is that they plunge at once into the habits and manners and modes of speech of those around them ; they become a few months after their arrival more American than the Americans themselves ; they are caught many of them by the spirit of irreligion that breathes everywhere around them, and if they do not formally give up the faith they become careless and indifferent, and by and by they bring up their children without any knowledge of God or of His Church.

This, I think, is one of the most mournful facts in our mournful history. The people who would gladly die like their fathers for the faith at home, deliberately give up this precious treasure in America as a sacrifice to the unbelieving spirit of the country. In the mind of the priest, in the mind of any true Catholic, can there be a stronger argument against emigration ? Our heart grows sick or our blood takes fire, as we read of the thousands upon thousands of our race who died of fever fifty or more years ago in their passage across the Atlantic, and whose uncoffined bones lie at this moment in the depths of the ocean. From a Christian standpoint, was not their fate enviable when compared with that of the Irish emigrant of to-day who flies across the waters in one of our palace steamers, only to lose his faith and lose his soul at the other side ?

Since my short tour in America I have been more than ever saddened by the sight of our departing emigrants, for I could not help looking on them as rushing to their own spiritual destruction. How heart-breaking this constant procession of our people to Queenstown or Liverpool for New York, this unceasing stream of the life-blood of a nation that deserves to live, but that day by day comes nearer to death. See that crowd of fine young men full of faith, full of piety, showing in their faces the candour, the honesty, the courage, the hope, the manly purity within their souls. What will they be after a few years amid the corrupting influences of one of America's great cities ? Still sadder is it to see our beautiful Irish girls, true children of Mary Immaculate, pictures of sweetness, grace and innocence, hurrying away unconsciously to their ruin, both temporal and eternal !



Much better than we at home can American priests and bishops understand the awful perils that encompass the Irish emigrant in America, and they appeal to us in language the most earnest and the most vehement to keep our people in their own land. From Cardinal Gibbons, from Archbishop Corrigan, from Archbishop Ryan, from every American ecclesiastic that takes an interest in our Catholic nation, comes the constant cry to the Irish Hierarchy and clergy: Stop the tide of emigration. Save your flocks from the American wolf. Sacrifice not your faithful children to Moloch. For your people, America is the road to hell!

Would that this cry rang in the ear and in the soul and conscience of every priest in Ireland! For I believe that to our priests more than to any other class of men it belongs to apply a styptic to this wound through which the nation's blood is flowing. Could there be any more useful subject for the pastoral discourse on Sunday than the perils of emigration? Could not priests use their great influence to create and foster a healthy public opinion on the subject? Could they not do much to tear away the glamour that surrounds American labour and American citizenship with a false splendour and to exhibit the Irish emigrant in the States, as alas! what he is too often found to be—Godless, faithless, hopeless, sunk into depths of social misery and spiritual debasement from which there is no arising.

I have much more to say on this subject, and with the kind permission of the Editor, I shall continue my notes in some future numbers of the I. E. RECORD.

M. F. SHINNORS, O.M.I.

## THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF HIGHER CRITICISM

## III.—THE FRAGMENT-HYPOTHESIS—(CONTINUED)

AS we saw in the January number, the extravagances of Vater and De Wette caused their respective theories to be opposed by Bertheau, even though he held that the Pentateuch was a collection of fragments. This is true also of Bleek, who had been a pupil of De Wette's in Berlin. He rejected some of the assertions we have read, and, as was to be expected, gave to those he accepted quite a new character. This is presumably due in some measure to the great influence exerted on himself by two other of the Berlin professors, Schleiermacher in philosophy and Neander in history.

While Bleek rejected *a priori* the traditional authorship of the Pentateuch, he was nevertheless of opinion that considerable portions were written by Moses. Bleek says of himself, 'I am one of those who with all their susceptibilities to the teaching of revelation, refuse to identify the word of God with Holy Scripture, and regard it as their primary object to discern the word of God in Holy Scripture.' (This is a new application of the Fragment-hypothesis; some parts of Scripture are to be regarded as merely human.) His views on the origin of the Pentateuch are contained in two essays written respectively in 1822 and in 1831. In the former he maintained that besides the passages in Exodus which are expressly attributed to Moses, the poems in Numbers xxi. 18-20, 27-30, and the laws in Leviticus i., vii., xvi., Numbers xxix., and probably Leviticus xiii. which presupposes a sojourn in the wilderness, were also his. In the second essay, Bleek gave his reasons for ascribing more passages to the Hebrew legislator. Not only was Leviticus xiii. certainly his, but Leviticus xvii. and apparently xi. and xv. also. Moreover the laws referring to the tabernacle<sup>1</sup> are

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<sup>1</sup> Exod. xxv.-xxxi. 11.

also Mosaic, because they do not mention priests, but speak of Aaron and his sons! As regards the veracity of these books, the views of Bleek and of De Wette are diametrically opposed. The master taught that they contain myths, the pupil says they possess real historical worth. Equally marked is the difference between their respective opinions regarding the date of the compilation of the Pentateuch. Whilst De Wette and Gesenius assign it to the Babylonian captivity, Bleek believes it was much earlier, and believes, moreover, that there were two recensions or editions. He makes Deuteronomy the starting point of the investigation. According to him, it is of much later date than the other four books and in no sense Mosaic.<sup>1</sup> No credence whatever is to be given to the passages wherein it is stated that they were written by Moses; apart from their ambiguity, how could Moses have penned the statement about the preservation of the book? Again, in their intrinsic character respectively, there is a notable difference between Deuteronomy and the other books. It is no conglomerate, no fortuitous result of a crowd of fragments, but a literary composition, written so to speak at one sitting, even though its author made use of existing material. In tone and style it resembles the writing of the exilic prophets, of Jeremias especially, but its contents show that kings still reigned in Judah.

When this point has been proved to his own satisfaction, Bleek turns to the question of the 'five books.' Here in common with Geddes and Vater, whose view he had adopted in 1824, Bleek says that the narrative of the death of Moses is not the proper close of the history begun in Genesis, that Genesis requires the description of the occupation

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<sup>1</sup> Cheyne (Professor of Scripture, Oriel College, Oxford—a very advanced critic) speaks thus of Bleek, etc. 'Meantime a reaction was rising which sought to direct criticism towards positive rather than negative results. The chief representatives of this positive criticism, which now took up a distinct attitude of opposition to the negative criticism of De Wette, were Bleek, Ewald, Movers, and Hitzig. By giving up certain parts of the Pentateuch, especially Deuteronomy, they thought themselves able to vindicate other parts as beyond doubt genuinely Mosaic, just in the same way as they threw over the Davidic authorship of certain psalms in order to strengthen the claim of others to bear his name.'



of Palestine, consequently that the Book of Josue is its inseparable sequel and that we should never say 'five books,' but 'six books.' It is not however to be inferred that the compiler of Genesis put together the following four books, as we have them at present. The date of Deuteronomy would point to the closing years of the kingdom of Judah as the period in which such a combination was made, but the supposition is excluded by the fact that in Exodus, leave is given to offer sacrifice anywhere—on the sites of Theophanies, especially. This does not tally with the history of the time. The only way to explain the paradox is to admit two recensions.

The first was made by the compiler of Genesis, in the time of the still undivided monarchy. The work treated of events down to the time of Joshua's death, and was derived partly from written copies of poems, tales, and laws, partly from tradition. The visible unity of plan shows that the editor was no mere compiler, even though he preserved as far as possible the words of the originals. The peculiarity of the recension consisted in this; it was unauthoritative, or, as we should say, intended only for private circulation. The final and official edition was made by the author of Deuteronomy some short time before the downfall of Judah (586 A.C.) Not only did he insert Deuteronomy, but here and there in the other books, Josue particularly, he made changes and additions: *e.g.*, in Leviticus xvii. the introduction of the law about the one place of worship (this unwarranted conjecture was afterwards retracted), and in Leviticus xxvi. 3-45. It was this second edition of the Hexateuch, and not Deuteronomy alone—which never existed in a separate form—that was found in the temple in the eighteenth year of Josias, and that was declared canonical because it was regarded as the work of Moses. At some subsequent period the Book of Josue was detached from it.

As regards the date of the compilation of the first five books, it is, according to Bleek, a mistake to refer to the Samaritan Pentateuch, as if it dated from before the schism of the ten tribes, for Bleek maintains with De Wette and Gesenius against Berthold, that the Samaritans received the

Pentateuch from the Jews only after the return from Babylon.

This is a desperate assertion. It is scarcely necessary to observe that imagination is the sole source of Bleek's contribution to the Fragment-hypothesis. It had, however, the result of making De Wette change a part of his equally groundless theory. He granted now that Deuteronomy was composed in the reign of Josias, and that the Pentateuch was in existence before the exile, because it was known to the compiler of the Books of Kings, who lived about 586 A.C. Nevertheless, the first indication of the Pentateuch's existence is the finding of the book of the law in the reign of Josias, and the laws themselves are, with some exceptions, of non-Mosaic origin. In conclusion, De Wette granted that the poems in Numbers xxi. were really written by Moses. Professor Briggs, of New York, who is a leading critic himself, says in his *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch* (1893), page 61, that Bleek was the first to give shape to what has been called the Supplementary-hypothesis. He made the Elohist original and fundamental, the Jehovist the supplementer. This is now an axiom among the rationalists, and its 'discovery' by Bleek may be a reason why Wellhausen did him the great honour of re-editing his *Einleitung*. However this may be, the origin of the 'Supplement-hypothesis' is, as we shall see, still a disputed question. It might have seemed at the time that Bleek's developments and De Wette's concessions would restore peace among the critics, but a new one who was an uncompromising defender of the Fragment-hypothesis now appeared on the scene.

This was Hartmann, who, like Vatke, carried the analysis almost to the point of annihilation. After his examination scarcely a Mosaic fragment remained in the Pentateuch. He observed that in proportion as we read down through the lives of the kings after Solomon, so do we find the number of references to the historical part of the Pentateuch increase and the exercise of divine worship become more like what is alleged to have been commanded by Moses. In the period of the last kings,

written collections of laws become more numerous, so we may take it that by the time of Jeremias and Ezechiel the more important parts of the Pentateuch were already in existence. They were, however, not yet put into their present order, and they had to receive some expansions. Everything tends to show that the Pentateuch as we have it was compiled during the exile : as regards the respective age of the constituent parts of the gradually growing conglomerate, nothing can be known with certainty. It is useless to attempt to determine their relative antiquity by means of the historical books, because it is not possible to separate from the genuine parts of these, the fragments that were incorporated sooner or later. (N.B.—This is the Fragment Theory with a vengeance.) The Israelites learned the art of writing in the age of the Judges, it is impossible to believe that Moses could write. At any rate, the Egyptian alphabet would have been incapable of representing Semitic sounds, and, therefore, when the Israelites got an alphabet, it was from the Phœnicians.<sup>1</sup> The style of the Pentateuch is the same as that of confessedly late books, and the anachronisms it contains show only too plainly that it is of recent date. Finally, with regard to the alleged archaic character of the five books, and the acquaintance with Egypt and Egyptian customs, etc., which Exodus is said to manifest, Hartmann answers that the archaisms could be put into a work written long after the time of Moses, and that it is exceedingly improbable that Moses could retain an accurate and expedite knowledge of Egyptian affairs. The disregard in general of literary criticism, or of the comparative study of words, passages, etc., which Hartmann manifests, is not peculiar to him ; it is characteristic, more or less, of all the supporters of the Fragment-hypothesis.<sup>2</sup> If it is so prominent

<sup>1</sup> Most of our readers know that some of the cuneiform tablets found in 1837 at Tel-el-Amarna were written more than a century before Moses was born, and that there are other Semitic inscriptions of a far earlier date. The Sippara tablet is thought to be as old as 4000 A.C. Again, the recent discoveries in Egypt show the accuracy of the descriptions in the Book of Exodus. Of course, our faith in the absolute veracity of Scripture does not need tablets, etc. Its sole rule is the infallible Catholic Church.

<sup>2</sup> Yet he could on occasion, when arguing against the traditional antiquity of Deuteronomy, and attempting to make out that it was written in



in Hartmann's treatment of the Pentateuch, it is because, as Cornill says, he was the last energetic and logical representative of this school.

Again, however, there was a change in its fortunes, and it attained the most flourishing period of its whole career. This time a philosophical element was introduced into the discussion, which, owing apparently to its ultra-radical and destructive tendencies, had ceased to be attractive. Gramberg, and still more Vatke and George, brought this about. In his *Critical History of the Religious Ideas of the Old Testament*, Berlin, 1829, Gramberg attempted to show the slow development of the priesthood, place of worship, sacrifices, feasts,<sup>1</sup> and religious customs amongst the ancient Israelites. To do so he distinguished seven periods of Hebrew literature. In the first, which extended from David to Hezekiah, Genesis, Exodus, and Judges were compiled from written and unwritten sources by some unknown individual. Leviticus, Numbers, and Jeremias belong to the fourth period, which coincides with the beginning of the exile; while in the fifth period, or towards the end of the exile, there is evidence of the existence of the following books:—Kings, Isaias, Deuteronomy (which

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the age of the exile, descend to literary criticism. He gives a list of alleged modern words, which [Archbishop] Smith calls classical. The list is long; but the great Catholic *savant* goes through it, and exposes the futility of all Hartmann's objections. (See Smith, *The Pentateuch*, pp. 537-550.)

In his *Hebrew Feasts*, Prof. Green, Princeton, New Jersey, thus describes this part of the system:—'Gramberg's *Critical History of the Religious Ideas of the Old Testament* was published in 1829, in which he undertakes to give an elaborate treatment of the whole subject. His strong rationalistic bias, however, which he is at no pains to conceal, incapacitates him for any real apprehension of the religion, with which he deals in a purely formal and mechanical manner, and which he seeks to explain upon the theory of priestcraft. The various books of the Pentateuch are assigned to separate dates, from the reign of David to the close of the Babylonish exile, and their institutions or enactments are compared with the statements or allusions found in the historical and prophetic books of the corresponding period. His conclusion is that worship was originally free and subject to no statutory regulations. There were no fixed feasts, except such as were of a domestic nature, and involved no great amount of sacrifices, such as the weekly Sabbath and harvest festival, whose recurrence was determined by the season. Jeroboam's opposition to the worship at Jerusalem first led the priests to think of concentrating all the services of religion at this sanctuary; and with this view they invented new feasts and multiplied the rites connected with them. Subsequently the poets who wrote Exodus and the rest of the Pentateuch referred these ordinances, which the priests had instituted, to the

is made up of fragments of a date later than that of Josias), and Josue, which refers to Deuteronomy. We need not pause to refute this impertinent disarrangement of books and events, by means of which they are made, in spite of themselves, to fit a theory which bids defiance to tradition. Holzinger is right in saying that in one respect Gramberg is a forerunner of Wellhausen, though, of course, he intends this for praise.

Vatke applied the methods of Hegelian philosophy to the solution of the problem: Whence has the Pentateuch come? To understand his theory, we need to remember that Hegel's system of absolute Idealism and evolutionary Pantheism induced Hegel himself to place the Old Testament worship in the second<sup>1</sup> stage of religious development, that, namely, of the 'religions of spiritual individuality,' in which God is regarded as a thinking subject. Among the religions of this class, the Grecian represented the highest form of beauty, the Roman was conspicuous for practical utility, and the Israelite surpassed them both in sublimity!

higher authority of Moses; and, finally, the poetic author of Chronicles recast the history of the kingdom, so as to create the impression that the Levitical ordinances were then already obeyed. The people may have had feasts in honour of Jehovah from their first settlement in Canaan; but there is no certainty that even the most important of them were Mosaic, and, at any rate, they were not observed in accordance with the Mosaic requirements until the days of Josiah; and all the feasts prescribed in the Pentateuch were not in existence even then. The account of the origin of the Passover given in Exodus is self-contradictory and purely mythical. It could not have been instituted in view of their expected departure from Egypt, for Pharaoh had not given them permission to leave; and this permission could not have been foreseen. Exodus was the book of the law found in the temple in the reign of Josias, and the observance of the Passover dates from this time. The Passover, which was celebrated on a single night, and the Feast of Unleavened Bread, which lasted seven days, were at first distinct; but they are blended in Leviticus and Numbers, which show a great advance in the development of the *cultus*. The Feast of Weeks was plainly an invention of the priests, that they might obtain an early supply of the first fruits. Tabernacles, which in previous laws was located indefinitely at the end of the year, and was simply the feast of ingathering, came to be fixed on a particular day of the month, and to be regarded as commemorative of the march through the Wilderness.' Professor Green has, although he is not a Catholic, sufficient respect for the Bible, and sufficient common sense, to make him reject this folly.

<sup>1</sup> The first or lowest stage was that occupied by the ancient religions of the East. Their beliefs and rites were all gross and sensual, and they regarded God as the inherent force everywhere present in nature, in comparison to which the finite, or individual, sinks into nothingness. The third and last stage of religious development was Christianity or—Hegelianism!

The religion of pagan Rome appears to have made the most favourable impression on Vatke. With notions such as these he devoted all his energies to the defence and development of the Fragment-hypothesis; hence it is no wonder that he arrived at the following conclusions.

The true idea of government is not found in the constitution which Moses is said to have established. Even the most cursory examination of the political groundwork of the so-called Mosaic state reveals its abstract, unreal nature. So far from being a great legislator, he had not even the most rudimentary notions of political economy. The Hebrew commonwealth never existed, indeed a Hebrew nationality could never exist but by means of a governmental department, for which the boasted legislator made not the slightest provision. The case stands thus: Of the three indispensable departments of every polity, the legal, the judicial, the executive; in the Mosaic system, the last is utterly wanting, and the other two are imperfectly organized. Moses made no arrangement for the continuance of a legislative body, and to make up for it there is only one casual allusion to a prophet. There are, it is true some rules laid down for the guidance of judicial assemblies, however it must be admitted that for the most part they are obscure and ambiguous. But instead of precise regulations for the executive, as we have a right to expect, we find nothing. We do see, however, in superfluity, what we do not want, a confused mass of *minutiæ* about worship, income of priests, etc.

The Mosaic legislation has, therefore, no connection with the unity of a real political organization or state. It was never intended to be the constitution of a nation. 'Dem mosaischen Staat fehlt mit dem Begriff der wirklichen Herrschaft zugleich die höhere Einheit und die ganze Sphäre des öffentlichen Rechts.' The boasted 'unity of the Pentateuch' arises from the fact that its sphere of influence is confined to the abstract theocratic principle, and to that principle's necessary consequences. Its laws are simply concerned with the improvement of the religious and moral aspects of life, they have nothing to do with the establishment



or with the preservation of civil and political relations. The Pentateuch was, therefore, compiled at a time when the Hebrew people had already attained a certain degree of development. It could have been formed only in the midst of a nation having fixed religious ideas and practices, and its origin is consequently analogous to that of canon law.<sup>1</sup>

Vatke's intention in all this was to re-establish the original theory of De Wette whose concessions to Bleek did not meet with his approval. He would not admit that there was any convincing proof of the Mosaic authorship of the poems in Numbers xxi., nor any reliable tradition to show that Moses promulgated the Decalogue. As regards the relative age of the parts that now make up the Pentateuch, Vatke had his own opinions. The book of the law found in the reign of Josias contained the substance of the older legislation, which, with slight alterations, is to be found in Exodus xiii., xix.-xxiv., xxxii.-xxxiv. Deuteronomy belongs to the time of Jeremias; it was written after the reform introduced by Josias. The last parts of the so-called

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<sup>1</sup> Our readers will find a relief in turning from all this impious raving to look at a work of divine mercy. It is the conversion of Daumer, apparently the only rationalistic interpreter of Scripture at the time that got the grace. G. F. Daumer was one of Hegel's own pupils in philosophy. He became one of the bitterest enemies of Christianity. Though he was a good linguist and poet, some of his notions were remarkably puerile. The Garden of Eden was in Australia, and the Book of Numbers described the first emigration thence to America, and across Behring Straits to Asia! Daumer was so proud of this specimen of exegesis or 'discovery,' that he actually wrote:—'My new system of geography and ethnology is to history what the Copernican system is to astronomy.' With such folly a great deal of wickedness was combined. He maintained that Jehova, the God of the Hebrews, was identical with the Phœnician deity, Moloch; that human sacrifices were commanded in the Old Testament, and also practised until the defeat of the Jehovist party; that the Christian mysteries were infamous; that our countryman, St. Malachy of Armagh, St. Bernard, St. Francis of Assisi, were three cannibals; that Mahommedanism was superior to Christianity, etc. While uttering blasphemies such as these, just a year before his work on *Moloch-worship Among the Ancient Hebrews* appeared, by some mysterious influence he published a book of a very different nature: *The Glories of the Blessed Virgin*. (*Die Glorie der heiligen Jungfrau Maria*. Nuremberg, 1841). It finally led to his conversion on the Feast of the Assumption, 1858, as he often said. His death (December 14, 1875) was most edifying.

Cheyne remarks in his *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*:—'Vatke and George agree in affirming the late composition of the Pentateuch, in denying to Moses any participation in it all, and also in considering the contents as little better than mythical, taking Deuteronomy as the earliest of the several books and probably belonging to the age of Josias and the other books as later still.'

Pentateuchal legislation belong to the period of the exile. It seemed to Vatke impossible 'that a whole nation should suddenly sink from a high stage of religious development to a lower one, as is asserted to have been so often the case in the times of the Judges and the Kings.' It was in this way that the Hegelian critic manipulated the Word of God.<sup>1</sup> We may note in passing that Vatke gave up all this afterwards, just as easily as he had invented it—and adopted another theory.

George, another Hegelian, is the last critic of note that the Fragment school produced. He paid special attention

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<sup>1</sup> Cheyne in his *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, page 133, has the following eulogistic notice of Vatke:—'But beyond question his dominant interest was in Hegel (not in Schleiermacher, be it observed), and it is a noteworthy fact that directly he had mastered Hegel's system, the Old Testament began to appear to him in a new light. Starting from De Wette's conclusions he went with intuitive certainty far beyond his teacher, and his clue to the labyrinth of critical problems he derived from Hegel'; and page 136—'The step he was now about to take in the constructive criticism of the Old Testament could have been taken only by a thorough Hegelian; no other critic of his time would so intuitively have discerned order in the midst of conflicting phenomena.'

It is significant that in proportion as the critics talk about the conflicting phenomena of the Old Testament, they tend to deny the existence of the great historical personages, the saints of God, whose lives it narrates, and to reduce these holy men to mere shadowy mythological concepts. Cheyne's own views on this point may be learned from his article in the current number of the *Nineteenth Century*, 'A Turning Point in Old Testament Study.' It is a qualified encomium of Winckler, one of the foremost rationalists of the present day, who, in his *Geschichte Israels*, attempts to make out that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, are 'lunar heroes.' A few sentences will show what is the treatment of the Inspired Word which Cheyne has to a great extent approved of. It will be well to quote also some of Cheyne's words of praise. He says: 'The work before us is a perfect specimen of that free, disinterested treatment of things so much dearer to Matthew Arnold in 1864 than Colenzo's mixture of the practical and the scientific spirit. Of revolutionary or even reforming ecclesiastical designs Winckler is absolutely innocent. He appeals to a public which simply aims at a nearer approximation to the truth. It would, indeed, be too optimistic to assert that our popular theology has become historical, but even among practical Churchmen it is at least a tolerated opinion that Abraham was not an historical personage, either in the sense supposed by the older orthodoxy, or in the sense which is winning much favour among more recent theologians. Winckler thinks it right to treat Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and even Moses, Joshua, the Judges, Saul, David, and Solomon in a perfectly disinterested spirit, from the point of view of a criticism founded upon the facts of a comparative study of the legends of the East.' . . . 'Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob then, are lunar heroes. In the case of Abraham this is, according to Winckler, doubly certain. His father Terah comes from Ur in Chaldea, the city of the south Babylonian Moon-worship (Nannar), but in order to reach Canaan, he must halt at Harran, which is the second great centre of lunar worship, in the region of the Euphratean civilization, &c., &c. Thus Winckler makes contributions not merely to

to what he considered the relative age of the constituent parts of the Pentateuch, and by applying the doctrines of Hegel and of Schleiermacher to the *soi-disant* history of the Hebrews he obtained the following results. In the Old Testament, three stages of development are distinctly visible. In the initial or rudimentary one, we meet with historical passages in Genesis and also certain parts of Exodus and Numbers, as is evident from their poetical and mythical character, though on the other hand there are parts which have been retouched or which belong to a later date. The next period of development was that of the

archæology but to geography, and if it be said that his geographical proposals are arbitrary, I deny that.' . . . 'And how comes Sarah to be at once Abraham's sister and his wife? Because Sarah, being the counterpart of Istar, has a double rôle. She is the daughter of the Moon-god, and therefore Abraham's sister; she is the wife of Tammuz, and therefore Abraham's wife. For Abraham too, according to Winckler, has a double rôle; he is the son of the Moon-god, but he is also the heroic reflection of Tammuz. Of Isaac, little is recorded; he dwells at Beersheba, the "well of the Seven-god, that is the Moon-god." Jacob, however, is much more definitely described. His father-in-law, Laban, reminds us by his very name of Lebea, the moon, and Laban's two daughters, Leah and Rachel, represent respectively the new moon and the full moon. Dinah, Leah's daughter, represents Istar, the daughter of the Moon-god, and with her six brothers makes up the number of the days of the week, one of which in fact (*Dies Veneris*, Friday) has a female deity. The respective numbers of the descendants of the two wives (excluding Joseph as a solar hero) are also significant for the calendar.'

'Joseph is a hero second in importance to none: his name is not properly that of a tribe; Ephraim and Manasses are the tribes which he impersonates. In a larger sense, however, he impersonates all the tribes which subsequently formed the kingdom of Northern Israel, and of whom he may also be regarded as the patron deity. The key to his divine character lies in Genesis xxxvii. 10, where Joseph dreams that the sun, the moon, and the eleven stars did homage to him. The interpretation given in verse 10 is "I (Jacob), thy mother and thy brethren." But the mother has no place in an act of homage, and it is in the South Arabian mythology, not in the Babylonian, that the sun is feminine. In the original story, then, it was the Moon-god (Jacob), with his children, who bowed down before the Sun-god (Joseph), his son. The rest of the story of Joseph now becomes clear. The lunar heroes, Abraham and Jacob, fetched their spouses from the land of Moon-worship; the solar hero Joseph goes to Egypt, the land of Sun-worship, to obtain for his wife the daughter of a priest of Heliopolis. But, like Abraham, Joseph also represents Tammuz, the sun of spring-tide, who dies and passes into the underworld, whither Istar descends to bring him back to earth. This is why he is cast into the pit, and again raised out of it. Hence another reason for Joseph's going to Egypt, for Egypt represents the southern region of the sky, in which the sun stands in the winter when Tammuz is dead. That the tribes of Israel (necessarily twelve, because of the signs of the Zodiac), together with their ancestors, are connected with an astral myth is not a new idea, but it has been worked out by Winckler with greater fulness of knowledge than by any previous writer.'

Our readers are by this time in all probability tired of this arrant nonsense, and have no desire to know how Winckler transforms Saul and Jonathan,



poets and prophets, during which reason was relegated to the second place and feeling or sentiment, reigned supreme. Internal evidence shows that Deuteronomy was composed about the end of this period, and under the influence of the prophets. The third and final period witnessed the full development of reason. It was then that the last books of the Old Testament were written, they are eminently rational and reflect faithfully the spirit of their time. It was the age of the hierarchy, particularly as this was developed after the return from Babylon. Leviticus was written at this time, with parts of Exodus and of Numbers. The development of the theocratic principle naturally led to a corresponding evolution in all other religious ideas, and consequently to an expansion of the law. We see the first signs of this religious movement in Deuteronomy; we see its complete results in Leviticus.

It is quite plain that the last two systems contain the germ of the Graf-Wellhausen theory. Lest, however, some readers might think that these systems were quite obsolete and possessed at present only a paleological interest,<sup>1</sup> it may

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David and Solomon, into solar, lunar and astral heroes, so we shall spare them further quotation. When reading the blasphemous utterances of the higher critics, there comes over one's mind the fear that 'tradidit illos Deus in reprobum sensum.' Cheyne almost ends his article with the words: 'The correctness of Winckler's solutions largely depends on the soundness of his textual criticism. I have often strong objections to make to these solutions, but if scholars, after undergoing a long and patient training, should agree with Winckler's textual criticism more nearly than with my own, I shall no doubt accept the verdict, for by that time I shall certainly have gone over to that bold critic myself.'

<sup>1</sup> We may be permitted a further remark. It is on the necessity of ever keeping in mind the underlying, essential connexion that exists between all these rationalist systems of Pentateuchal exegesis. In opposition to the truth, they are one. Much as they may vary among themselves, still these differences are only external and accidental. Wellhausen's theory is but the logical development of a long series of untrue statements. To understand thoroughly the latest phase of Higher Criticism, and to know what Wellhausen has done, it is necessary to begin at the beginning. And Wellhausen's popularity at present would not have been possible but for his predecessors. Not only did they prepare a reading public for him, but they made 'the brilliant remarks and courageous guesses' which he has since formulated into a system. The isolated utterances of every Pentateuchal critic in hostility to revelation, have been combined by him into an organic whole. In fact, the solidarity that exists among critics, is one of the things on which they plume themselves. And this unity is well described in the following words of one of their greatest living opponents. In a reply to some of them, Sayce writes thus:—'The forefront of my offending seems to be that I have spoken of the

be as well to quote once more the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, 1901. The passage will show what esteem and influence among critics Vatke and George possess at the present day.<sup>1</sup> It is as follows :—

TRUE METHOD.—Meanwhile, two Hegelian writers, starting from the original position of De Wette, and moving on lines apart from the beaten track of criticism, had actually effected the solution of the most important problem in the whole sphere of Old Testament study. Vatke and George have the honour of being the first by whom the question of the historical sequence of the several stages of the law was attacked on a sound method, with full mastery over the available evidence, and with a clear insight into the far-reaching scope of the problem.

We shall have occasion to treat of this in the history of the Development-hypothesis. Here, in conclusion, it need only be said that the follies of the Fragment-hypothesis caused it to fall into disrepute. It started by asserting that the repetitions in the Pentateuch, and the want of sequence in its parts, showed that it was made up of numerous fragments. But there is evidence of unity and order, of which the

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critics as a body, without pointing out that whereas Professor X. is disposed to admit that the Israelites were once in Egypt, Professor Y. refuses to make any such admission at all. But I have nothing to do with these distinctions, or with the rival theories of critics within their own microcosm. They all start from the same principles, follow the same method, and agree in their general conclusions. It is against their method and principles, that I have raised a protest, and it is their general conclusions with which I have endeavoured to show that archæological discovery is irreconcilable. It is quite indifferent to me, whether Dillmann rejects the Grafian hypothesis, or whether Kittel is blamed by his fellow-workers for making too ample concessions to traditional views. Professor Cheyne's reply to Professor Driver's article in the *Contemporary Review* for March, 1894, seems to be quite unanswerable; for a few feet forward, more or less, does not matter much, when one is in a bog.—'Biblical Critics on the Warpath,' *Contemporary Review*, Nov. 1896.

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand it is amusing to read in the *Studien und Kritiken* (1837) De Wette's estimate of the theory of 'these three young critics' as he calls Vatke, George and Von Bohlen. He suggests that there was a reason for their new hypothesis, viz., that the criticism of the Pentateuch might go the entire round of possible conjectures. And he sarcastically observes that 'the only thing wanting, to make it attractive is truth,' and says truly enough 'whether from a dread of individualism inspired by the Hegelian philosophy, a cacoethes for development, or a love of paradox, they have joined the history of the Hebrews not to the grand creations of Moses, but have suspended its origin in airy nothing.'

Fragment-hypothesis has no explanation to give. As Strack says in Herzog's *Bibl. Encycl.* (art. Hexateuch):—

Der Engländer A. Geddes, J. S. Vater, und T. Hartmann liessen, hauptsächlich Mangel an Zusammenhang und Wiederholungen als Gründe angehend, den Pentateuch aus einer grossen Anzahl einzelner Fragmente entstanden sein. Diese Ansicht erwies sich dadurch als unhaltbar, dass ordnende Hand sowohl im Grossen als auch in vielen Einzelheiten unverkennbar ist; auch half sie zu keiner Einsicht in das Werden des Pentateuchs.

The so-called orthodox Protestants, as Hengstenberg, Hävernicks, and Ranke, made the Pentateuchal question a test of belief or unbelief: against which proceeding George entered a vehement protest, just as his successors do. He was at the same time attacked on the other side by some of his fellow-rationalists, viz., Bertheau, Bleek, and Stähelin. Bertheau's contention was that the middle books could and should be divided into seven groups, each consisting of seven classes of Decalogues (490 commandments in all), which, beyond all doubt, were given by Moses, even though he possibly did not write them down. The other enactments were added subsequently, and at a still later period the historical passages. (Like other critics that are so dogmatic for a season, Bertheau retracted all this afterwards.) The two other opponents of George, Bleek and Stähelin, took up again the literary criticism, and in this way contributed to the introduction of the Supplement-hypothesis, which, with the permission of our readers, will be treated of in another article.

But, meanwhile, one specimen of the critical objections to the authenticity of the Pentateuch may be of interest. As we saw above, the supporters of the Fragment-hypothesis do not, as a rule, employ verbal criticism; they do not reckon up the number of times a part of speech occurs, or insist on peculiarities of style, but they rely on real criticism, whether the source of the objection be a geographical, historical, or archæological difficulty. And these objections are as long-lived as the other innumerable calumnies directed against the Catholic Church and all that she holds dear. It is not unusual to see some that were put forward by Bleek, etc., and answered by Catholic scholars (*e.g.*, Welte, Smith,



Vigouroux, Cornely) re-appear unblushing as ever in the pages of leading critics at the present day. (Strack, Holzinger, etc.) This is the case with the following objection.

The first 'geographical' difficulty is due to the fact that the expression *beeber hajjarden*, generally translated 'beyond the Jordan,' is often used in Deuteronomy to denote the country lying to the east of that river. It is quite obvious, say the critics, that we have here a convincing proof of non-Mosaic authorship. He who led the people out of Egypt did not cross the Jordan; whereas the man that wrote *beeber hajjarden*, in reference to the eastern desert and to the land of Moab, must have written in Canaan. Take, for instance, Deuteronomy i. 1: 'These are the words which Moses spoke to all Israel beyond the Jordan in the wilderness'; and *ib.* v. 5: 'Beyond the Jordan, in the land of Moab.' These examples are relied on by Bleek, and afterwards by Colenso.

But this apparently formidable objection admits of a perfectly satisfactory answer. *Beeber hajjarden* is, no doubt, used to denote the country on the other side of the Jordan in reference to the speaker; *e.g.*, in the unfulfilled desire of Moses: <sup>1</sup> 'I will pass over, therefore, and will see this excellent land beyond the Jordan.' But, paradoxical as it may be at first sight, it denotes also the country on the speaker's side of that river. It is employed by a trans-Jordanic speaker to designate trans-Jordanic territory, and by a cis-Jordanic writer to designate cis-Jordanic territory.

As regards the first usage, in the course of the very speech our opponents refer to,<sup>2</sup> Moses, who never crossed the Jordan, says: <sup>3</sup> 'And we took at that time the land out of the hand of the two kings of the Amorrrhites, *beeber hajjarden* [virtually equivalent to 'on this side of Jordan'—if it means 'beyond,' it does so in a purely conventional sense, as will be explained further on], from the torrent Arnon unto the mount Hermon.'<sup>4</sup> Everyone knows

<sup>1</sup> Deut. iii. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. i. 6; iv. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Deut. iii. 8.

<sup>4</sup> The Vulgate has here: 'Tulimusque illo in tempore terram de manu duorum regum Amorrrhaorum, qui erant trans Jordanem: a torrente Arnon usque ad montem Hermon.' Lest, however, its words, 'qui erant,' should

that the Arnon and Mount Hermon, and the land of the Amorrites that Moses took, are east of the Jordan ; therefore, *beeber hajjarden* has here a trans-Jordanic significance. The whole speech is given in *oratio directa*, just as it fell from the lips of Moses, and is, moreover, reported by himself. But a writer in the newest Hebrew lexicon (Clarendon Press), apparently in the interests of higher criticism, makes the sapient remark that ‘the writer (D) ascribes his own standpoint to Moses.’ This is higher criticism ! On the assumption that the words in question were used by Moses, the chimerical cis-Jordanic writer in the seventh century B.C. is invoked by the critics to put from his own standpoint into the mouth of Moses, addressing the Israelites on the east of the Jordan a thousand years before, a meaning which would be not only quite irrelevant, but which is incompatible with the context. Why do not the critics at once put Arnon and Hermon into Western Palestine, and say that Moses meant ‘beyond the Jordan’ ? No ; in Deuteronomy iii. 8 it is plain that he referred to the side of the Jordan he was on, and also in i. 1-5, the two passages which Bleek and Colenso misinterpret.

Now, for an example of the opposite usage ; *i.e.*, a cis-Jordanic writer applying *beeber hajjarden* to cis-Jordanic territory. We have it in Josue ix. 1 : ‘Now, when all these things were heard of, all the kings *beeber hajjarden* [*i.e.*, on the west of the Jordan] that dwelt in the places near the sea and on the coasts of the great sea’ ; *i.e.*, the Mediterranean. This, surely, is intelligible ; but the Clarendon Press *Hebrew Lexicon* remarks here, ‘(D) from standpoint of those just crossed.’ Really, a very hard task is imposed on the poor Deuteronomist : First, he had to go over the Jordan in order to ascribe his own standpoint to Moses, and now he has to come back in order to qualify himself for writing history from the standpoint of those who have just crossed. This is more higher criticism ! Why cannot Moses and Josue be

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create a difficulty for some of our readers, it may be observed that in the Hebrew there is nothing to correspond to them ! The substantive verb is not used and the passage reads exactly as translated into English above.

let alone, and why may we not learn Hebrew idiom from them? <sup>1</sup>

Lastly comes the best example of all; a passage in which *meeber lajjarden* is used of both trans-Jordanic and cis-Jordanic territories. It is Numbers xxxii. 19. 'We will not inherit with them on yonder side of the Jordan [*meeber lajjarden*], or forward; because our inheritance is fallen to us on this side of the Jordan [*meeber hajjarden*], eastward.' In each clause respectively, an adverb determining the relative position is added, in order to remove the ambiguity of the expression. This is often done also in the case of *beeber hajjarden*: 'towards the sunrise' is added in Deuteronomy iv. 41, 47, 49; Josue i. 15; xii. 1; xiii. 8, 32; xviii. 7; xx. 8; 1 Paralipomenon vi. 63; in order to make it clear that the east of the Jordan is meant: and for a similar reason, where there is reference to the west side, 'seawards' is added in Josue v. 1; xii. 7; xxii. 7; and 'towards the sunset' in Deuteronomy xi. 30.

Our readers may very well ask what they are to think of this Protean expression 'beyond the Jordan' which has opposite meanings at the speaker's will, and which if it is ever to get an independent and fixed signification of its own, needs to be determined by an adjunct. One of the greatest authorities on the subject, the late (Archbishop) Smith explains it thus in his work on the *Pentateuch*, page 433:—

Its proper signification, when used of a river, is bank, margin, side, river-land. This is equivalently admitted by Gesenius in his

<sup>1</sup> This usage may be illustrated by an example taken from a much later date, and referring to another river. In 1 (3) Kings iv. 24 Solomon's kingdom, which extended to the western bank of the Euphrates (in the Old Testament the river *par excellence*), is said to be *eber hannahar* (Vulgate, *trans fumen*), but the Authorised Version, correctly, 'on this side the river.' Nevertheless the *Oxford Lexicon* has 'beyond the river,' because this Book of Kings was written in Babylonia! Higher criticism again; and Professor Driver, the writer of the article in the *Lexicon*, refers to his own *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, p. 191, 'where we read as follows: 'The intermediary verses, iv. 20-26, interrupt the connection, and seem to be an insertion, which the expression in v. 24—'beyond the river' (i.e., the Euphrates)—applied to the country west of the Euphrates, and implying, consequently, a Babylonian standpoint (see Ezra iv. 10), shows, cannot be earlier than the period of the exile.' Again in 1 Esd. iv. 10 the meaning of *eber hannahar* is 'this side of the river.' The true explanation is, that a man writing in Judea is speaking of Samaria.



*Thesaurus*, and amply justified by Fürst in his *Lexicon*. From this definition it is clear that, of itself, the word does not imply the other side, more than this side: and that it is, after all, the immediate context that is to determine its exact bearing.

Nevertheless, seeing that in Arabic, *abar* signifies 'to cross over, and that in Assyrian, the twin-dialect of Hebrew, *ebru* signifies 'the region beyond,' it may very well be that the Hebrew *eber* means 'beyond.' The verbal stem *abar*, from which it is derived, certainly means to cross. And this agrees with what Smith himself says, on page 430, namely that *beeber hajjarden* would have been used by Abraham and his immediate descendants in Canaan to denote the country lying to the east of the Jordan, that the expression like other similar ones was retained by the people during the sojourn in Egypt, and that it was quite intelligible to them and caused no surprise, whatever,<sup>1</sup> when Moses used it in the land of Moab. And the Archbishop points to the fact that in after-ages *Peraea* (Περαν του Ιορδανου) was the proper name of the north-east provinces.

[To be continued.]

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

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<sup>1</sup> This may be made more intelligible by examples. The name 'Trastevere,' which means 'beyond the Tiber,' dates from the time when the whole of the imperial city lay on the eastern bank of the river. Hence it cannot be used in accordance with its original and proper signification, except by one who is on the same side as are the seven hills. But the name is employed by everyone quite irrespectively of the bank of the Tiber on which one happens to be. You hear it on both sides of the Ponte Sisto, and though you hear it in the Lungara, there is not the least danger of mistake, because 'Trastevere' has become the inalienable appellation of the district that begins at the foot of the Janiculum, or Montorio. The word 'Alsace' affords another good example of the limitation of a name to designate a particular locality exclusively, so that in course of time a common noun has become a proper one, and has lost its relative significance to gain an absolute one. Alsace virtually means 'the other side,' it comes from the mediæval Latin *Alisatia* and the Old High German *Elisazzo*, which mean 'incola peregrinus,' 'Bewohner des andern Rheinufers'—'a foreigner from the other side of the Rhine.' (See Kluge's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, s. v. Elend.) But at the present day 'Alsace' is, to many nations, on this side of the Rhine.

‘LUKE DELMEGE’<sup>1</sup>

WE have once again to offer our hearty congratulations to Father Sheehan. His new novel, *Luke Delmege*, though not in all respects up to the standard of *My New Curate*, is still a book of uncommon interest. The phases of clerical life with which it deals are touched by the hand of an expert. The humour and the pathos of the story will bring smiles and tears to many a fireside in Ireland and beyond the seas. Irishmen of all classes, layman and priest, merchant and manufacturer, the reformer of antiquated methods in agriculture and industry, the pioneer of technical education, the zealot and the *doctrinaire*, will all find food for reflection in the book. It will help them, if they need help, to realize the difficulties of their task. It will do but little, we fear, to enable them to solve the riddle that puzzles so many theoretical philanthropists.

The deep note of religious faith echoes through the book from beginning to end, but the light note of humour tingles on the surface. The development of this latter vein, since the days of *Geoffrey Austen* is quite remarkable, and to a great extent accounts for the widespread popularity of Father Sheehan's recent works.

Humour that takes the critical turn is a dangerous possession; but Father Sheehan has kept his gift well in control; and there is not a sally of his wit or a gleam of his comic descriptions that any critic could seriously find fault with.

Lightly, sparingly, and with a sympathy begotten of intimate acquaintance, does he depict the foibles, the peculiarities, the eccentricities of his brethren. No one assuredly could do it more mildly and write a novel. We have heard, no doubt, the cry of ‘Wolf! Wolf!’ It is hard to write anything nowadays without someone shouting

<sup>1</sup> *Luke Delmege*. By the Rev. P. A. Sheehan, Author of *My New Curate*, etc. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1901. 6s.

‘Wolf’ from behind his anonymous hedge. The man must, however, be badly off, indeed, for a wolf who seeks one in the author of *Luke Delmege* and *My New Curate*.

At a time when we are all talking so loudly of the havoc wrought by the corrupt literature that pours into our country from across the channel we cannot but feel deeply grateful to one who has done a man’s part, and done it so effectively, to stem the tide. Father Sheehan’s novel may have its defects; it may not be all that we might wish; we shall not conceal our dislike for many of its features; but in substance it is a good book; and should it find a place alongside *My New Curate* in every Irish cottage the home will be the richer and the better for its possession.

Maynooth, we observe, has come in for its share of the author’s sly and pungent criticism; but Maynooth has withstood the shock of far more wicked assaults with comparative equanimity. She was not much affected by the caricatures of Lever or of Carleton. The satire of Thackeray and Carlyle left her undisturbed. Now, that she is putting on the coat of her second century, she is not likely to become more sensitive than she used to be to the shafts of humorists and of novel-writers. They are all welcome to try their hand. If they have any suggestion to make for her good that is practical and sound, a thing that rarely occurs, we have no doubt it will get due consideration. If not, those responsible for the College will probably listen to their babble whilst they follow their own guiding star.

It must not be thought that Maynooth is the only college in the world that sends out a ‘first of first’ man with a good conceit of himself. The author of *Luke Delmege* has possibly heard of the Cambridge Senior Wrangler who, with his academic honours thick and fresh upon him, went up to London and drove to the theatre. Just as he made his appearance a great outburst of cheering arose from the assembly, and he immediately proceeded to bow in all directions, acknowledging the cheers. To his great disgust, however, he soon learned that the cheers were intended, not for himself, but for King George IV., who was just then entering his box.



Maynooth also shares with many other colleges the privilege of sending out into the world men whose knowledge is, for the time being at all events, crude and ill-digested. We ourselves had the privilege of meeting, some years ago, a distinguished Oxford graduate, who had just carried away the prize of his university in Modern History, but was, nevertheless, under the impression that Daniel O'Connell was a Protestant. We had great difficulty in persuading him that he was mistaken.

Luke Delmege combines the defects of these representatives of Oxford and Cambridge. He goes forth from Maynooth with his head turned; he is elated by success, carried away by his worldly hopes. Still worse, he is utterly ignorant of the manners of the drawing-room; he does not know when it is his duty to open the door for the ladies; he has not seen the most recent numbers of the *Lancet* and the *Medical Press*; he is not able to hold his own in the illuminating conversation of the Sumners and the Louis Wilsons; he dare not go to the piano to sing: he shouts his ballad from the chimney-piece; he has not read Gabriele d'Annunzio's last; he has never even heard of Guy de Maupassant: terrible drawbacks of Maynooth education, to which the attention of the Trustees ought to be called at the earliest possible moment. They might surely be expected to get up a drawing-room in Maynooth in which those of their students who have no drawing-rooms at home, and who know not how to profit by the instructions of Valuy or the 'Manual of Etiquette,' might be taught how to stand at a piano and to hand around tea. At this hour of the day young clerics might at least be supplied with an up-to-date library that would bring them into line with the age, and enable them to speak with authority of Zola and of Ouida to those intellectual giants, the Sumners and Louis Wilsons, of our country towns and villages.

A mere knowledge of scholastic philosophy is not, it appears, after all, the best equipment for a man who has to face the philosophies of the world. Leo XIII. may think otherwise; but then Leo XIII. has a good deal to learn from

young men with progressive views. Rusty weapons dug up from the saw-pits of the middle ages are expected to stand against the instruments of precision brought to bear upon them by modern science. As well might you put the effigy of a knight in doublet and breastplate in front of a Maxim gun. Just fancy your *Sic argumentaris, Domine*, applied to the reasoning of a Huxley or a Mallock? Why it would go to pieces in your hands before the dialectics of the new woman, to say nothing of the new man? Only think of the Maynooth stripling who has been immersed for six or seven years in the mere theoretical study of Christian principles, and who has not devoted more than a single year to the department of ethics and sociology, presuming to have an opinion on questions of politics and economics in the presence of Mr. Taper and Mr. Tadpole, of those thoughtful experts, graduates, perhaps, of a University, who have been ruminating on such questions all their lives; or in face of practical men of the world, trained to business habits and comprehensive views, in the public-houses and pawn-shops of the country!

At least if the juvenile cleric wishes to rise above his immediate surroundings, and to take an intelligent interest, even though he take no active part, in the great movements of thought that agitate the world, let him not go forth without having grappled with the antagonists of his time. Let him make an honest endeavour to grasp the principles of Kant and of Spencer, of Comte and of Haeckel, of Lasalle and of Karl Marx. Let him do it at first hand and not through the pauperizing medium of a text-book. This certainly has a fine sound. But we wonder what the professors of *Higher Philosophy* have been doing in Maynooth for the past ten or fifteen years. Luke Delmege had, we believe, left the College just before they came. In so far we sympathize with him. But it is not the philosophical faculty alone that is responsible for his outfit. He is the product of the College as a whole. He must have had the advantage of being trained in the theological school and in the school of character and discipline by some of the greatest churchmen of the century. That between them

they should have turned out the blundering 'idiot' their 'first of first' man proves himself to be could not be regarded as very complimentary, if there was any evidence of an intention on the part of the author to represent Luke Delmege as the best that they could educate. But, in our opinion, there is no such evidence. The hero is from the start a strange and peculiar personage. As such he is treated all along the line. Foreigners and others may, no doubt, regard him as representative of Maynooth education. But after all what great matter does it make how they regard him?

We have heard of persons who think that in all this Father Sheehan has dealt an unnatural blow at the reputation of his *Alma Mater*. There are few, we imagine, so narrow-minded as to share in this view. We prefer to think that the interest of the author of *Luke Delmege* in his own college is not the less warm and sincere because he has spoken so freely of what he regards as some of her shortcomings. Whether he is justified in his strictures is a matter that we should like to leave to others to decide. All we can say is that to us they appear supremely ridiculous. It is but natural that those who are jealous of the fair name of the College should object to see her held up to the scoffs of Englishmen and Americans. But then, of course, everything depends on the intention of the writer and on the importance that need be attached to the opinion of those who generalize and conclude from the specimens presented to them. If she has turned out a 'Luke Delmege,' has she not also turned out a parish priest of Doneraile? The greatest tribute to her position in the ecclesiastical world is that so many persons should be concerned about her merits and defects. She has in hand, in truth, an undertaking that is serious and weighty enough not to trouble herself about trifles. So great is the variety of her interests and activities that she may safely welcome criticism on many details of her work. Minds of a worldly tinge may not be able to judge her methods without bias. Enough for her if she attains with the great mass of the young men she sends out into the world the standard of St. Bonaventure, *Incedunt securius, resistunt fortius*.



It must not be forgotten, moreover, that at Maynooth there was planted in the innermost recesses of Luke's heart a seedling that never entirely failed, but ultimately took root and came to a fruitful and happy maturity. It was on the day of his ordination that he first became fully conscious of its presence.

How paltry every human ambition seemed then ; how ragged the tinsel of kings, how cheap and worthless the pinchbeck of earthly thrones ! How his soul burned to emulate the heroism of saints—to go abroad and be forgotten by the world and remembered only by Christ—to live and die amongst the lepers and the insane—to pass by one swift stroke of the dull sword of the executioner in China or Japan to his immortal crown !

Compare these early sentiments with those of the chastened and toilworn priest at the end of his short career, and after all you have the key to his education and his character.

It has been remarked, we believe, that Father Sheehan's clerical personages are, on the whole, not typical of the Irish priesthood. To a certain extent there are grounds for the criticism ; but, then, it is not necessary, for the purposes of a novel, that they should be typical of the whole body. It is enough that they should be either representative of a class or that they should be painted from life ; and that there are in the country specimens of the kind described, few, we think, would venture to deny. After all, poets and novel-writers seldom lay hold of characters that are genuinely typical. In the commonplace, work-a-day representatives of any calling or profession they take, as a rule, but little interest. They are attracted, perhaps through the influence of some subtle affinity, by the oddities of genius ; they revel in the company of strange comrades ; they require someone with distinctive traits, with salient features, with some natural characteristics unusually developed. If they do not find the personage they are looking for, they invent him, or they exaggerate and dress up such material as they discover. By such devices, by such intermingling of fact and of fiction, they manage to instruct and to amuse. One touch of nature makes the whole world kin, and the amusement derived

from the foibles, the weaknesses, the eccentricities of individuals, held up to nature's mirror, contributes no small share to the general stock of common sense. No one, for instance, would take the curate whose aesthetic taste finds adequate satisfaction in the picture of 'Elliman's Embrocation' as typical of any but the rarest and most outlandish. Yet, Father Sheehan's joke is not, to say the least, calculated to provide him with imitators.

It is also put forth that these descriptions of clerical life are liable to convey to the laity, to those outside the Church and to those outside the country, a false impression of the Irish clergy, and possibly to shock the finer feelings of those for whose perversion the millstone is the penalty. We confess that we have heard this charge brought against the book with mingled feelings. On the whole, we would say that the good opinion of people who are capable of being shocked at these descriptions is of very paltry value. A little criticism that is not malignant is good for all men who are not hypocrites or fools. We distrust the piety of Tartufe and the professions of Mr. Pecksniff. We are not all perfect, and, if we think the laity imagine that we are, we must be living in a paradise of our own creation. The Irish clergy are loved by the people for their all-redeeming qualities, and, perhaps, not a little also for those very human characteristics which Father Sheehan has reproduced. They bring them nearer to the popular heart; they establish connecting links with the faithful which are stronger than any 'hoops of steel.' Rarely, indeed, do they offer umbrage even to the weaklings; they are held in awe before *unum de pusillis istis*.

There are in the book a few things, perhaps, on the verge of propriety that might well have been omitted. Members of the parochial clergy are not numerous, we imagine, who would suggest to a young priest, fresh from his ordination, that he might violate or ignore the diocesan statutes. There are also many polite attentions of society that are quite becoming in lay people, but are out of place in an ecclesiastic, particularly in a priest—attentions, too, that are least expected by those who are best educated and most refined.

It is probable that in the future, as in the past, the Irish clergy will look for the ideal in such matters to St. Charles Borromeo and St. Vincent de Paul, to Jean Jacques Olier and the Council of Trent, rather than to the lofty personages created to give them hints and suggestions by the author of *Luke Delmege*.

As for those outside the Church, there are many things in the book that ought to attract them; and they are more likely to be impressed by a picture drawn from nature, however imperfect it may be, than by one evolved from the recesses of the imagination. If they are still dissatisfied let them look nearer home and see what they have to find. In the case of foreigners, there are, no doubt, some grounds for thinking that they may draw conclusions that are not justified from Father Sheehan's book. *Videbitur infra*.

As far as we are concerned, the faults we have to find with *Luke Delmege* are faults of manner and of method rather than of motive or of delineation.

The action of the story seems to us not to be well maintained. The connection of the various incidents with the main subject of the narrative and with one another is often involved in a sort of nebulous haze. It would look as if there were too many characters introduced to allow the interest to be fixed on any but a few. One might drop the book at the end of any chapter without feeling irresistibly drawn to follow it to the end.

Again, the author is much too fond, in our opinion, of throwing at the heads of his readers the names of foreign writers. It may look learned, but it can scarcely escape the note of pedantry. They come, in all his books, in a regular procession—Goethe, Kant, Klopstock, Novalis, Richter, Wieland, etc. That the author is deeply read in German philosophy and German poetry we are quite willing to believe. We should, however, credit it with no less freedom did he not obtrude the evidences of his knowledge so very persistently.

If foreign words must be introduced it would be as well to have them spelled correctly. Such words as 'Commissionaire' (page 291), 'bonhommie' (page 357),



'Dame de St. Esprit' (page 376), 'denouement' (page 550), would require revision. We are pretty sure also that Charcot does not speak of an 'idée fixée,' although, of course, it would be grammatically correct. Then a 'pfennig' (page 291) is not the hundredth part of a franc, but the hundredth part of a mark. No one on earth could mistake a pfennig for a franc. There is, however, a nickel coin of ten pfennigs that might easily be mistaken for a franc. There is no one more liable to overlook errors and misprints than the person who first committed them to paper.

We saw not long ago a very strong and patriotic pronouncement of the author of *Luke Delmege* on the Irish language and its claims upon Irishmen of the present day. We are quite sure the pronouncement was sincere; but we are somewhat astonished that the author of such popular sentiments can scarcely find an Irish name for any of his heroes or heroines. Geoffrey Austen, Charlie Travers, Gwendoline Oliver, Hubert Deane, Helen Bellamy, Bittra Campion, Father Letheby, Mr. Ormsby, Dr. Calthrop Mrs. Wenham, Luke Delmege, Barbara Wilson, Amiel Lefevril, Canon Murray, have no very Celtic sound about them. From an enthusiast about the tongue of the Gael we should have expected something more distinctly Irish. Is it impossible to associate distinction with a Carroll, or a Sullivan, or an O'Connell? We thought the McCarthys were good for something besides 'welting the flure.' The most despicable character in the book bears the name of Fitzgerald. We refer to the friend of the Prince of Wales. 'Wire me, Fitzgerald.' 'Say Fitzgerald recommended it.'

Perhaps Father Sheehan knows best what his public likes. He may have taken his Irish readers at their own estimate, knowing the weakness of so many amongst them for the style and title of people whom they regard as their betters. But then we should not quite expect that a seer and a prophet would allow himself to be influenced by the vitiated taste of the public. Is not his mission to educate and reform? Has he not proclaimed from the house-tops that Irish speech and Irish sentiment, and the ideal of

Irish saints and sages and scholars, constitute the only lever that can bring back the race to a sense of its dignity, the only barrier that can save it from destruction and guide it along the path congenial to its progress? When we think of this, and when we see that all the English clerics are models in their line, and that all the Irish ones, though good enough in their way, are still replete with deficiencies, bred in imperfection, and when we meet with an O'Shaughnessy and a Fitzgerald only to laugh them to scorn, whilst the Sheldons and the Drysdales and the Godfreys are intended to excite envy and admiration, we find ourselves face to face with a curious problem and we make our own reflections on the value of some of the pronouncements we hear about 'our grand old tongue,' about the pressing claims of Celtic civilization and 'the undying spirit of the Gael.'

Father Sheehan, no doubt, wrote for English and American readers, as well as for the people of Ireland. He is the very last person, we are quite sure, to whom the intention could be imputed of holding up his own countrymen to the ridicule of foreigners; and yet we can scarcely deny that some things at least in his book, whether he wished it or not, are calculated to leave the impression that he has done so on the mind.

Far be it from us to minimize the importance of refinement, of a gentlemanly bearing, of a knowledge of the art of life, of an acquaintance with the rules of propriety, of correctness of speech and precision of thought. If amongst the Irish clergy there are some who attach but little value to such things, in that they do not stand alone. They have brethren in every country in the world. Perhaps if in Ireland they had turned their backs upon the people who stood by them in evil days as they stand by them now, and had sought more refined and cultivated company, they might be greater adepts in the world's ways, and might even hold their own with the Sheldons and the Drysdales; but then, perhaps, too, another side of the picture might not be quite so pleasant to contemplate.

It is self-evident that the man who in his own person represents the two greatest moving forces in the world—religion and education—ought to seek to elevate others to his own standard rather than allow himself to sink to theirs. But then on the bleak mountain side and in the sequestered valley, by the storm-tossed ocean and over the desolate moor, the veneer of conventionality meets with considerable friction. That some of it should be rubbed off in the turmoil of life is easily intelligible. Meantime the well-spring of kindness and charity often becomes purer and more abundant where nature rules in her lonely majesty, and its vivifying streams flow out more profusely over the fields for which Providence intended them. Where we have the essential we need not complain too much at the absence of the accessory. In the great majority of cases we have both. The one is usually the result, the natural embellishment of the other. No individual character in Father Sheehan's book would, perhaps, indicate anything to the contrary. But taking them all in all they would seem to make the balance incline to the other side.

If we have spoken thus plainly about what we regard as some of the defects of Father Sheehan's work, it is certainly not because we are blind to its merits or insensible to its beauty. On the contrary, we should like to do the fullest justice to its many admirable qualities—to its quaint humour, its bright and lifelike pictures, its easy yet vivid style, its evidence of sympathy, of penetration, and of insight.

We can forgive a good deal for the sake of Father Meade and Father Tracey, of the excellent Canon and of Miss Barbara Wilson. An intimate knowledge of all that is homely and genial in Irish life has seldom been more remarkably displayed. In reproducing the peculiar turns of thought and speech that are prevalent in our day, the author has become an adept. There is something of the terseness of epigram in his phrases and a flavour of poetry in many of his sentences. He has gone for his English to its living source among the poets and prose writers of its best days. In his scrutiny of character, its developments and the influences that have shaped it, he has made his



way far beneath the surface. This indeed is one of the great merits of his book.

Father Sheehan, as things appear to us, has looked with a more intuitive glance, and has seen deeper into the elusive nature of the Celt, and of that variety of the race that flourishes in his native land, than almost any other man of his time. He has caught, as it were in snapshots, phases of its life that had never yet been secured by any other artist; he has wrought into fiction features that have been evolved from legend and from myth, from temperament and from history, from the tragedies and comedies of other days; and through them he has enabled us to scrutinize at leisure the soul that gives them life. We see it enveloped in the mist of centuries; we watch its countless changes, its innumerable contrarieties, its ever-fitful efforts; we witness the perpetual struggle that goes on within it between the dream and the reality, the beauty of ideas and the tyranny of facts. It escapes from our view in a sort of mystic light, unwearied only in the pursuit of its everlasting destiny.

And yet he has not done all that we would wish, nor all that we might expect. He has been for the most part a psychologist, who has noted the phenomena, but has done little to indicate their value. He has probed our wounds, but, with one exception, has suggested no remedy; he has laid bare our weaknesses, and he has also left us under the impression that they are inherent and incurable. If not a fatalist, he makes upon us the impression of one whom Christianity alone has saved from being a pessimist. There is an element of irony in the reflection that his message should recall to us the memorable words of a philosopher of his own creation: '*Cui bono?*' 'It will be all the same in a hundred years.' In these days of storm and stress, of sifting and of change, of great projects and of sanguine hopes, we might have expected something less calculated to damp our spirits.

It would not, we admit, be consonant with the principles of his art that he should undertake the work of a benevolent society or of the Department of Agriculture. But at least

we might expect him to direct to those complicated problems of life, so lightly skimmed over in his book, some share at least of that attention which he represents as distracted by futilities and wasted in fruitless speculation. He might have helped to make his countrymen conscious of the forces which their carelessness has left to slumber in such unproductive lethargy. He might have shown them, under the concentrated light of his own intelligence, the results of their waywardness and caprice. He might have pointed to some exit from the maze in which their energies seem fettered. He has preferred to remain a passive moralist. He has chosen to adopt too much of what we regard as the vicious principle of 'art for the sake of art,' describing things as they are and allowing them to tell their own tale. On the higher plane of religious life he has contrasted in the priest the value of learning and of piety, to the detriment of the former, an error that goes far to spoil the book, and is opposed to the teaching of the best spiritual guides.

The part of the work that is not religious will, on the other hand, have no more direct or practical effect than to interest and amuse the present generation and reflect to posterity the ways and manners of our time. And yet we are thankful, indeed, for what we have received. It is not perfect. It is not a classic. It is not a masterpiece. It is full of absurdities and of stilted nonsense. It is like a speech of Lord Rosebery, leaving us oftentimes in doubt as to which side it takes. It is hopeless and helpless where both hope and help are needed. But in spite of these defects, and of others that we need not mention, it is, taking it all in all, a fascinating book, a clever, an instructive, and a good one.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

## TRINITY COLLEGE AND THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN

**I**N a letter recently published in some Dublin newspapers a startling paradox has been propounded. There is, we are informed, no distinction between Trinity College and the University of Dublin: Trinity College is the University of Dublin, and the University of Dublin is Trinity College.

The statement thus made is of so extraordinary a character that it may be well for me to transcribe it in the very words in which it has been made. The author of it says:—

I can confidently assert that *no such entity as a University of Dublin, distinct from Trinity College, or independent of it, or outside it, or in any way apart or separate from it, exists, or ever did exist, legally, constitutionally, or in fact.*

Again:—

*The College is thus the University in every particular.*

And again, after a quotation from the Act of Union:—

These words are repeated three times in Article Eight, showing that constitutionally *the University of Trinity College and the College of the Holy Trinity of Dublin are one and the same thing, perfectly identical.*

As a member of the Catholic Episcopacy of Ireland, and more especially as Archbishop of Dublin, I feel called upon to protest against these statements. I do so, primarily, in discharge of the duty that I owe to the memory of an illustrious predecessor of mine in the See of Dublin, Cardinal Cullen,—a duty, let me add, that all Irish Catholics owe to the memory of that great prelate, of whom it can be said, without fear of contradiction, that to him, more than to any other Irishman, living or dead, the credit is due that there is a University question, alive, and clamouring for settlement on the line of absolute equality for Catholics, in Ireland to-day.



In personal writings of Cardinal Cullen, as well as in resolutions of the assembled Episcopacy of Ireland—resolutions not only cordially and publicly approved by his Eminence, but, we cannot doubt, largely inspired, in the framing of them, by his wisdom,—there was a proposal more than once put forward as covering everything that was needed to place within the reach of the Catholics of Ireland, on terms of perfect equality, the degrees, the endowments, and the other Collegiate and University advantages enjoyed by our fellow-countrymen of other creeds. It was a proposal put forward only in the supposition that a Catholic University,—meaning by this, a Catholic University in the proper sense of the words,—was not to be established. The proposal was, that there should be established in Dublin a new College, in every respect equal to Trinity College, and, like Trinity College, a College of the University of Dublin.

Hence it is that I have to protest against the slur cast,—inadvertently, I am sure,—not only upon my predecessor, Cardinal Cullen, but upon our whole Episcopal body, by the statements now given to the public as indisputable statements of the law of the case. Those statements simply amount to this, that the distinction upon which the proposal that I have mentioned is essentially based,—the distinction between Trinity College and the University of Dublin,—is wholly groundless.

Undoubtedly if, as is now alleged, ‘no such entity as a University of Dublin, distinct from Trinity College, exists, or ever did exist, legally, constitutionally, or in fact,’—if, ‘in every particular, the College is the University,’—if ‘the University’ and ‘the College’ are ‘one and the same thing, perfectly identical,’—then, obviously, the proposal so formally enunciated by the assembled Catholic Episcopacy of Ireland, that another College, equal to Trinity College, should be established as a College of the University of Dublin, is not only irreconcilable with law, but is mere nonsense.

In connection with a similar matter, I had occasion some short time ago to remark that a confusion of ideas as

between a College and a University is not unnatural in Dublin. It is not unnatural at least in the case of those of our fellow-citizens who have not had the opportunity of visiting Oxford, with its 24 Colleges, or Cambridge, with its 19 or 20 Colleges,—University towns in which the distinction between College and College, and between College and University, is plain even to the little children in the streets. But that surely is no reason why those of us who have a perfectly clear idea of the distinction between Trinity College and the University of Dublin should be charged with ignorance, either of the facts or of the law of the case, by persons who themselves proclaim that they are ignorant of the existence of the distinction, and who appear to be unable even to see it when it is pointed out by others.

So far, then, for the legal theory recently sought to be set up, in its relation to the published resolutions of the Irish Catholic Episcopacy. I have now to touch upon another aspect of the case.

It is, I must say, a marvel to me that, long before this, some prominent member of the Irish Bar has not, on a ground quite different from mine, come forward to make the protest that I am making now. It is possible, no doubt, that in this country, unhappily of short-lived memory, the services rendered to his Catholic fellow-countrymen by Isaac Butt, in his advocacy of their claims in the matter of University education, are already beginning to be forgotten. But there must still be members of the Irish Bar by whom those services have not been forgotten. In the statements quoted at the beginning of this paper, the distinction which was the very foundation upon which Mr. Butt rested so much of his labour in this special field of public work,—the distinction between Trinity College and the University of Dublin,—is treated as a thing utterly at variance with every legal principle that has a bearing upon the point. It is treated in fact, as a thing scarcely worthy of serious refutation. I am at a loss to understand how it is that so many of those who in their early days at the bar were his contemporaries, have submitted

in silence to see such a reflection cast upon the memory of the great lawyer who was once looked up to by them as the brilliant leader with whom it was their pride to be associated in any case, great or small.

Anyone who chooses to do so is free, of course, to say that Cardinal Cullen knew nothing of English law. My great predecessor—eminent as, on a memorable occasion, he showed himself to be as a canonist,—would, I have no doubt, in his humility, have disclaimed all pretension to an accurate acquaintance with any branch of the law that is administered in our civil courts. But, however that may be, it amazes me to find that amongst the practising lawyers of our day even one could be found who would care to commit himself to a statement amounting equivalently to this, that in reference to the legal, constitutional, and actual relation of Trinity College to the University of Dublin, Isaac Butt is to be set down as nothing better than an ignoramus.

The issue raised by the statements quoted at the beginning of this paper is the very simple one: Is the University of Dublin identical with Trinity College, or is it not?

In dealing with the issue thus raised, I may begin by expressing my satisfaction that it is not necessary for me again to set forth the long series of quotations from Acts of Parliament, from Royal Letters Patent, and from other authoritative documents, which I recently had occasion to cite<sup>1</sup> in connection with a point—in itself of comparative insignificance—as to the name by which the University of Dublin may be designated. I am happily not further concerned with the statement that it is ‘inaccurate’ to speak of that University as the ‘University of Dublin.’ I have shown that this very name is given to that University in no fewer than eleven Acts of Parliament—twice in five of them, three times in another, six times in another—and, again, in nine Royal Letters Patent—twice in one of these, three times in another, and five times in

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<sup>1</sup> I refer to a letter of mine published in the *Freeman's Journal* of the 6th of January, in the present year.



a third. I may safely regard the statement about the 'inaccuracy' of the designation, as amply disposed of.

But *prius est esse quam denominari*. The statement by which anyone who feels himself called upon to vindicate the resolutions of the Irish Episcopacy from the stigma of inaccuracy,—and not merely of inaccuracy, but of nonsense,—now finds himself challenged, is the unqualified denial that, as distinct from Trinity College, such a thing as a University of Dublin, no matter by what name it may be designated, exists at all!

From the way in which this grave matter has been dealt with, bandied about as it has been for the last few weeks, in letters, and speeches, and newspaper articles, a person uninformed as to the facts never could have supposed that the case stands as it really does. Who, for instance, not otherwise informed as to the facts, could have supposed that the very point now so flippantly discoursed about had been, in the past, the subject of most careful consideration, in all its legal bearings, by eminent lawyers of the highest judicial rank? Who could have supposed that one Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dublin, Lord Chancellor Blackburne, had communicated to the Senate of the University, so far back as the year 1858, a 'formal and deliberate opinion,' upon it? Or that another lawyer, of the very highest reputation, an ex-Chancellor of Ireland, Sir Joseph Napier, when Vice-Chancellor of the University, finding a view somewhat at variance with the considered opinion of his predecessor, Lord Chancellor Blackburne, propounded by a non-legal Fellow of Trinity College, in a published work, had applied himself to a further and most minute examination of the case in all its bearings? Or that a long and detailed statement of the conclusions at which Sir Joseph Napier then arrived,—fully confirmatory as they were of the view put before the University Senate by his predecessor in 1858,—was communicated by him, as he himself expresses it, 'to the governing body of the College, and to the Senate of the University,' in 1871? Or that this erudite exposition of the whole question, first published in a pamphlet in 1871, has since been republished as an introduction to a

well-known volume,<sup>1</sup> brought out in Dublin by the publishers to the University so recently as 1896? Or that,—to bring to a close this long series of references,—the conclusion arrived at and established, without qualification of any kind, by those two eminent lawyers is, that Trinity College and the University of Dublin are not only two distinct bodies, but are two distinct corporations, in the strictly legal sense of the word.

At this point, it will be convenient to go back a little, to trace matters up from an earlier time.<sup>2</sup>

In the Dublin University Calendar for 1833,—which, I think, will be found to have been the first issue of the Calendar,—there was published an interesting historical account of the foundation of the College and University. In that account, reference was made by the learned editor of the Calendar, the late Dr. Todd, in terms of unqualified approval, to a pamphlet published in 1804, by the Rev. George Miller, D.D., then a Fellow of Trinity College.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Todd refers to this pamphlet ‘for a complete and satisfactory discussion of the question about the distinction between the College and the University.’

Dr. Miller, as is obvious from the title of his pamphlet, was a fore-runner of those theorists of the present day who maintain that the distinction between the University of Dublin and Trinity College is only a ‘supposed’ one. Dr. Todd, in 1833, was clearly in agreement with Dr. Miller on the point. He says that Dr. Miller ‘has clearly shown that the opinion about the necessity of a distinction between

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<sup>1</sup> *A Catalogue of Graduates of the University of Dublin*, vol. ii. (Second Edition). Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, & Co., 1896.

<sup>2</sup> To avoid an otherwise confusing multiplicity of quotation marks and footnote references, I may here state, once for all, that, in the remainder of this paper I adhere as closely as possible to the words of Sir Joseph Napier’s learned exposition of the subject when dealing with any of the matters with which he has dealt.

I shall not formally quote from that exposition except in those cases in which I may consider it advisable to adduce the authority of Sir Joseph Napier in support of some particular statement.

<sup>3</sup> *An Examination of the Charters and Statutes of Trinity College, Dublin, in regard to the supposed distinction between the College and the University*. By the Rev. George Miller, D.D., F.T.C.D.

the University and the College originated in the prejudices of our early Provosts, who were all educated at Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> But Dr. Todd afterwards came to see that the denial of the distinction between the College and the University was quite untenable. In his learned and singularly interesting Introduction to another volume<sup>2</sup> published by him many years afterwards,<sup>3</sup> he again referred to Dr. Miller's pamphlet, no longer, however in terms of approval, but for the purpose of confuting more than one of the positions on which Dr. Miller had relied in endeavouring to prove that the University was not distinct from the College.

Working out a train of reasoning, in the strangeness of its logic almost worthy of some of Alice's acquaintances in Wonderland, Dr. Miller took for his starting-point the often-quoted expression, *Mater Universitatis*, which, in Queen Elizabeth's Charter of Foundation, is applied to Trinity College. He set about explaining that expression in several ways, and then proceeded to argue that, in whatever way it was to be understood, it required that the College, 'in its actual circumstances,'—that is, so long as it continued to be the only College on the foundation,—'should be considered as *the same with the University*.'<sup>4</sup> But, to quote the common-sense criticism of Dr. Todd :—

Is it not a most strange mode of expressing this [that the College is the same with the University] to say that the College is the mother of the University? . . . Is a mother identical with her children? . . . It is true Trinity College is

<sup>1</sup> *Dublin University Calendar*, 1833, Introduction, page 56, footnote (e).

<sup>2</sup> *Catalogue of Graduates* (Dublin, 1869).

<sup>3</sup> A graceful and touching reference to Dr. Todd, made by Cardinal Cullen in an address delivered by His Eminence at the Catholic University, on the 2nd of July, 1869, the day of Dr. Todd's funeral, may appropriately be transcribed here. It will be observed that the occasion of the Cardinal's reference to Dr. Todd was his quoting from the volume mentioned in the text above. The passage is as follows :—

'I might refer to many Catholic writers for the proof of the facts I have now narrated, but I wish rather to refer you to the Preface of the "List of Graduates of Trinity College," by Dr. Todd, the last work which proceeded from the pen of that distinguished scholar, whose lamented demise has cast a gloom over all who prize the remnants of Celtic literature, and whose remains were this morning, to the grief of all our citizens, borne to their long resting place.' (*The Writings of Cardinal Cullen*, Dublin, 1882, vol. 3, p. 234.)

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Miller's Pamphlet, pages 8, 9.



the only College in the University, but this does not make it the same with the University; nor does it explain, in either of the interpretations proposed by Dr. Miller, in what intelligible sense she is the 'Mother of the University.'<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Todd's own explanation of the phrase is that—

The College was to be the parent of the University, to bring up and nourish in all sound learning, as a mother gives nourishment to her children, those who were afterwards to become graduates and members of the University.<sup>2</sup>

But the precise sense in which the expression *Mater Universitatis* is to be understood is a matter of but secondary importance. Sir Joseph Napier adopts an explanation somewhat similar to Dr. Todd's, adding, as a further point, that—

The prescribing of the preliminaries and conditions of graduation, the appointment of University officers (except the first Chancellor), and the making of regulations for conferring Degrees, were confided to the governing body of the College.<sup>3</sup>

He disposes, as summarily as Dr. Todd did, of the odd theory set up by Dr. Miller, that the expression *Mater Universitatis* requires us to consider 'the College as *the same* with the University.' As Sir Joseph Napier puts it—

It would be strange, if not absurd, to have designated the College as '*Mater Universitatis*' if the University was not to be regarded as *distinct from the College*.<sup>4</sup>

For a reason not at all difficult to understand, there seems to have always been in Trinity College itself an unwillingness to give but scant recognition to the distinction between the College and the University, and, indeed, as far as possible, to ignore that distinction altogether. From the fact that Trinity College has for centuries been the only College of the University, the distinction has never, of course, come into very practical effect. But that is no reason for denying the existence of the distinction. As Dr. Mahaffy,<sup>5</sup> whose words I have

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of Graduates* (1869), Introduction, page xvi., footnote.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Introduction, pages xv., xvi.

<sup>3</sup> *Catalogue of Graduates* (1896), Introduction, pages vi., vii.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Introduction, page x.

<sup>5</sup> *The Book of Trinity College, Dublin* (Belfast, 1892), chap. i., p. 17.

not many opportunities of quoting with so near an approach to full concurrence, says, in reference to it:—

In the first place we may name the distinction between University and College, one often attempted by theorists, and which may any day become of serious importance if a new College were founded under the University, but one which has practically had no influence in the history of Trinity College.

We even find such hybrid titles as Fellow of the University' . . . used by people who ought to have known the impropriety.

An attempt has recently been made to attach very exceptional importance to a statement in the Report of a Royal Commission of 1851, which was 'appointed,' we are informed, 'to inquire into the state of Dublin University.' It may not be altogether unimportant to note, for the sake of greater accuracy, that the subject of the inquiry for which that Commission really was appointed, was, in the words of the Queen's letter appointing it, to inquire 'into the State, Discipline, Studies, and Revenues of Our University of Dublin, *and the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity therein*, and of all and singular the Colleges and Schools in Our said University.'<sup>2</sup>

In the Report of that Commission, Trinity College is described as 'a College with complete University powers of granting Degrees in all arts and faculties, and of electing University officers.' The Report adds that 'those powers were conferred by Charter on Trinity College, without any provision being made to give other Colleges, when founded, a share in the government of the University,' and that 'the

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<sup>1</sup> The reference is to a window erected in the College Chapel set up as a memorial of Bishop Berkeley, which calls him 'a Fellow of this University.'

The following sentence in the footnote in which that reference is explained is worth quoting:—'I need not point out how this blunder has been exalted into an official title by the Examining Body called the Royal University of Ireland, which has no Professors for its University, and no College for its Fellows.' (*The Book of Trinity College*, page 17, footnote 2).

<sup>2</sup> The only practical outcome of the insertion of the last clause of the reference to the Commission was a statement, in one of the replies received from Trinity College, to the effect that a 'Hall, called Trinity Hall,' established in 1617, was converted in 1660 into a Hall for medical students, and ultimately became the College of Physicians. 'But,' it is added, 'the present King and Queen's College of Physicians has since obtained a distinct Charter, and, though "connected with" the University by the School of Physic Act (40 Geo. III. cap. 84) can no longer be considered a College in the University.'

constitution of Dublin University, as being a College with University powers, has never been changed since its foundation.'

Now to quote such things in the way they have been quoted, borders upon trifling with the public. It would be interesting to know by what conceivable process, or on what conceivable ground the constitution of Dublin University could have been changed, in the sense of giving 'other Colleges a share in the government of the University,' so long as Trinity College continues to be the only College of the University.

But, to go a little deeper into the matter, it is well to look to the evidence on which those statements quoted from the Report of the Commission rest, keeping in view at the same time the somewhat peculiar way in which the Commission conducted its inquiry.

I take this latter point first. From the beginning to the end of its proceedings, the Commission of 1851 never orally examined a single witness. An important section of the inquiry was conducted simply by sending a number of printed questions to certain persons, or classes of persons, connected with the College, or with the University. These questions were to be replied to in writing. There was no sifting of the evidence, such as is usual in the examination of witnesses on whose evidence the Report of a Commission is to be based. No step was taken to elicit any further information in reference to any matter, stated, no matter how jejune, in the carefully-worded written replies to the questions of the query sheet. Naturally, then, there was little chance of any information reaching the Commission that might be in any way out of harmony with what then was, and has since, to a large extent, continued to be, the Trinity College view of the relation between that College and the University of Dublin.

The queries as to the relation between the College and the University seem to have been sent only to the Provost and Senior Fellows. In justice to those College dignitaries it should be added that there is not in any part of their reply, which is a joint one, the faintest suggestion that,



in describing the authority vested in them in relation to the affairs of the University, they meant to do more than state the facts of the case as it actually stood. There is, I mean, nothing whatever in their reply to suggest that, in their view, the enlargement of the University,—if it were enlarged by the establishment in it of other Colleges,—would not involve such a modification of the constitution of the University as would place those other Colleges, so established, on a footing of equality with Trinity College in reference to all University matters. Naturally, they had not this point in contemplation at all

In connection with all this, I may here refer to an interesting pamphlet, published fifteen years after the date of the Report of the Commission.

The pamphlet, as is stated in its Preface, was published from Trinity College, in May, 1868. It was, I am informed, very generally believed in Dublin at the time that the author of it was Dr. Lloyd, then Provost of the College. In connection with a plan of University reform outlined in the pamphlet, based upon the establishment of a new College in the University, the following passage occurs. I quote it, not at all in view of the imputed authorship of the pamphlet, but solely on account of its usefully supplementing the very meagre statement on the subject of the relations between the College and the University, officially forwarded to the Commission of 1851 by the Provost and Senior Fellows of that day. The passage is as follows :—

The University of Dublin is a University with a single College. . . . The non-existence of a plurality of Colleges has made it unnecessary to draw a definite line to distinguish its two offices ; and the fusion of the two has been rendered more complete by the act of the founder, which vested the supreme power in the Provost and Senior Fellows of the College.

*This doubtless was meant to be but provisional, and to last only until other Colleges were affiliated.* Still, however, Trinity College has remained the sole College in the University of Dublin to this day.

Here then is suggested an obvious mode of carrying out the measure referred to. Little more is needed than to draw a well-defined line between the University and the College . . .

The Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College. . . ; possess by Charter the right of the initiative in all 'Graces'

brought before the Senate. *The privilege* thus given to Trinity College *should of course be resigned*, so that all affiliated Colleges might *stand on an equal footing*.

This extract is especially useful in showing up the misleading character of an attempt that has been made in more than one quarter to set the public astray as to the nature of the proposal so definitely put forward by the Irish Bishops,—for the first time, I think, in 1869, the year after the appearance of the noteworthy pamphlet to which I have just referred. It is nothing but an outrage upon the Bishops of that time to suggest that they contemplated, or would have in any way countenanced, the placing of a Catholic College of the University of Dublin in a position in that University inferior in any respect to the position, which, as a logical consequence of the circumstances of the case, has been held in the University, down to the present day, by Trinity College alone.

Another document should be here referred to—a document, to which, on some ground, to me, I must confess, unintelligible, it has been sought to attach extraordinary importance.

It is a petition from some thousands of graduates, presented to Parliament in 1868, for the maintenance unimpaired of ‘the Protestant Constitution of the University of Dublin.’ This document is quoted as—

The unanimous declaration of *the College and University*, which are *one inseparable institution*, affirming its own constitutional and legal title, and then giving the words ‘of Dublin’ as local designation at the end of the document.

As to the question of the ‘constitutional and legal title’ of the University, I must be excused for saying that I fail to see how the mere signatures of 6,000, or of 60,000 graduates of the University of Dublin could be supposed to establish the ‘inaccuracy’ of a title, which, as I have already shown,—if I may repeat what I have said upon this point in an earlier part of this paper,—is given to the University of Dublin in eleven Acts of Parliament, twice in five of them, three times in another, six times in another, and, again, in ten Royal Letters Patent, occurring twice in one

of these, three times in another, and five times in a third. In a volume published five years ago,<sup>1</sup> I myself called attention to the fact that the title 'University of Trinity College' is given to the University of Dublin in one solitary Act of Parliament, the Act of Union,—a fact to which that eminent lawyer, who in his time was Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and was for many years member of Parliament for the University, the late Dr. Ball, directs attention in his volume on Irish Legislative Systems, dismissing it with the significant remark that it is 'singular' that the University should have been 'called "the University of Trinity College," and not "the University of Dublin."' <sup>2</sup>

In face of the paradoxical denial, with which we are now confronted, of even the existence of the University of Dublin as distinct, in any particular, from Trinity College, the question of the name by which that University may be designated is a question plainly of very little moment. Besides, it is a question that I have dealt with quite sufficiently elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> But as I have at all touched upon it here, I may mention that Sir Joseph Napier, dealing with the whole question in its broader aspect, incidentally refers as follows to one of the numerous Royal Letters Patent in which the University is designated the University of Dublin :—

In the Letters Patent of 1 George III., where the University of Oxford is described as *celeberrima Academia Oxoniensis*, the University of Dublin is described as *Academia illustrissima Dubliniensis*.<sup>4</sup>

He calls attention also to a number of the Acts of Parliament, and of the other Letters Patent, in which this title is repeatedly used.<sup>5</sup> Noticing the fact that in the Act of Union, the University is called the 'University of Trinity College,' he describes this, I would presume to say, very felicitously, as the 'maternal' name of the University.

<sup>1</sup> *The Irish University Question*, (Dublin, 1897), page 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Irish Legislative Systems*. By the Right Hon. J. T. Ball. LL.D., D.C.L. (London, Dublin, 1880), page 179.

<sup>3</sup> In the letter already referred to, page 161, footnote 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Catalogue of Graduates* (1896). Introduction, page xvi., footnote.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, pages xv., xvi.



It is almost superfluous to add that nowhere throughout his elaborate dissertation, which extends over 28 pages, is there to be found even the faintest suggestion that the title 'University of Dublin,' is 'inaccurate,' or that the title of 'University of Trinity College,' so 'singularly'<sup>1</sup> used in the Act of Union, has any claim to be regarded as 'the legal and constitutional title,' of the University.

As a final comment upon the use so strangely made of the graduates' petition, I direct attention to the words in which I find that petition described as 'the declaration of the College and University, which are *one inseparable institution.*' For this statement,—if it is to be taken as affirming, or suggesting, that the graduates' petition describes the College and the University as 'one institution,' whether separable or inseparable,—I have only to say that it has not in the document a particle of foundation to sustain it.

The text of the document has been quoted. It speaks for itself. But even if the document itself could not be referred to, the fact that Sir Joseph Napier's name is signed to it is sufficient evidence that no such legal solecism as the assertion that Trinity College and the University are 'one inseparable institution' was to be found in it. The suggestion that this document, the first signature to which is that of Sir Joseph Napier, Vice-Chancellor of the University, sustains the denial of the distinction between the College and the University,—or sustains the assertion that it is 'inaccurate' to speak of the University as 'the University of Dublin,' and that its 'legal' 'constitutional' title is 'the University of Trinity College,'—could assuredly have been put forward only in the absence of all knowledge of the existence of the learned and exhaustive legal paper in which Sir Joseph Napier has so lucidly stated his views upon both the points now so curiously called in question.

I may now give, in outline, Sir Joseph Napier's

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<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Ball's *Irish Legislative Systems*, page 172.

interesting statement,—deduced from the Charters and all other documents bearing upon the matter,—of the distinction that exists, ‘legally,’ ‘constitutionally,’ and ‘in fact,’ between Trinity College and the University of Dublin.

Trinity College, as is well known, was established by Queen Elizabeth in 1592. The College was established as the ‘mother of a University,’ which it was to supply with ‘studiosi,’ who were to be admitted to take degrees; and for the conferring of those degrees the authorities of the College were empowered to make all necessary regulations.<sup>1</sup>

Although, under the Charter of Elizabeth, the actual creation of the University was only effected through the instrumentality of the College, it does not follow, says Sir Joseph Napier, that the University is not to be considered as having been founded by Elizabeth:—

What was done in pursuance of the Charter was done by the Queen’s authority, and is deemed in law to have been done by herself. The distinction between the founding of the College and the founding of the University should be clearly understood. There were available means of completing the foundation of the College at once and directly; but the case was different as to the University, for although by legal intendment it was founded by the Charter, it had afterwards to be brought forth by the College as its ‘mater.’<sup>2</sup>

He then points out—and the observation apparently is a very relevant one—that unless the matter is duly considered in its integrity, the Charter of Queen Elizabeth

Is likely to be (and it often has been) *misunderstood* to have merely founded a *College with University privileges*.<sup>3</sup>

And he adds:—

When the whole matter is duly considered, it will be seen that the University designed by this Charter, and constituted under it, was intended to be, and was, a *distinct incorporation*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of Graduates* (1896), pages iv.-vii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, page vii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

Under the powers granted by the Charter, a code of regulations for the conferring of degrees was drawn up, a Senate was formed, and, seven years after the foundation of the College, the first 'Commencements,' or conferring of degrees, took place. As Sir Joseph Napier puts it,—

The 'Universitas' designed by the Charter of Elizabeth had been constituted by the Provost and Fellows of the College under its provisions. . . . A period of gestation (if I might say so) had been required before the University could thus have been brought to the birth.

As the design was that it should come from the womb of the College, privileges had been conferred on the *studiosi*, and powers were given to the Provost and Fellows of the College, by which provision was made for the constitution and continuance of a proper staff of University officers, and of a body of accredited teachers. *It may therefore be said that the College was adorned or invested with the privileges of a University.*

But after the holding of Commencements [the conferring of Degrees], which first took place A.D. 1600, *juxta tempus idoneum*,<sup>1</sup> i.e., seven years after the foundation of the College, the University was brought to the birth, and thenceforth it was distinct from, although dependent on, its 'mater'—the College.

'Distinct from the College.' How sadly ignorant of law Sir Joseph Napier—to say nothing of poor Isaac Butt—must have been!

We now come to the Charter of Charles I. It is dated A.D. 1637. By that time, the University was in full working order. There is an ancient collection of University regulations, entitled 'Consuetudines seu Regulæ Universitatis Dubliniensis pro solenniore collatione graduum,' the precise date of which is uncertain, but which, there is reason to believe, was drawn up<sup>2</sup> before the date of the Charter of Charles I.

Sir Joseph Napier calls attention to an interesting indication of the fact that the University, which at the time of the Elizabethan Charter existed only 'in intendment

<sup>1</sup> Words used in the Charter of Queen Elizabeth (see *Catalogue of Graduates*, 1896, Introduction, page v.).

<sup>2</sup> See the Introduction to the *Dublin University Calendar* for 1869. See also an interesting note in reference to these 'Customs or Rules,' in Dr. Todd's Introduction (page xxxiii., footnote) to the *Catalogue of Graduates*, published in 1869.



and consideration of law,' as a future outcome of the College, was in existence and in working order when the Charter of Charles I. was issued. In the Charter of Elizabeth, the Chancellor,—in the first instance appointed by the Queen, afterwards to be elected by the Provost and Senior Fellows,—is called Chancellor of the College, 'ut posthac idoneam hujusmodi personam . . . pro *hujus Collegii Cancellario* eligant.' But now, in the later Charter of Charles I., the Chancellor is designated Chancellor of the University—'*Cancellario Academiae sive Universitatis praedictae.*'<sup>1</sup>

In the ancient collection of Rules for the conferring of Degrees, already referred to, the Senate—*Senatus Academicus*—is mentioned and its functions are defined. The Senate, as may be seen by reference to any recent issue of the University Calendar,<sup>2</sup> is the public Congregation of the University. It consists of the Chancellor of the University, the Doctors in the several Faculties, and the Masters of Arts.

It is well perhaps here to explain that the name Senate, in the case of the University of Dublin, is used in a sense wholly different from that in which it is applied to the Governing Body of the institution known as the Royal University of Ireland. The Senate of the University of Dublin is not a Governing Body at all. It has nothing to do with the drawing up of programmes, the appointment of Fellows or Professors of the College, or anything of the kind. It in no way interferes with the academic freedom of Trinity College. Consisting, as it does, of those who may be presumed to have at heart the honour of the University of which they are Doctors or Masters, it confers the Degrees of the University upon those who are presented to it, by the College, with the testimony of the College that they are worthy of the academic rank proposed be conferred upon them.

A Degree of the University of Dublin can be conferred

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of Graduates* (1896), Introduction, pages vii.-ix.

<sup>2</sup> See the *University Calendar* for 1901. Vol. 2, page 9.

only by the Senate of the University, that is, by the voice of the majority of the Senate:—

In concessione gratiae in domo congregationis, pars major semper habeat ratione totius, ac proinde quicquid majori parti placeat, omnino ratum esto.<sup>1</sup>

But, whilst the Senate of the University may refuse a Degree, it cannot confer one on its own motion. The intended graduate must in all cases be presented by the College, represented by its Provost and a majority of its Senior Fellows:—

Nemini publica Senatus academici gratia concedatur, nisi privatâ gratiâ Praepositi et majoris partis Sociorum Seniorum antea commendato.

Though not needed for the pointing out of the distinction between the University and the College, it may, for the sake of completeness of statement, be added here, that there is in the Senate a further authority of a very important kind in reference to the conferring of Degrees.

The headship of the University Senate is vested in three of its specially representative members: the Vice-Chancellor,<sup>3</sup> representing the University; the Provost of Trinity College, representing the College; and the Senior Master non-Regent, duly elected,<sup>5</sup> representing the body of graduates of the University. These three members of the Senate constitute the *Caput Senatus Academici*; and the concurrence, not only of the *Caput* as a whole, but of each of its three individual members, is necessary before a Degree can be conferred:—

Si quae petitio ad gradum offeratur, esto in potestate tum Vice-Cancellarii, tum Praepositi, tum Magistri senioris non Regentis qui in Collegio degat, impedire quominus reliquo Senatui proponatur.<sup>6</sup>

Quite independently of the authority of the eminent lawyers who have specially applied themselves to the study of the matter, the mere statement of the arrangements thus

<sup>1</sup> *Consuetudines seu Regulae*, Cap. IV.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> The Vice-Chancellor is mentioned as it is he who usually attends. Of course, he attends as the substitute of the Chancellor of the University.

<sup>4</sup> Each Master of Arts is styled 'Regent' for three years after taking his degree; after the third year, he becomes 'non-Regent.'

<sup>5</sup> See the *University Calendar* for 1901. Vol. 2, page 10, n. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Consuetudines seu Regulae*, Cap. II.

made for the conferring of the Degrees of the University is, in itself, sufficient to show very plainly the distinction between the College and the University.

As to legal authority, we have the clear statement of Sir Joseph Napier:—

The intention is manifest that the University should be a *distinct*, but not an independent, body.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Joseph Napier then goes on to deal with the further question, whether the University is a body, not only distinct from the College, but so broadly distinguishable from it that the College and the University are two distinct corporations in the legal sense of the word.

As to this, there seemed, at least at one time, to have been some difference of opinion. Early in the year 1858, a very eminent lawyer, Mr. Francis A. Fitzgerald, afterwards, as Baron of the Exchequer, a universally respected Judge, gave it as his opinion that the University was not a corporation.<sup>2</sup>

After this, in the December of the same year, Lord Chancellor Blackburne, then Vice-Chancellor of the University, communicated to the Senate of the University ‘a formal and deliberate opinion,’<sup>3</sup> in which, amongst other things bearing upon the point, he said:—

In addition to these and other considerations of a similar kind, it was to be kept in mind that the Legislature and the Crown, from the earliest period down to the time of the last Charter (21 Vict.), had recognised and treated the University as a body corporate; but what was directly to the purpose was that the Charter of the Queen [the Charter of 21 Vict., A.D. 1857] recognises and perpetuates all the functions and duties of the University, and its means of exercising them in their full integrity.<sup>4</sup>

I may incidentally remark that one of the provisions of the Charter of 1857, here referred to, is as follows:—

The Senate of the University shall be, and continue to be, a body corporate, and have a common seal, and shall have power under the said seal to do all such acts . . . (in conformity . . . with the Charter and Statutes of Trinity College, AND with the Statutes, Laws, and By-laws OF THE UNIVERSITY), under the

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of Graduates* (1896), Introduction, page xi.

<sup>2</sup> See a portion of this opinion in Dr. Todd's Introduction to the *Catalogue of Graduates* (1869), pages xxiii.-xxv. footnote.

<sup>3</sup> See the *Catalogue of Graduates* (1896), Introduction, page xi.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*



name, style, and title of the Chancellor, Doctors, and Masters of the UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Joseph Napier, after quoting the words of ex-Chancellor Blackburne, his predecessor in the Vice-Chancellorship of the University, points out that the opinion previously given by so eminent a lawyer as Baron Fitzgerald was before the ex-Lord Chancellor, when he arrived at the opposite conclusion and publicly communicated his opinion to the Senate. Until he had himself become Vice-Chancellor of the University, Sir Joseph Napier,—on the authority, as he says, of so eminent a Judge,—had accepted as final the opinion of his predecessor, given, as it was, in the circumstances mentioned. But, finding it stated more than once by Dr. Todd, in his learned Introduction to the *Catalogue of Graduates*, published in 1869, that the University was not a corporate body, he thought it his duty, as Vice-Chancellor of the University, to apply himself to a special study of the question.<sup>2</sup>

Those who wish to follow this matter out in detail will find a full and clear exposition of it in Sir Joseph Napier's elaborate legal dissertation on the case, in which he states the conclusions at which he arrived, both upon this particular point and upon some others as to which Dr. Todd 'had impugned the received opinion as to the import of certain parts of the Charter of Queen Elizabeth.'<sup>3</sup> It is sufficient here to state that the first and second of the conclusions thus arrived at are:—

1. That the College has certain University privileges which have been conferred on its *studiosi* and on its governing body.<sup>4</sup>

2. That the University (properly so called) is a *distinct corporate body*.<sup>5</sup>

I, of course, am not in any way concerned with the question as to the two distinct corporations. That is a lawyers' question, pure and simple. And as to the distinction that unquestionably exists between Trinity College and

<sup>1</sup> See the *University Calendar* for 1901, Vol. ii., Introduction, page 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Catalogue of Graduates* (1896), Introduction, page xi.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pages xi., xii.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, page 173.

<sup>5</sup> *Catalogue of Graduates* (1896), page xxiii.

the University of Dublin, I am concerned with it simply upon the ground indicated at the beginning of this paper. The declaration of the Catholic Episcopacy of Ireland, to which I there referred, is as follows:—

Since the Protestants of this country have had a Protestant University with rich endowments for three hundred years, and have it still,<sup>1</sup> the Catholic people of Ireland clearly have a right to a Catholic University.

But should Her Majesty's Government be unwilling to increase the number of Universities in this country, *religious equality cannot be realised unless the degrees, endowments, and other privileges, enjoyed by our fellow-subjects of a different religion, be placed within the reach of Catholics on terms of perfect equality.*

Attempts have, from time to time, been made to bring the Bishops of Ireland into odium with our Catholic people by falsely representing that this emphatic assertion of the rightful claim of the Catholics of Ireland to a settlement of the University question on the basis of perfect equality, was in some way undermined by the declaration of the Bishops that a satisfactory settlement of that question could be effected by the establishment, either of a National University of Ireland, or of a second College of the University of Dublin. And grotesque descriptions have been given of the state of degrading subjection in which the Catholics of Ireland would be placed if their one place of higher education in Ireland were to be a College of that University, the constitution of which, as is notorious, at present works out in the complete dependence of the University upon Trinity College.

In the course of this paper quite enough has been said to show that, on this particular line of settlement of the University question, an essential condition of any arrangement that could be contemplated as admissible would be that,—in words which I have already quoted,—the position of privilege hitherto held by Trinity College in the University of Dublin ‘should be resigned,’ so that each College of the University should ‘stand on an equal footing.’<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This was first published in 1869, and was republished in 1871, before the passing of the ‘University of Dublin Tests Act,’ of 1873. It is unnecessary here to point out in detail to how trifling an extent the passing of that Act has affected the existing state of things either in Trinity College or in the University of Dublin.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, page 169.

And this precisely is what the Irish Bishops have said in their declaration, the first part of which I have already transcribed. In that declaration, they set forth, as an essential condition of the establishment of 'religious equality,' that in connection with whatever University system a College to be established for Catholics might be placed, that College should 'fully participate' in 'the privileges enjoyed by other Colleges of whatsoever denomination or character.'

I shall be told, no doubt, that no equitable settlement could be worked out through the establishment of a second College in the University of Dublin, without a very substantial modification of the constitution of that University. This surely is no new discovery. It was all clearly before the minds of the Bishops when framing their historic declaration on the subject. That is plain from the terms of the declaration itself. After laying down the essential conditions of equality,—by which, it should be noted, they meant, to use their own words, 'religious equality,'—they go on to say :—

All this can, we believe, be attained BY MODIFYING THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN, so as to admit the establishment of a second College within it,<sup>1</sup> IN EVERY RESPECT

<sup>1</sup> One of the worst of the numerous misrepresentations which, if allowed to pass without exposure, could not fail to place the action of the Bishops in a very false light before the Catholics of Ireland, has reference to the site of the new College, on the supposition of an additional College being established within the University of Dublin. The suggestion has been represented as if it involved the building of a College in some corner of the Park of Trinity College. Mr. Butt, who devoted so much time and thought to the working out of a plan of settlement on the basis of a new College in the University of Dublin, has even been quoted as the authority for this view of the locality of the College.

I prefer to take my view of Mr. Butt's proposal, and of what it involved, from Mr. Butt himself. Speaking in the House of Commons, when introducing his University Bill on the 16th of May, 1876, he said, in reference to this branch of the subject :—

'It will be, of course, for the authorities of the College to determine the most convenient site, either in their present situation [St. Stephen's Green] or in any other, within a certain distance of the centre of the City of Dublin, which I propose to fix at *three miles*. I would prefer they should be placed in the immediate vicinity of Trinity College, and the Bill gives power to the governing body of Trinity to sell or lease for this purpose a portion of their ground, if the authorities of the new College should be desirous of that site. But this is a matter entirely for the College itself.'

I have transcribed this extract from a pamphlet containing a verbatim report of the speech, brought out by Mr. Butt himself.



EQUAL TO TRINITY COLLEGE, and conducted on purely Catholic principles, in which your Bishops shall have full control *in all things regarding faith and morals*, securing thereby the spiritual interests of your children, and placing, at the same time, Catholics ON A FOOTING OF PERFECT EQUALITY with Protestants, as to DEGREES, EMOLUMENTS, AND ALL OTHER ADVANTAGES.

It is under these conditions, and under these conditions only, that the Bishops have ever stated that the essential requirements of an equitable settlement of the Irish University question could be effected through the establishment of a second College in the University of Dublin.

I may be asked, whether I think it possible that Trinity College, its governing body, and its numerous array of sympathisers and supporters throughout the country, would ever consent to an arrangement involving the resignation of its privileged position in the University of Dublin? I can only reply that with that question I have nothing to do.

It must be remembered that the Irish Bishops have never themselves claimed to have the University question settled on this line. Our position in the matter is clear and unmistakable. If the statesmen who have the responsibility and the duty of constructing a satisfactory system of University education for Ireland, see any insuperable difficulty in the way of the establishment of a new University, we have to remind them that the establishment of a Catholic University is the policy, and the only policy, which we, Bishops, have at any time positively advocated. Then, if, on any ground, those statesmen wish, in preference, to construct a plan of settlement based on the establishment of a new College in the University of Dublin, we have said to them without reserve that, in our opinion, the thing can be done. But we have added, as, in the discharge of our duty to the Catholic body in Ireland, it was our duty to add, that there are certain conditions without which, equality,—meaning by this, religious equality, surely an indispensable condition of any equitable settlement in this matter,—cannot be secured.

For some reason or other—presumably on some abstruse rule of legal interpretation,—the aspect of the University

question dealt with in the preceding paragraphs seems to be regarded as lying outside the limits of the inquiry with the carrying out of which the Royal Commission now sitting has been charged. It has, however, come rather prominently before the public within the last few months, and I can only repeat what I have frequently said in reference to it in years past. If the feeling prevalent in Trinity College is to be allowed to stand in the way of the Catholics of Ireland being dealt with on lines of equality within the University of Dublin, then surely the Catholic claim to be dealt with on lines of equality in the only other conceivable way in which equality can be reached,—through the establishment of a new University for Catholics,—becomes simply irresistible.

On whatever line it may be found most feasible to do justice to the long-suffering Catholic people of Ireland, one thing, it is to be hoped, will, on all hands, be conceded as indisputable. We have to be extricated, without further unnecessary delay, from the humiliating position in which we have so long been forced to stand. Our Protestant fellow-countrymen are in the enjoyment of every educational advantage that the State provides for its most favoured subjects. For us, there is nothing better placed within our reach than the miserable system of examinations, and of College and school work carried on solely with the view of preparing for those examinations,—the system, educationally ruinous instead of advantageous, that is administered by the examining body officially designated the Royal ‘University.’

To bring this unduly long paper to a close, I transcribe the following interesting passage from the work of an old French writer. I find it quoted in a footnote to Dr. Todd’s Introduction to the Catalogue of Graduates of the University of Dublin, the volume so frequently referred to in the preceding pages :—

‘Depuis plus de huit cens ans,’ says the learned Pioles, avocat au Parlement, ‘qu’il y a des écoles publiques et générales dans le royaume, il n’ étoit encore venu dans l’esprit de personne de croire qu’une Université put être divisée de telle sorte qu’elle fût en

partie dans une ville, et en partie dans une autre. Au contraire, et les illustres fondateurs, à qui les Universités doivent leur naissance, et les augustes protecteurs, à qui elles doivent leur conservation, princes, rois, prélats, souverains pontifes, tous ont été persuadés qu'il étoit essentiel à ces Universités, que chaque une d'elles fût toute entière dans un seul et unique endroit.' <sup>1</sup>

But, apart from the authority of any writer, the present outburst of feeling in educational circles in England, antagonistic to the continued maintenance of the Victoria 'University,' with its scattered Colleges in Manchester, Leeds, and Liverpool, must of itself suffice to render impossible the further subjection of the Catholics of Ireland to the discredited system embodied in the Royal 'University' of Ireland.

✠ W. J. W.

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<sup>1</sup> See the *Catalogue of Graduates* (1869), Introduction, page xv., footnote b.



# Notes and Queries

## THEOLOGY

### QUESTIONS REGARDING THE CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION OF RESERVED CASES

REV. DEAR SIR,—I. When a person has incurred a reserved censure, and there is no time to get faculties to absolve from the Bishop, and there is some pressing necessity to receive Communion, is a penitent bound to confess his sins to an ordinary confessor who has no power over the reserved case? Or, will it be sufficient to elicit an act of perfect contrition before Communion?

II. Again, if a penitent has been absolved, in case of necessity, by the faculties granted in 1886, must he always write to Rome within a month? If so, must the penitent's name be mentioned? Would it be enough to write to the Bishop or a confessor who happens to have faculties to deal with the case?

#### CENSURA.

I. The reason for doubt in regard to the first question is, of course, that it seems useless to confess a sin, over which the confessor has no jurisdiction. Moreover, a penitent should not be obliged to confess his sins twice over. But, if you bind the penitent, in the case contemplated, to confess his reserved sin to a confessor who has no power to absolve from that sin directly, he will still remain bound to confess that same sin afterwards to a confessor having special faculties to deal with the reservation.

In replying to this question of our correspondent, it is necessary to distinguish between papal and episcopal cases. If the reserved censure be a papal censure the penitent is certainly bound to confess before receiving Communion. The reason is evident. Since 1886 any ordinary confessor can, in case of urgent necessity, absolve directly from papal censures. An obligation will, indeed, remain of writing to Rome within a month. But the obligation of *confession*, with its inherent difficulty, is altogether removed. Since 1886 there is, therefore, in regard to papal cases, no reason, to excuse a penitent in the circumstances named from a full confession to any ordinary confessor available.

If there be question of an episcopal censure, then, either the Bishop has adopted the Roman procedure regarding absolution from reserved cases or he has not. If the Bishop has applied the Roman procedure to his own reservations, then, of course, for the reason given above, a full confession must be made before Communion. If, on the other hand, the Bishop has not adopted the new procedure introduced in 1886, it is at least probable that the penitent would not be bound to confess, to an ordinary confessor, a sin over which that confessor has no direct jurisdiction. It would, therefore, be sufficient, if he elicited an act of perfect contrition before going to Communion. It should be noted, however, that if he cannot elicit an act of perfect contrition, he is bound to confess some unreserved sin with attrition, and so obtain indirectly the remission of the mortal sin with which we suppose his soul to be burdened. Again, it is, of course, manifest, that if the penitent had, in addition, to the reserved sin, an unreserved mortal sin, he would certainly be bound to confess the unreserved sin.

II. When a penitent has, in case of urgent necessity, been absolved from a papal case, in virtue of the extraordinary faculties granted in 1886, he is bound, *sub grave*, and under pain of falling back into that censure—if any—from which he has been absolved, to write to Rome within a month. The case may be referred to Rome either by the confessor who gave the absolution or by another confessor, or even by the penitent himself. Usually the confessor who absolves will undertake the duty of writing to Rome. He will use some such form as the following given by Fr. Noldin<sup>1</sup> :—

EMINENTISSIME PRINCEPS,

Titius contraxit censuram speciali (ordinario) modo Romano Pontifici reservatam propter lectionem librorum prohibitorum (propter patratum duellum). Cum ipse nec ad confessarium privilegiatum accedere nec sine absolutione dimitti potuerit et ceteroquin rite despositus videretur, absolutionem recepit. Nunc vero ad obediendum ecclesiae praescriptis hisce litteris per me *in*frascriptum confessarium ad S. Sedem recurrit ad accipienda mandata paratus implere poenitentiam, quam in poenam delicti. Eminentiae vestrae praescribere dignabitur. N. N.

<sup>1</sup> *Vid. De Sacramentis*, p. 388.

The real name of the penitent is not to be used, but the confessor should, of course, give his own name and address, so that the reply may be sent to him. On the outside the letter should be addressed—Eminentissimo Principi Cardinali Poenitentiario Majori, Palazzo della Cancellaria Apostolica, Roma.

It often happens that the Bishop, the Vicar-General, and other confessors have special delegated faculties to absolve from papal reserved cases. Would it be sufficient, for the penitent, our correspondent asks, instead of writing to Rome, to write to some confessor who happens to have the delegated faculties? It would be sufficient to write to the Bishop or to the Vicar-General, when they have the requisite faculties. It would not suffice to write to any other confessor.<sup>1</sup> It is needless to add, of course, that if the penitent is not deterred by the difficulty of repeating his confession of the reserved case in the ordinary way, that, instead of writing to Rome or to the Bishop, or to the Vicar-General, he may be absolved and freed from all further obligation by *any* confessor, who has special faculties to deal with his reserved case. In other words, when a penitent is absolved, in virtue of the faculties of 1886, the obligation of writing to Rome (or to the Bishop or the Vicar-General) is merely conditional—he must either write to Rome (or to the Bishop, etc.), or he must *de novo* confess in the ordinary way to a duly authorised confessor and receive absolution.

#### APPLICATION OF THE MASS IN CASE OF DUPLICATION

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly answer the following question :—There is a rule in this diocese, that each priest has to say three Masses for a deceased priest. When a priest duplicates, can he say the second Mass for the deceased priest? SACERDOS.

Yes, a priest of that diocese who legitimately duplicates, may take a stipend for his first Mass, and offer the second Mass for one of his deceased brethren, in discharge of his obligation under the diocesan arrangement.<sup>2</sup>

D. MANNIX.

<sup>1</sup> See reply S. C. Inquis. 21 Dec., 1900, in I. E. RECORD, May, 1901, p. 472.

<sup>2</sup> Conf. resp. S.C.C. 14 Sept. 1878,



## LITURGY

MUST THE WAX CANDLES REQUIRED BY THE RUBRICS  
BE ENTIRELY OF BEES' WAX?

WE promised to deal with this question in the present issue of the I. E. RECORD.

The only treatment of the question that we have at hand is a *Suffragium* submitted to the Sacred Congregation of Rites by Father Calcedonius Mancini, C.M., one of the Consultors of the said Congregation. It is published in the *Ephemerides Liturgicae* of June, 1901. Though by no means of the same value as a decision of the Sacred Congregation of Rites it is deserving of very great respect, as expressing the opinion of one whose position proves him to be well versed in Sacred Liturgy.

We think it worth while to give *in extenso* that part of the *Suffragium* which directly answers the question.

It will be seen that it is the Consultor's opinion:—

(1.) That, whilst it is desirable that the candles in question should be entirely of bees' wax, yet 'if a notable part of the candles be of bees' wax, the liturgical law is observed.'

(2.) That, even when the quantity of bees' wax is a 'pars satis minor, ut ne notabilis quidem dici queat,' the Rubrics are still substantially, though somewhat imperfectly, observed.

(3.) That, for certain reasons, it is better that the Congregation should not define the proportion required.

The *Ephemerides* states that the Congregation had not given a decision up to June, 1901. As far as we are aware, it has not done so yet.

## SUPER CERA IN SACRA LITURGIA SUFFRAGIUM

EMI. PATRES,

Pluribus abhinc annis quaestio agitur super cera in functionibus sacris adhibenda: an scilicet cera apum necessario adhiberi debeat, quamvis cum aliqua extranea substantia, minori tamen proportionem, possit esse commixta, an permissa necne dicenda sit cera ex alia materia pro maiori parte composita, seu cera apum quasi ex integro exclusa. . . . .

At nunc mihi inquirendum est, utrum ad Rubricarum, quae

retulimus, observantiam, necesse sit omnino, ut *totae* candelae sint ex cera apum. Cui quaesito negative certo certius reponendum est; quia si pars candelarum, saltem notabilis, ex cera apum sit, lex liturgica observatur, et Orationes Ecclesiae suum habent obiectum comprobatum: quod per se patet et demonstratione non eget. Quid autem iudicandum, si pars satis minor, ut ne notabilis quidem dici queat, inveniatur tantum in candelis Liturgiae inservientibus? Audeo pariter reponere, et per has candelas observari, licet minus perfecte, Rubricas, et Orationes liturgicas finem suum attingere.

Dixi *minus perfecte*, et iure, quod nemo negabit; quia lex eiusque spiritus, cum dicunt candelas, nonnisi id omne intelligere possunt, ex quo candelae constant: in casu autem, haud omne, sed pars tantum et satis minor est ex apum cera, ut minus proinde perfecte Rubrica observetur. Observatur tamen; quia si ad totum non potest lex referri, refertur nihilominus ad partem, quam ex cera apum vere supponimus. Similiter finem suum liturgice Orationes assequuntur, quia cera apum, esto in minori parte, in candelis non deest. Quid autem vetat, ut pars pro toto accipiat? Non enim de sacramentis agitur, sed de sacramentalibus.

De hac agendi ratione exempla plura in sacra Liturgia non desunt: adeo ut verba quae proferuntur haud perfecte iis quae fiunt respondeant. Ex. gr. Baptizato, ex antiquo neophitorum more, qui vestem albam induebant post baptismum receptum, nunc quoque dicitur: *Accipe vestem candidam, etc.* Sed notat Rituale pro *veste candida* imponendum infanti *Linteolum* (*tit. II. cap. 2, n. 2*). Rubrica Missalis (*ad Sabb. Sanct.*) dicit: 'Excutitur ignis de lapide . . . et accenduntur carbones.' Antiquitus comprobabatur perfecte Rubrica, cum alius ignorabatur modus excitandi ignem. Sed impraesenti alius adhibetur modus aut carbones deferuntur accensi, ut Rubrica perfecte non comprobetur, et Oratio nonnisi imperfecte scopum suum coasequatur. Nonne calvo tonsura prima confertur, et Oratio verba facit de comis capitis deponendis? Nonne si Acolytho tradatur Breviarium pro libro Epistolarum, valida est Ordinatio, cum nihilominus dicat Pontifex; *Accipe librum Epistolarum?* Atque ita de aliis pluribus. Consequenter haud nimis insistendum hac in ratione, quam ex aliis exemplis atque ex sensu liturgico nihili faciendam esse censeo.

Aliquid nunc super Decretis, sed breviori calamo, mihi dicendum est. Plura citantur etiam ab A. Lavergne, sed eius, ne rigoris excessum dicam, zelum liturgicarum legum probare non valent. Et imprimis notandum, Decretum primum ab illo citatum a nova Collectione exulasse, aliudque exuli fuisse subiectum. Hoc autem prohibet tantum lumina ex oleo nutrita, mensae altaris imminetia, et sacrificii tempore ardentia (*Romana n. 4035 ad VI*). Aliud affertur Decretum in *Massilien. n. 2865*

(4975); sed loquitur explicitè de cera stearina, super qua respondet: *Consulantur Rubricae*. De eadem cera loquitur Decretum *Divionen.*, uti ait praecitatus cl. Lavergne, et super illa S. R. C. respondisset: *Nihil innovetur*: Dies inscripta dicti Decreti esset 7 Sept. 1850, sed in nova Collectione non legitur: utcumque res se habeat, de cera stearica semper verba faceret. Affertur et Decretum in *Caronopolitana*, num. 3063 (5255), quod dicit eliminandum abusum *adhibendi candelas ex sevo*. Aliquod autem Decretum candelas praefatas prohibitas ex sola necessitate S. R. C. permittit. Porro animadverto, citata Decreta ad rem non facere, quia agunt de candelis ex stearina aut sevo exclusive, quas et ipsemet improbo et repudio seu ob foetorem, quem redolent, seu ob indecentiam. Eiusmodi vero non sunt candelae, quas ego adhiberi posse teneo.

Silendum esse censeo de auctoribus, qui vix de candelis ex pura apum cera adhibendis verba faciunt: excludunt tamen, saltem, super altaria, lumina ex stearina, ex sevo, ex oleo. Refert cl. Lavergne notam quamdam, excerptam ex *Ephemeridibus Liturgicis*, quas ipse moderor; et gratias illi refero, quod simplicem notam Redactoris in S. R. Cognis Decretum commutavit. Ceterum haec nota ait tantum, commixtionem alterius materiae in cera pro functionibus liturgicis nullo pacto esse prohibitam (1894, *pag.* 537).

Sive ergo Rubricae, sive Decreta, sive auctores consulantur, asseri iure nequit, candelas partim ex cera apum, licet minus notabili proportionem; partim ex aliis materiis confectas, esse prohibitas: quamvis vetitae sint aliae, quae ex stearina, ex sevo aut adipe exclusive conficiuntur.

Nunc ad symbolismum. In cereis esse verum symbolismum, utpote ab Ecclesiae sapientia admissum, nemo catholicorum ambigit. Cereus repraesentat Christum, apis repraesentat almam Virginem: Christus est mel, mel apis mater educit: Virgo mater genuit Christum: cera apum purissima est, et virgo nuncupatur; sed et virgo est apis, quae eam generat: Virgo est Maria, quae genuit Christum repraesentatum a cera, etc. etc. Haec, ut de lumine sileam, quod et ex oleo producitur. Hoc symbolismum admittit Ecclesia, uti constat ex Missali Romano et Gotico, ex Sacramentario S. R. Ecclesiae, e Ruperto Abbate, et generatim ex Patribus.

At nonne symbolismum istud in candelis habebitur, dummodo in iis apum cera non desit, in modica licet quantitate? Nec deesse quoque poterit symbolismum luminis quod in cera semper ostenditur. Ergo et symbolismum manebit, quamvis candelae ex mera apum cera confecta non fuerint.

Ceterum et hoc breviter animadvertam. Cera primitus, uti oleum, adhibita ne in Ecclesia fuit ob symbolismum, an symbolismum, post cerae usum adinventum fuit? Hoc unum pro



certo habeo, symbola, figuras, mysticasque significationes sine fine excogitatas fuisse semper in ritibus et caeremoniis Ecclesiae: ut vix ritus aliquis, vix aliqua caeremonia instituta fuit, statim devotae mentes et animi reconditos in illis sensus detexerint. Excogitare num futurae aetati (quidni et praesenti)? non licebit symbolismum novum in candelis ex cera apum, cum vegetali vel animali commixta? Etiam, arbitror. Immo addam quod mihi subit in mentem, haec scribenti. Si cera apum purissima repraesentat Christum, cerea pars vegetalis aut animalis depurata, primaeque commixta, nonne optime repraesentare homines poterit, qui in Christo purificantur, atque in ipso, Apostolo docente, efficiuntur iustitia Dei, et cum Christo capite unum corpus mysticum tanquam membra efformant, ut fiant lux in Domino? En optimum symbolismum, puto: quod si ceterum non arrideat, perspicaciores non deerunt spiritus, qui aliud perfectius excogitabunt.

Praeterea si primaevi Christifideles omnia possedissent naturae artisque subsidia ad candelas conficiendas, quae in praesenti aetate noscuntur, putandum ne, illos ea omnia repudiassent propter praefati symbolismi defectum, an potius iisdem ulla sine difficultate usi fuissent, symbolismo neglecto quod ceterum adinvenire nullius momenti negotium constituit? Hoc ipse ab omnibus edoceor, Ecclesiam quidquid de usibus, nec ritibus exceptis, profanisque consuetudinibus gentilium accipere potuit, accepisse, sanctumque fecisse. Atque in praesenti videmus eandem Ecclesiam, alterius generis lumina, quae ignorabat antiquitas, adoptasse sibi, licet extra cultum, in templis, uti ceram vegetalem, animalemq; gas, acetilene, electricum; aliaque fortasse adoptabit, si excogitari poterit hominis ingenium.

Haec dicta sint, ne nimia symbolismo vis tribuatur, cum Ecclesia pro sua sapientia ingenii progressum nequaquam spernat, sed ritus ac caeremonias temporum adinventis aptare semper solemne habuit, habebitque.

Ex hucusque dictis ac discussis liquido, ni fallor, profluit, candelas altarium esse posse ex cera, quam apes non educunt, dummodo cera apum in commixtione non desit. Huiusce autem cerae apum quantitatem determinare lex posset quidem, sed non deberet.

(a) Quia venalitas dominatur in fabricatoribus: adeo ut lege abuterentur ad maiori illam pretio venumdandam.

(b) Quia in commixtione, cerae apum quantitatem mensurare memo posset: ut fabricatoribus fides sit adhibenda, qui tamen, generaliter loquimur, mendaces sunt.

(c) Quia non arbitror imponendam legem, quae urgeri nonnisi maxima cum difficultate potest.

Ut finem dicendi faciam censeo necessarium esse, ut S. R. C. pro sua sapientia statuatur, ceram apum in candelis pro cultu

inservientibus omnino requiri, quin tamen excludi absolute debeat alterius naturae, seu vegetalis, quae praeferenda est, seu animalis cera, quam, attentis rerum, temporum, locorumque adiunctis, S. R. C. permittit, aut tolerat. Hinc opinor, dubium iam propositum, et pro modulo meo resolutum, alia seu sequenti ratione posse exprimi :

‘An candelae super altaribus ponendae, omnino et integre ex cera apum esse debeant, an esse possint cum alia materia seu vegetali seu animali commixtae, ita tamen ut aliqua, saltem notabilis, pars cerae apum in illis omnino nunquam desit?’

Resp. *Negative* ad primam partem : *Affirmative* ad secundam. Quae omnia dicta sint sub censura Eminentiarum Vestrarum.

CALCEDONIUS MANCINI, P.C.M.

Sacr. Rit. Congr. Consult. Commiss. Liturg. Secret.

#### THE GRAINS OF INCENSE FOR THE PASCHAL CANDLE

REV. DEAR SIR,—A clerical customer of ours, who has ordered a Paschal candlestick and set of incense grains, has raised a point, whether it is rubrical to use ornamental brass incense grains or not.

These brass incense grains are made like a small case with a screw cover, into which the grains proper are put.

We shall be very pleased if you will kindly inform us through the medium of the I. E. RECORD on this point. Thanking you in anticipation and trusting we are not troubling too much.—Yours sincerely,

JOHN SMYTH & SONS.

The rubrics of the Missal speak only of ‘quinque grana incensi.’ They do not prescribe any special form. Neither does the Sacred Congregation of Rites. Merati,<sup>1</sup> quoting Bauldry *verbatim*, says :—

Quinque grana incensi novi . . . pulchre elaborata in modum nucis pineae ferreisque clavis suffulta, et in extremitate inaurata, modo tamen plus thuris appareat quam alterius rei.

This is the only description we have seen—grains made (1) like a pine cone ; (2) with an iron nail ; (3) gilt, only at the top, so that more incense than gilding appears.

But as the cases described by our correspondent are not directly against the rubrics or decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, and as they are extensively used and very convenient, we would be slow to condemn them.

P. O’LEARY.

<sup>1</sup> In *Gavantum*, Pars iv., tit. x., n. 1.

## DOCUMENTS

ROMAN AUTHORITIES AGAIN CALL ATTENTION TO THE  
FORM OF CORRESPONDENCE .

EME. AC RME. DOMINE,

Haud raro accidit, ut ad SS. Romanas Congregationes, hac Suprema S. Officii non excepta, a RR. Curiarum Episcopaliū negotiorum Romae Procuratoribus (italice 'Agenti Ecclesiastici') documenta, de rebus etiam gravissimis et maxima observatione dignis, plane resignata atque omnium oculis patentia exhibeantur; eadem vero nonnunquam adeo parvulis atque exiguis chartulis neglectaque forma exarata sunt, ut et erga S. Sedem non parum indecentia atque ad positiones, quas vocant, efformandas minus apta inveniantur.

Haec omnia iure merito lamentantes Emi. Domini Cardinales una mecum Inquisitores Generales, in Congregatione Generali habita fer. IV. die 24 Aprilis anni currentis omnibus Episcopaliū Curiis significandum mandarunt, ut in posterum huiusmodi documenta, in folio communis Romae dimensionis conscripta, vel directim per publica epistolarum diribitoria vel, si quidem rationabili ex causa Procuratorum opera uti velint, ita clausa et sigillo munita transmittant, ut nullus ex parte ipsorum Procuratorum clandestinae aperitioni locus esse queat.

Quae dum, ut mei muneris est, ad Em. Tuae notitiam defero, lubenter capta occasione, fausta quaeque ac felicia Tibi precor a Domino.

Datum Romae ex S. O. die 23 Aug., 1901.

Addictissimus obsequentissimus famulus verus,

L. M. Card. PAROCCHI.

THE FOUNDATION OF NEW RELIGIOUS HOUSES—RULES  
LAID DOWN BY PROPAGANDA

ILLME. AC RME. DOMNE,

Quamvis probe sciat haec S. Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, ingentem provenire missionibus utilitatem ex ministerio Regularium: ita ut maxime in votis sit videre eorum domus ubique institui: curandum tamen est, ut res ordinate et ad praestitutae disciplinae normam peragantur. Quamobrem duxit S. Congregatio



per praesentes litteras in memoriam Ordinariorum locorum a se dependentium revocare sententiam, quam ut communem hodie et cui favet passim rerum iudicatarum auctoritas, tradit Constitutio SS<sup>mi</sup>. D. N. Leonis XIII. quae incipit 'Romanos Pontifices': nempe: non licere Regularibus, tam intra quam extra Italiam, nova monasteria aut conventus sive collegia fundare, sola Episcopi venia, sed indultam quoque a Sede Apostolica facultatem requiri. Cui legi cum aut semper aut ubique obtemperatum non fuisse videatur, ideo eius observantiam voluit S. Congregatio per praesentes urgere. Diligenter ergo in posterum abstineant Ordinarii omnes Sacrae Congregationi subiecti a licentia danda religiosis Institutis domum aperiendi in territorio propriae iurisdictionis, absque venia prius a praefata S. Congregatione obtenta. Quod vero attinet ad domus religiosas huc usque in iisdem territoriis, S. Congregatione inconsulta, forte erectas, etsi haec, Ordinariis flagitantibus, singulisque ponderatis casibus, propensa omnino sit ad legitimas habendas huiusmodi foundationes: tamen mandat ut de praedictis si quae existant domibus, distinctus ab Ordinariis exhibeatur elenchus, ac simul pro iisdem canonica ratihabitio per supplicem libellum petatur.

Interim Deum precor ut Te diu sospitet.

Datum Romae ex Aedibus S. C. de Propaganda Fide die  
7 Decembris, 1901.

Amplitudinis Tuae

Addictissimus Servus

MIECISLAUS Card. LEDÓCHOWSKI, *Praefectus*,  
ALOYSIUS VECCIA, *Secretarius*.



## ‘THE IRISH COLLEGE IN PARIS, 1578-1901’

### GLEANINGS—LANGUAGE

**I**N a book recently published, the present writer has given an account of the Irish College in Paris, from its origin to the present time. In that work the relations of the College with the University of Paris, and the course of studies in theology and philosophy, received due notice. One point, however, as being of secondary importance, was not dwelt upon, viz., the language in use amongst the students. The language of the schools was Latin; the language of the country was French. The Irish students were obliged to make use of these. But they were Irishmen; and what was the language of their daily life? This is a question not without interest, and in the present paper the writer purposes to examine—(1) Whether, assuming that the English language was spoken, the Irish language was also in use in the College; (2) What attention was paid to the study of Irish; (3) What was done by the College for the diffusion of Irish literature and for the preservation of the language; and (4) to add a few words on the proficiency of the students in the French language.

### I

That the Irish language was in use in the Irish College in Paris in the eighteenth century does not admit of doubt. That College was a national establishment in the fullest

sense of the word. Some of the Irish colleges in France educated priests for particular provinces. The College at Lille, for instance, was reserved for the education of Leinstermen. Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, in a letter addressed to Propaganda on 13th May, 1671, laments that no students were admitted in the Irish colleges at Bordeaux and Toulouse except those from Munster. In his zeal for the welfare of the Church in Ireland the saintly Primate desired a truly national college. The Irish College in Paris had been already in existence for nearly a century. In their protest against Jansenism, in 1651, its students declared that the number of Irishmen studying in Paris was greater than in any other city in the world. In 1672 the Bishops of Ireland, with Dr. Plunket at their head, desired to give to the College still further development; and they deputed Dr. Molony, Bishop of Killaloe, to proceed to Paris for the purpose of negotiations with the authorities in France. Writing to Propaganda, in 1672, to ask permission for Dr. Molony to absent himself from his diocese, Dr. Plunket speaks thus of the College:—

It will be a great seminary for the missions of this kingdom, being in a city so rich, so desirous of procuring the propagation of the faith, as their charity sufficiently proved during the late persecution of Cromwell, when the Parisians supported hundreds and hundreds of ecclesiastics and students exiled during that tempest. It is certain that the Bishop of Killaloe will do more good by procuring for us that College than he would do did he remain in his diocese during his whole lifetime.<sup>1</sup>

In the College archives there is no mention of Dr. Molony's mission in 1672. But no doubt Dr. Maginn and Dr. Kelly were acting by authority of the Bishops when they obtained possession of the Lombard College.

A similar omission occurred in more recent times respecting the visit of Dr. Hussey to Paris, to solicit permission to re-open the Irish College in that city after the revolution. This visit is thus recorded in a manuscript note by Dr. Walsh, which we have been fortunate enough to find at the Archives Nationales.<sup>2</sup>

Aussitot que le traité d'Amiens permit aux Evêques d'Irlande

<sup>1</sup> Moran, *Life of Oliver Plunket*, pp. 110, 112, 113, 114.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Nat. H<sup>3</sup>, 2561.



d'envoyer un député, ils choisirent M. l'Evêque de Waterford parceque ce Prélat était en même temps aumonier et agent accrédité de S. M. Catholique dans les trois royaumes insulaires. Ce député fut présenté par l'ambassadeur d'Espagne ; il sollicita et obtint l'arrêté du 19 fructidor an. 9, dont l'article 10 est ainsi conçu. ‘Le Ministre de l'Interieur est chargé de l'execution du present arrêt, qui sera inséré au Bulletin des Lois.’<sup>1</sup>

It is a pleasing duty to record the services rendered to the College by the accomplished Bishop of Waterford, the zealous Bishop of Killaloe, and the heroic martyred Primate of Ireland. But to return to our subject, the Irish College in Paris was open to students from all the provinces of Ireland, and they must have brought with them the language then prevailing in the country. That such was the fact is evident from authentic records. But first let us see what was the condition of the language, and what was the extent to which it prevailed in Ireland.

As to the state of the Irish language in the eighteenth century, two of the Superiors of the College, Rev. Andrew Donlevy, and Rev. David Henegan, furnish reliable information. In the elements of the Irish language appended to his *Catechism*,<sup>2</sup> Father Donlevy<sup>3</sup> laments the incorrect forms which had crept into the language in the following terms :—

Poets, not the ancient and skilful, who took pains to render their poems sententious and pithy without much clipping, but the modern makers of doggerel rhymes and ballads, to save time and labour, introduced the custom of clipping and joining words together in order to fit them to the measure of their verses. Others who wrote in prose, have either in imitation of the poets, or through ignorance or want of judgment, strangely clipped and spelled and huddled them together as they are pronounced, let their pronunciation be never so irregular and defective ; not reflecting that a poetical licence, even when justifiable, is not

<sup>1</sup> By this decree the Bureau referred to in the *History of the Irish College, Paris, 1578-1901*, pp. 67 and 70, was established.

<sup>2</sup> Donlevy's *English-Irish Catechism*. Paris: 1742 ; pp. 506-507.

<sup>3</sup> In Ware's *Antiquities of Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 254, Harris refers to Father Donlevy as follows :—‘The present Prefect of this Seminary (Irish College, Paris), is Dr. Andrew Donlevy, titular Dean of Raphoe, and author of a work of Christian instruction in catechetical method, English and Irish, printed in Paris, 1742. I take occasion to mention him here out of gratitude for many favours I received from him, particularly by his transmitting to me from time to time several useful collections out of the King's and other libraries in Paris.’

imitable in prose, or that writing as people speak or pronounce is to maim the language, to destroy the etymology, and confound the propriety and orthography; for not only the several provinces of Ireland have a different way of pronouncing, but also the very counties, and even some baronies in one and the same county, do differ in the pronunciation; nay, some counties pronounce so oddly that the natural sound of both vowels and consonants whereof, even according to themselves the words consist, is utterly lost in their mouths. . . . It is no wonder then that a language of neither court, nor city, nor Bar, nor business, ever since the beginning of James the First's reign should have suffered alterations and corruptions, and be now on the brink of utter decay, as it really is, to the great dishonour and shame of our natives, who shall always pass everywhere for Irishmen, although Irishmen without Irish is an incongruity and a great bull. Besides the Irish language is undeniably a very ancient mother language, and one of the smoothest in Europe, no way abounding with monosyllables nor clogged with rugged consonants which make a harsh sound upon the ear. And there is still extant a great number of old valuable Irish manuscripts both in publick and private hands which would, if translated, give great light into the antiquities of the country, and furnish some able pen with materials to write a compleat history of the kingdom. What a discredit then it must be to a whole nation to let such a language go to wrack?

Rev. David Henegan, in an article on Keating in the *Grand Dictionnaire de Moreri*, edited by Drouet, in 1759, writes thus (we translate from the French):—

The Irish language, which Keating made use of in his works, is the purest dialect existing of the Celtic tongue. The Breton and the Welsh being much mixed with barbarisms and foreign terms on account of the intimate and necessary commerce of those two nations with the Romans, the French, the Saxons, and other nations. Whereas the Irish and the northern Scotch, who are only a colony of the former, living in some degree separated from the rest of Europe, were easily able to preserve the purity of their language, which they cultivated with great care, as may be easily seen by the order, the ease, and the clearness which reign in their poetry and their tales, which surpass in this respect all the best compositions of the period in the other vulgar tongues of Europe. But this advantage is already beginning to disappear by the mixture which the too frequent use of English has introduced insensibly, so that soon men of literary education will be the only persons who can flatter themselves that they speak that language with correctness and purity.

So much for the state of the language itself. To what extent was it spoken? Mr. Lecky in his *History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* writes as follows<sup>1</sup> :—

A very competent authority, in 1738 states that not more than one person in twenty was ignorant of English ; and another writer, who described the County of Down a few years later, declared that Irish was there only prevalent among the poorer Catholics, and that they showed a strong desire that their children should learn English.

Yet Irish continued to be spoken through nearly the whole of Ireland down to the end of the eighteenth century. Townsend, in his *Survey of Cork*,<sup>2</sup> speaks thus of Catholics: 'The greater part derive no eventual advantage from their school-days ; for, being recalled at an early age, and mixing with a family who speak only Irish, even the little smattering of English they had acquired is soon lost.' Wakefield, who visited Ireland in 1808, says :<sup>3</sup> 'The Irish language is so much spoken among the common people in the city of Cork and its neighbourhood that an Englishman is apt to forget where he is, and to consider himself in a foreign city. In the county Wexford,' he writes, 'although the Catholic is the prevailing religion, the language everywhere spoken is the English.'

Another Englishman, John Carr, Esq., in his account of his tour in Ireland in 1805, writes thus :—

It [the Irish language] is remarkable for the variety of its powers ; it is affecting, sweet, dignified, energetic, and sublime. In the county Meath, which borders on the Metropolis, it has been said, a justice of the peace must understand Irish or keep an interpreter. In the north-west and south-west counties the English language is scarcely known. In the county of Wexford English customs and habits prevail, and the English language is quite forgotten.<sup>4</sup>

From the foregoing testimonies it is evident that, though deteriorating, the Irish language was prevalent amongst

<sup>1</sup> *History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i. p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> Addenda, p. 60. See Wakefield, *Ireland, Political and Social*. London, 1812, vol. ii. p. 582.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. ii. pp. 582 and 766.

<sup>4</sup> *The Stranger in Ireland, or a Tour in the Southern and Western parts of the Country in 1805*, by John Carr, Esq. London, 1806, p. 399.



Catholics in Ireland. The Irish students in Paris, coming as they did from all the provinces of Ireland, must have brought with them the language of the country. But here we are not left to inferences only. Documents bearing on the subject are still extant.

In 1734 a controversy arose with reference to the propriety of sending young men to study in Paris, who had already been ordained priests at home. The priests of the Lombard College drew up a memorandum in their own defence,<sup>1</sup> and in it the language question was introduced. The junior students, they stated,<sup>2</sup> had greater facility in acquiring a perfect mastery of the French language. It was a kind of necessity for them to learn it, as they were more dependant on charity than the priests. Many of them acquired such proficiency in it that they forgot their native tongue. The priests, on the other hand, coming to France later in life never acquired a perfect French accent. They were, therefore, less inclined to remain in France. They preserved their mother tongue, and were therefore better fitted than the juniors for the work of the mission in Ireland. 'L'experience l'a démontré et a fait voir,' says the Memorandum, 'que la plupart des ecoliers ne pouvaient être employés à la mission faute d'avoir conservé l'usage de la langue irlandaise.'

Here, then, there is evidence of the use of the Irish language in the daily life of the students. But there are other proofs also. By his will, dated 1764, the Most Rev. John O'Brien, Bishop of Cloyne, founded burses in the College, and he laid it down as a condition that candidates, to be eligible to them, should be able to speak and read Irish.

Again, we have evidence on the same point so late as

<sup>1</sup> See *Irish College in Paris from 1598 to 1901*, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> A l'égard de la precaution qu'on prend d'obliger les jeunes Irlandais a parler leur langue maternelle, on sait que cela n'est praticable ni de la part des superieurs qui ont assez d'autres soins, ni de celle des Ecoliers qui ne peuvent trop parler la langue française avec laquelle ils pourvoient à leur subsistence. Il y a plus ces prêtres sortis de leur pays dans un âge mûr conservent la connaissance de toute la plus utile, c'est à dire celle de leur langue maternelle, les ecoliers au contraire l'oublient et sont forcés de l'oublier. — *Memoire pour les Pretres, imprimé*, Arch. Nat., M. 147.

1774. About that time the Irish bursers at Poitiers were transferred to Paris. A decree was prepared sanctioning the transfer, with the limitation that no particular college should have an exclusive right to the bursers. In reference to this draft scheme it was argued that the Irish College was the establishment to which they should be allocated.

As the draft rule [it was said<sup>1</sup>], has not yet been ratified, it seems proper to observe, that inasmuch as one of the principal motives for which the bursers have been withdrawn from the Poitiers College, has doubtless been to prevent the bursars from losing the use of the Irish language, a knowledge of which is absolutely necessary for the mission in that country, nothing can be more opposed to that motive than the first article of the aforesaid scheme; which says, that no college or house of the university shall have a particular right to the said funds. From the moment that these bursers were founded for persons destined to the mission in Ireland, the Irish seminary seems to be the place where they ought to be educated to the exclusion of all others. . . . However respectable are the seminaries of St. Nicholas de Chardonnet, and of the Trente-Trois, where several of those bursars have hitherto been placed, they cannot make up for the want of the Irish and English languages, which are indispensable to missionaries.

A further testimony bearing on the same point is found in a letter of Dr. Kearney, rector of the College, to the Bishop of Meath in 1788. Speaking of one of the students, he says:—‘He applies close to his duty, of which one proof is that he knew no Irish some months ago; he has now got to be able to get the whole Irish Catechism by heart.’<sup>2</sup>

From all this it is manifest that the Irish language continued to exist as a living language in the Irish College in Paris throughout the eighteenth century. Let us now proceed to consider what provision was made for instruction in Irish, and for practice in the literary use of the language.

## II

Not only was Irish spoken, it was also taught in class. We have evidence of this in the foundation made by

<sup>1</sup> *Etat des Revenues fait par ordre de l'archevêque de Paris, supérieur majeur*, MS. 1788.

<sup>2</sup> Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, vol. iii. p. 125.

M. Philip Joseph Perrotin, lord of Barmon and Knight of the Order of St. Michael. That excellent French gentleman, having learned how necessary a knowledge of the Irish language was for missionaries in Ireland, made a donation of three hundred livres a year to promote the study of that tongue. Two of the clauses of the donation were to the following effect :—

1. There shall be in perpetuity a class of Irish for the advantage of those who cannot read or write that language. . . . .
4. There shall be given four prizes each year, two for such as shall be best in Irish composition, and two in favour of those who shall know the catechism best in the same tongue. The two former shall be of ten livres each, and the two latter of five livres.<sup>1</sup>

But it was not by conversation and by instruction in class only, that a knowledge of the Irish language was promoted. The students were taught to preach in Irish. To encourage them in this exercise, prizes were awarded to the most successful. A generous benefactor of the College, Bartholomew Murry, M.D., amongst many other donations, made one for this purpose. By the act of donation, dated 1764, he gave—

One hundred livres a year also in perpetuity, from the death of the said donor, in the form of prizes, to the deacons and priests of the said community of Irish clerics, who shall have preached best in Irish and in English, to wit: Sixty livres to the person who shall have preached the two best sermons of his own composition in Irish; and forty livres to whoever shall have preached best two sermons of his own composition in English, and the same person may obtain both prizes if he surpass all others in preaching in both languages.

It is plain, then, that the Irish language held a prominent place in the course of studies, and that a literary knowledge of it was encouraged.

### III

While the Irish language was thus cultivated, provision was also made for printing and circulating Irish books; and the superiors of the College co-operated in the

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<sup>1</sup> He modified this clause at a later date, making the first premium in each case ten livres, and the second five livres.



production of works destined to preserve the language. One of the effects of the persecution of Catholics in the seventeenth century was to deprive them of the means, and of the liberty to print religious books in the Irish language in Ireland. The dearth of books of religious instruction moved zealous Irishmen resident on the Continent to do what in them lay for the instruction of their countrymen at home. In this good work, says the Abbé Henegan, the Irish Franciscans led the way:—

C'est a Louvain surtout qu'on a composé et publié le plus de cette espèce de livre par les soins des Religieux Observantins du Convent du Saint Antoine de Padoue; dont plusieurs se sont extrêmement distingués par leur capacité et leur zèle a maintenir la foi Catholique dans leur patrie.<sup>1</sup>

The Irish Franciscans of the Convent of St. Antony, at Louvain, had catechisms printed in Irish for distribution among the people.<sup>2</sup>

In Rome, too, Irish books were printed at the Propaganda Press. There Father Francis O'Mulloy published a work of religious instruction in the Irish language, entitled *Lucerna Fidelium*, in 1676;<sup>3</sup> and in 1677 his Latin-Irish Grammar issued from the same press.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionnaire de Moreri*, A.D. 1759, art. Keating, by Henegan.

<sup>2</sup> A copy of one of these catechisms, printed at Louvain in 1663, is to be seen at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, in Paris. It has the following approbation: 'Visa attestazione duorum Sacrae Theologiae professorum idiomatis Hibernici bene peritorum, ac omni exceptione majorum, quâ testantur hunc catechismum, auctore, R. admo. et sapientiss. D.D., G.T., S.S., T.D., &c., compositum, plane consentire principiis fidei Catholicae, apostolicae et Romanae, necnon puritati Vitae Christianae, hinc, censeo, posse, imo debere imprimi ad juventutis Hibernicae instructionem et animarum salutem. Datum Lovanii hac 18 Octobris MDCLXIII. Antonius Dave, Sacrae Theologiae doctor et professor regius, librorum censor apostolicus et archiep. Mechlinensis.' This little book has had its odyssey. It bears the mark: 'Ex libris Congregationis Missions domus St. Lazari Parisiensis.' Inside the cover it has the following words written in English: 'Lord, have mercy on me. Patrick O'Bryan is my name, and with my pen I write the same.' The same is repeated, with the signature James Kehoe—a frail monument, but, in this case, *aere perennius*. The catechism contains the manner of serving Mass, but without the *De Profundis*.

<sup>3</sup> '*Lucerna fidelium seu fasciculus discerptus ab authoribus magis versatis qui tractaverunt de doctrina Christiana, divisus in tres partēs, auctore F. Francisco O'Molloy, Hibernio Midensi. Romae, 1676.*'

<sup>4</sup> '*Grammatica Latino-Hibernica nunc compendiata, auctore R. P. Francisco O'Molloy, Ord. Min. Strict. Observantiae, in Collegio Sti Isidori S. Theologiae Professore Primario, Lectore Jubilato, et Provinciae Hiberniae in curiâ Romanâ, Agente Generali. Romae ex typographia S. Cong. de Propaganda Fide, A.D. 1677.*'

But in the beginning of the eighteenth century the books printed in Louvain had become scarce. To supply the want of Irish books, writes the Abbé Henegan in the article above referred to, an Irish priest resident in Paris, the Abbé Begley,<sup>1</sup> had Irish type cast in that city in 1730. He then invited Hugh M'Curtin, who had already published, at Louvain, his *Elements of the Irish Language*,<sup>2</sup> to come to Paris, and enabled him to publish there his well-known *Anglo-Irish Dictionary*.<sup>3</sup>

A few years later Rev. Andrew Donlevy, Licentiate of Laws and Prefect of the clerics at the Lombard College, availed himself of the opportunity of printing Irish books in Paris, and in 1742 he published his Irish-English catechism.<sup>4</sup>

Donlevy's *Catechism* forms an octavo volume of 518 pages, with the Irish and English texts on opposite pages. In the appendix there is an abridgment of the Christian Doctrine in Irish and in rhyme, by Father Bonaventure O'Heoghusa [O'Hussey], O.S.F., and a short treatise on the elements of the Irish language.

At the beginning of the book are printed certificates of approval by Bishops O'Gara, Gallagher and M'Donough; by Rev. F. J. Duany, O.E.S.A., and Rev. T. B. Kelly, O.S.F., both doctors of the Sorbonne; and by Dr. Corr, and Dr. M'Kenna, Provisors; by Father Hennessy, Licentiate; and by Rev. Richard Devereux, Principal of the Lombard College, the latter certifying for the English text only.

The printing of this book was a real *tour de force*, and is thus referred to in the preface: 'An absence of upwards of thirty-one years from one's native country, and the profound ignorance of the printer, who understood not one word of either language, will be a sufficient apology for the

<sup>1</sup> In the deed of the Foundation M'Carthy Rabagh, dated 1729, mention is made of a Father Begley as follows: 'Thadee Begley prêtre, docteur en Théologie de la Sorbonne, prêtre habitué de la paroisse de St. Germain l'Auxerrois.' He is, no doubt, the person referred to above.

<sup>2</sup> Louvain, 1728.

<sup>3</sup> *Anglo-Irish Dictionary*, by Hugh M'Curtin. Paris, 1732.

<sup>4</sup> The title of the English part is *The Catechism; or, Christian Doctrine by way of Question and Answer, drawn chiefly from the Word of God and other pure sources*. Paris, 1742.

faults of both the languages and of the press.' The expense of printing was defrayed, it is added, 'by a very worthy gentleman, Philip Joseph Perrot,<sup>1</sup> Lord of the Manor of Barmon and other territories, and Knight of the Royal Order of St. Michael, and who of a long time is well affected to the Irish Nation, and has often given proofs of his affection to several of them, and without whose concurrence this little work could never have come to light.' The instruction contained in Donlevy's *Catechism* is simple, clear, and full, as will be seen from the extracts printed below.<sup>2</sup>

M. de Perrotin's benefits did not end with the publication of Donlevy's *Catechism*. As has been stated above he made a donation, producing an annual revenue of three hundred livres, to promote the study of Irish. A portion of the revenue was destined for the Professor of Irish, a portion for prizes, and a portion was to be set apart for printing in Irish. The following are the terms of the act of donation :

<sup>1</sup> The name in the original document is Perrotin.

<sup>2</sup> The following is an extract from the chapter on Meditation in Donlevy's *Catechism*, pp. 451, 485 :—

*Question* : What is that prayer which you call meditation or mental prayer ?

*Answer* : Meditation or mental prayer is a serious and frequent reflection which is made in the presence of God, and by the assistance of His grace, on the truths of salvation, to know them well, to love them, and to put them in practice.

*Q.* Is this prayer of great benefit ?

*A.* It is of very great benefit, for by practising it we learn to know solidly the truths of salvation, to love them warmly, and to put them in practice faithfully. These are the three effects of meditation, which can hardly be sufficiently esteemed, because they comprehend all that is necessary for salvation. Moreover, meditation teaches us to speak to God and to hear God. We speak to God when we pray, God speaks to us when He enlightens our understanding by good thoughts, excites our will by holy inspirations, and animates us to put them in execution, etc., etc.

*Q.* Doth it not belong only to recluses, or people who have quitted the world, to use this prayer ?

*A.* Not only to them, but also to others. It is the business of everybody to learn well the truths of salvation, to love them, and to put them in practice.

*Q.* Who is the author of meditation or mental prayer ?

*A.* God Himself, for when He gave the law to His chosen people He commanded them to meditate on it continually, saying : 'The things which I command thee this day shall be in thy heart, and thou shalt teach them to thy children, and thou shalt meditate on them whether sitting in thy house or walking on thy way, lying down, and rising up ; and thou shalt have them in thy hand, and they shall be before thy eyes.' Deut. vi. 6, 7, 8, &c., &c.

*Q.* Is not meditation or mental prayer a difficult exercise ?

*A.* It is not, as it can be easily made manifest. But it is very strange



‘There shall be printed from time to time catechisms and other little books of piety in the Irish language, which shall be given gratis to the students and ecclesiastics returning to Ireland, to be by them distributed to persons capable of instructing the young.’<sup>1</sup>

In an *Etat des Revenus*, made by order of the Archbishop of Paris in 1788, the following observation is found with reference to M. Perrotin’s foundation :—

This foundation is invaluable. The Irish language is a dialect of the Celtic and altogether different from English. The policy of the Government has introduced the latter into all public acts, debates in Parliament, the pulpit, pleadings in the courts, so that the Irish language is no longer in use except amongst the country people, who are almost all Catholics. In order to withdraw them from their religion, the Government has established a chair of Irish for the country ministers. It is, therefore, essential that Catholic missionaries should be acquainted with it, in order to

that men should account that hard which is performed daily in all sorts of business except that of salvation. What merchant is there that doth not seriously, and often think on the affairs of his traffick? Who is it that has a process or suit at law, and doth not daily cast up in his mind the means to gain it? And that not lightly and hastily, but seriously, with attention, and with affection, and putting in execution all the means he finds. To act in this manner in the affairs of salvation is what we understand by meditation, etc.

Q. Can we not easily work out our salvation without meditation or mental prayer?

A. Not easily, indeed; for seeing meditation or mental prayer is nothing else but a serious and frequent reflection upon the truths of salvation, to know them, to love them, and to practice them; it is certain that it is a very difficult thing to effect our salvation without meditation, as it is very hard to practice the truths of the same salvation without knowing them, to know them without thinking seriously and frequently on them, and without often and humbly demanding of God the grace to know them, to love them, and to practise them, etc., etc.

#### SACRAMENT OF HOLY ORDERS.

Q. Is it sufficient that his parents design him for the Church?

A. No, for parents are often as worldly, and as vain as their children; moreover, they are commonly ignorant of the obligations of clergymen, and of the dangers of that high calling; so that as our Saviour said to the children of Zebedee, and to their mother, they know not what they ask. St. Matt. xx. 22. Con. Burdig. 1624.

If they have a mind that any of their children should be clergymen, they ought to present to God the most worthy, the most pious, the most studious, for it is not pleasing to God, or the Church, to offer them the dull-witted, the impious, the maimed, the infirm, or the refuse of their children. Lev. xxi. 18. Decr. Greg. IX., lib. 1.

<sup>1</sup> This foundation, like all the others, was reduced by two-thirds at the great Revolution, and has been further reduced by *Conversions des Rentes* from five to three per cent. 300 livres are equivalent to £12.

combat successfully the efforts of the ministers; and that they should be able to supplement their oral instruction by books such as catechisms. It is to be regretted that the revenues of the foundation are so small.

The accuracy of the statements here made are borne out by the testimony of Lecky in his *History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*.<sup>1</sup> Having stated that Irish was prevalent only among the poorer Catholics, he continues:—

In the preceding century, Bedell and Boyle had clearly seen that to translate the Bible and to spread the doctrines of Protestantism in the native language was the true method of encountering Catholicism in Ireland. The Lower House of Convocation in 1703 passed a resolution desiring the appointment of an Irish-speaking minister in every parish. Archbishop King supported the plan. Trinity College made arrangements for teaching Irish to students. The English Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge gave some assistance, and two or three clergymen devoted themselves with eminent success to preaching to the people in their own language. The Government, however, which desired to eradicate the language discountenanced their efforts.

The necessity for instruction in Irish was, therefore, a very real one, and it is a pleasure to record the efforts made by the national college in Paris to prepare its students for this important work.

Nor were the services rendered to Irish literature limited to teaching, and to the printing of books of piety. The College had also a share in giving to the world two other works of interest to Irish scholars. The first of these was O'Brien's *Foca Loir, or Anglo-Irish Dictionary*.<sup>2</sup> That work was written in Ireland in 1767, and was sent to Paris to be printed. It was examined, and certified for publication, by the Abbé Henegan, one of the Superiors of the Irish College, and published in 1768. This work contains a dedication by the author, to his Eminence Cardinal Castelli, Prefect of the Propaganda. After stating in the letter of dedication,

<sup>1</sup> Lecky's *History of Ireland*, etc., vol. i. pp. 331, 332.

<sup>2</sup> *Foca Loir, or Anglo-Irish Dictionary*, by J. O'Brien. Paris, 1768. The author is believed by many to have been the Most Rev. John O'Brien, Bishop of Cloyne. The dedication to Cardinal Castelli is in favour of this view. See also preface to O'Reilly's *Irish Dictionary* by O'Donovan, and, *Dictionary of National Biography*, art. O'Brien, John.

that not more than one-seventh of the population of Ireland was non-Catholic, the author speaks as follows of the Irish language :—

Non immerito, sane, dixerim, nativo hujusce gentis idiomati divinam Providentiam alligasse odium quasi innatum erga novas omnes in rebus fidei molitiones, quippe cum in confesso est apud nostrates universos, nullum hominem, cui hæc solummodo linguâ uti datum erat, ab orthodoxâ Christi fide unquam extorrem esse factum. Non igitur injuria linguæ sanctæ nomenclatura sibi arrogaret. Hæc, tamen, cum talis sit, tam efficax ad fideles nostros in recto veritatis tramite continendos, ad interitum propediem esset ruitura, nisi Eminentissima Dominatio Vestra eam potentissimo suo patrocínio, suâque munificentia, sublevasset, eique etiam vitam imo et perennitatem asseruisset.

The second work which the College had a share in giving to Irish literature was the *Book of Lecain*.<sup>1</sup> That valuable and ancient manuscript had long been in possession of the Lombard College; and O'Curry<sup>2</sup> attributes the chief excellence of Mageoghegan's *History of Ireland* to the fact that he had an opportunity of consulting it.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Royal Dublin Society established a committee of men interested in the literature and antiquities of Ireland. That committee deputed the Chevalier Thomas O'Gorman to apply to the Lombard College, and such other bodies as he might have an opportunity of visiting, for copies of manuscripts and ancient records illustrating the history and antiquities of Ireland. Rev. Charles O'Neil, Principal of the College, and Rev. Laurence Kelly,<sup>3</sup> Prefect of the Clerics, responded to the appeal made by the Chevalier O'Gorman. In consequence a meeting was convened at the Lombard College on 11th of March, 1773, of persons interested in Irish literature and antiquities. The Most Rev. Richard Dillon, Archbishop of Narbonne, himself of Irish origin, presided. A branch committee was established in Paris, and the Superiors of the Lombard College promised to furnish to the Society a

<sup>1</sup> The *Book of Lecain*, of 600 pages, small folio, is to be seen in the Library, Royal Academy. *Dict. of Nat. Biography*, art. MacFirbis.

<sup>2</sup> O'Curry's *Lectures*, p. 442.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Kelly was a priest of the Diocese of Armagh.



copy of the *Book of Lecain*, the only valuable manuscript in their possession.

A few years later, in 1787, the Royal Irish Academy received from the Abbé Kearney, Superior of the Irish College in Paris, the original manuscript of the *Book of Lecain*, and that body still preserves it as one of its most valued treasures.<sup>1</sup>

Thus did the Irish College in Paris co-operate all through the eighteenth century in promoting the study of Irish and in preserving Irish literature. The names of Begly and Perrotin, and Murry and Donlevy and Henegan ought not to be forgotten. And they might not unreasonably say:—

Si Pergama dextrâ  
Defendi possent, etiam hæc defensa fusissent.<sup>2</sup>

#### IV

Whilst the Irish language was thus cultivated, the French language was not neglected. Irish was the mother tongue of the students; French was the language of their place of exile, and they could not be ignorant of it. The priests who came to France late in life acquired, indeed, a knowledge of the language; but they admitted that they always retained their own accent. The junior students acquired greater proficiency. Many of them came at an early age and attended the classes in grammar and rhetoric at the University. They were sometimes obliged to appeal to the charitable for means of support, and, hence, a knowledge of French was a necessity for them. Some of them looked forward to a career in France. In consequence several of them acquired great proficiency in French. A contemporary document speaks as follows:—

Les écoliers Irlandais viennent en France dans un âge peu avancé, âge au l'on apprend, et l'on oublie facilement, ce qui est du ressort de la mémoire. Ils ont besoin de parler la langue française pour se procurer du secours, pour aller audevant pour les solliciter. Ils apprennent cette langue et negligent la leur. Imperceptiblement ils l'oublient. Cela est naturel et l'expérience l'a démontré.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert's *History of Dublin*, vol. iii. pp. 223 and 235.

<sup>2</sup> *Aenid*, lib. ii. 293.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoire pour les Pretres*, A.D. 1736. Aux Archives Nationales, M. 147.

Many Irish ecclesiastics, educated in Paris, acquired such proficiency in the use of the French language that they were found qualified to perform the various duties of the sacred ministry in France. In the seventeenth century Rev. John Lee, the Founder of the Irish College in Paris, was attached to the Church of St. Severin, and was sought after as a confessor by the *élite* of Paris. Dempster made the popularity of Lee the occasion for his satire. And the author of the *Vindiciae Hiberniae*, etc., thus defends him:—

Joannem in primis Ley venerandae senectutis atque irreprehensibilis vitae hominem, scurriliter mordens quod, nihil aliud nôrit quam edentulas, ad D. Severini, vetulas captare. Sic tu sacrorum irrisor assiduam optimi viri in moderandis conscientiis operam (cujus in hoc munere singulare donum eum principibus viris valde reddit acceptum) impia dicacitate prosequeris.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Tyrell could not have been the agent of the Confederation of Kilkenny at the French Court, nor Dr. Malachy Kelly, the Councillor of Louis XIV., without an intimate knowledge of the French language. Dr. Michael Moore had such a command of French that he delivered with eloquence an oration in honour of Louis XIV., on 16th May, 1702, in the College of Navarre. The circumstance is thus recorded in the *Gazette de France*, 20th May, 1702, No. 20, page 338:—

Le meme jour le Sieur Morus, Recteur de l'Université de Paris, et cydevant President du College de Dublin, prononça avec beaucoup d'eloquence le panegyrique du Roy, fondé par la Ville, qui s'y trouva en Corps avec un grand nombre de personnes, de qualité.<sup>2</sup>

During the eighteenth century many Irishmen held parishes and canonries in France. Dr. Moylan, afterwards Bishop of Cork, was a curé in Paris before his appointment to that see.

But not only were Irishmen connected with the College able to speak the language, some of them published works

<sup>1</sup> *Vindiciae Hiberniae*, etc., a G. F. Veridico Hiberno. Antwerp, 1621. p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert's *History of Dublin*, vol. i., p. 329. *Registre de la Nation d'Allemagne*, No. 40.

in French. In 1726, Rev. M. E. Fennell, Dean of Killaloe, published in Paris, and in the French language, a dissertation on the validity of Anglican Orders in reply to Le Courrayer.<sup>1</sup>

In 1758, Abbé Mageoghegan,<sup>2</sup> published his *History of Ireland*, in French. The Abbé Right, mentioned in the correspondence with Dr. Plunket,<sup>3</sup> wrote in that language an ode dedicated to the officers of the Irish Brigade, from which we quote the following lines :—

Fiers Irlandais : ainsi votre audace indocile  
Du fond de votre exile, sous un ciel etranger.  
Sut combattre et mourir, et vaincre et se venger,

Des rives du Vesper aux plaines de l'Asie.  
Vous servez votre Dieu, votre Roi et votre patrie.  
Vous qui animoient jadis la gloire et la vengeance  
Clare, Routh, et Lucan, les fastes de la France  
Ont assez consacré l'honneur de vos travaux.  
Et vous Dilons, et vous dignes fils d'un heros.  
Intrepides guerriers, &c., &c.

In this respect, too, the Abbé Henegan, deserves special mention. That learned man might justly be styled, *Docte sermones utriusque linguæ*.<sup>4</sup> His co-operation in the publication of O'Brien's *Dictionary* proves him to have been a scholar in Irish. He was also a master of the French language. A large number of articles in the edition of *Moreri's Dictionary*, published by Drouet in 1759, are from

<sup>1</sup> 'Memoires ou Dissertation sur la validite des ordinations des Anglais et sur la succession des Evêques Anglicans, pour servir de response au Rev. P. Le Courrayer,' par M. E. Fennell, Doyen de Laon en Irlande. Paris, 1726. 1st part, pp. 1-340; 2nd part, pp. 1-220. Probably he is the E. Fennell mentioned in the University Register as present at the meeting of the masters of the Natio Constantissima in 1684. See *Irish College in Paris from 1578 to 1901*, page 198.

The Abbé Gould, a Cork man and a student at Poitiers, preached in French with great success, and published several works in that language. His work on the *Veritable Croyance de l'église Catholique* (Paris, 1720), in which he treats the question of the validity of Anglican Orders, merited the eulogium of the Abbé Renaudot.

<sup>2</sup> Two Paris students who did not take orders became distinguished as historians. Sylvester O'Hallaran, M.D., is the author of a *General History of Ireland, from the earliest accounts to the close of the twelfth century*. London, 1778. Martin Haverty, author of a *History of Ireland, ancient and modern* (Dublin, 1860), entered the Irish College in 1831, and left in 1834.

<sup>3</sup> Cogan's *Meath*, etc., vol. iii., p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Horace, *Odes*, III., 7.



the pen of the Abbé Henegan. Amongst them may be mentioned the articles on Keating, Lynch, Molyneau, and Nary, and in particular an article on Ireland, extending over thirty folio pages. These articles prove him to have been a scholar, and the fact that he was invited to contribute to that great work shows the esteem in which he was held in Paris. His name ought not to be forgotten in Ireland, and especially in his native diocese, Cork.

In the nineteenth century, too, many of those connected with the College were well versed in the French language. Dr. Long, who was rector from 1814 to 1819, had filled the office of curé, in the diocese of Laon, for many years. Rev. Timothy Gillooly, sometime Professor in the College, spent several years in clerical work at Argentan. Rev. James O'Hallaran, having filled for some time the office of Econome, went to the diocese of Perigord, where he died curé of Thiviers. Rev. Michael Hogan,<sup>1</sup> who was Professor of Moral Theology about 1854, became at a later date curé in the diocese of Perigueux. Of the two last mentioned the former was an uncle and the latter a brother of the late lamented and distinguished Sulpician, Very Rev. John Baptist Hogan, D.D., a man eminent amongst the eminent theologians of St. Sulpice. Nor was the Irish language neglected in the nineteenth century. Dr. M'Hale, nephew of the Archbishop of Tuam, and Dr. (now Cardinal) Logue, were Professors of Irish in the College after 1850.

The example of the students of the eighteenth century, and their success in both languages are a lesson and an encouragement to those of the present time to apply themselves to such studies as may be useful in the twentieth century.

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

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<sup>1</sup> [Father Michael Hogan acted for some years as Military Chaplain at Fermoy, the Curragh and Aldershot. He died at Arcachon and was buried in the cemetery outside that town in the year 1863. His brother, who died on the 30th of last September, is laid to rest in the Sulpician vault in the cemetery of Mont-Parnasse in Paris. *Requiescant in pace.*—ED. I. E. RECORD.]

## ‘THE IRISH PRIVILEGE OF ANTICIPATION OF MATINS AND LAUDS’

IT is regrettable that the original or copy of Indult in favour of the above privilege has not been found, as was expected, in some diocesan archives. In considering its extension we have to fall back on its substance as embodied in the Synodal Statutes of Cashel ; and the Indult as there found grants the privilege of anticipating the time for the recitation of the Divine Office then and for ever to the secular and regular clergy of Ireland. The non-use or disuse of the Indult by the clergy did not cut off their successors from its use ; nor was the Indult given merely to the Orders existing in Ireland at the time of the grant, but, as I conceive, was given to every Order of the clergy in Ireland for all time to come. The privilege, as not given merely to individuals or existing generations, could not be cut off by them from their successors.<sup>1</sup>

There is some reason for thinking that the privilege extended not only to the private recitation of the Office but to the choir ; and in order to help us in forming an opinion on the matter it is well to consider—(a) the text of the Indult as made known to us, (b) the immediate context, and (c) the historical context.

(a) The Indult ran thus :—

Sciant sacerdotes nostri quod obtentum sit pro illis et pro omnibus sacerdotibus hujus regni tam secularibus quam regularibus privilegium a sanctae memoriae Pio Papa VI. inchoandi Matutinum cum Laudibus hora secunda pomeridiana pro sequenti die toto anni decursu.

The privilege is given without limitation as to place or manner of recitation. It is reasonable to suppose that the privilege was given for the Office as usually read, and it is presumable that it was read by the religious in choir, and sometimes, perhaps, by a secular with a companion.

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<sup>1</sup> Ballerini, *Opus Theologicum Morale*, vol. i., p. 433.

The Indult ought to be interpreted according to the plain meaning of the words ('verba Indulti intelligi prout jacent,') and as the Indult makes no distinction between the private and public recitation of the Office we have no warrant for so doing.

1. It may be said that a departure from common law is odious and that a dispensation in it should be strictly interpreted. Yes, when there is a doubt or obscurity; but the words of the privilege are plain.

2. An exception lies against strict interpretation when there is question of a pious or religious end,<sup>1</sup> and surely a regard for the duties of the Irish mission was essentially a case of religion.

3. An exception against strict interpretation lies in favour of religious Orders.<sup>2</sup>

4. An exception lies when there is question of Papal Indults, which should be liberally interpreted. ('Indulta Pontificia late interpretanda.')

5. A Papal privilege is to prevail not only against the common law but the convenience of a third party in order to prevent a privilege from being nugatory.<sup>4</sup> We know that the appointment of religious to the care of souls, as being incompatible with the rule of religious life, was only provisional in Ireland. ('Quotiescunque desint presbyteri seculares instituant ad interim ipsorum loco et per modum provisionis Regulares.')

If then religious, after having been for some time on the mission, had retired to their convents and observed the choral service, the indulgence of the Pope which was granted for all time would, on the supposition of Indult being applicable only to the private office, have been nugatory. (*Glossa*: 'debet aliquid conferre alias delusoria esset indulgentia.')

(b) But an objection is grounded on the context of the

<sup>1</sup> Reiffenstuel, lib. 1, Decr. tit. 3, de Rescriptis.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Ballerini, p. 430, vol. i.

<sup>3</sup> Bened. XIV. *de Synodo*, ch. xi. n. xiv. and p. 562.

<sup>4</sup> Reiffenstuel, lib. 1, tit. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Hib. Dominicana*, p. 180.



Indult, or rather on the two paragraphs which succeed it. They run thus :—

Quoad spectat ad tempus quo horae canonicae dicendae sunt pro Officio publico, hoc est in choro, servanda est consuetudo recepta. In Officio privato magis etiam expedit ut *quantum fieri potest* singulae horae suis respective temporibus per intervalla dicantur.

*Prima* potest inchoari immediate post ortum solis, *tertia*, *sexta*, et *nona* possunt etiam tunc legi, vel alia quacumque hora ante duodecimam pomeridianam. Et Vespere et Completorium possunt dici post meridiem. Et Matutinum cum Laudibus ut antea diximus, etc.

A learned writer in the I. E. RECORD grounds a proof against the extension of the Indult to the choir on saying : 'That the regulation for the Office *in choro* ends with the word *recepta*, and that the words *in Officio privato* cover all that follows the second paragraph specifying *sua respective tempora* of the first' (paragraph).

Now, firstly, the statement as to the time for the choral recitation—that the received custom may be observed—does not prove that the Indult regarded only the private recitation. The Synodal Statute does not draw a distinction between the time for beginning Matins in choir and out of choir. If there were to be a distinction we may presume it would have been expressed as in a preceding paragraph. In that paragraph the Archbishop, in describing the matter of the Office, distinguished between the matter of the private from that of the public Office, which was more lengthy. But no such distinction is made in reference to the time. Here I may observe that under the word *time* was included every hour besides Matins at which each division of the Office was begun till it was ended, that probably the interval between each such hour was principally in the mind of the writer, and that in point of fact reference to time was made, as had been to every other point about the Office, on the general principles of law.

Secondly, it was not quite correct to state that the 'second paragraph specified *sua respective tempora* of the first' (paragraph). For in the beginning of the chapter on the Office the Archbishop stated that it consisted of seven

parts, and, therefore, the simple division of time at mid-day for the small hours did not cover the seven divisions which are supposed by common law to be observed in choir.

The entire chapter was a tract devoted to an explanation of the Office on the principles of common law except the paragraph on the Indult. So far was it from referring solely to Ireland that the chapter made statements that could not refer to Ireland. Thus the *Beneficiati* are mentioned amongst those bound to the Office, but no such, apart from priests, were in Ireland. So, too, mention is made of the daily and nightly Office, but no nightly Office, as understood in the Pontifical law, prevailed in Ireland.

The twenty-seventh chapter of the Cashel Statutes as a liturgical tract treated of the order to be observed in reading the Office ; of the attention that it required ; of the character of the Breviary ; of the omission that would constitute a mortal sin ; of the causes that would exempt from the Office ; of the time for reading the Office, and of the suspension into which abuses in choir lead.

The remarks of the Archbishop on the time for the Office must have been of a general character, and included all the divisions of the Office and not Matins merely. Hence the heading of theological manuals on the hours of the Office is found as 'Quoad tempus debitum ad horas dicendas' (Gury, Ballerini). Under this heading the several hours into which the Office may be divided and read without sin are given. In like manner the writer of the Cashel Statutes treated of the Office 'Quoad tempus.' If he had given the general law or recognised customs in regard to the choral recitation he would have to travel a vast and unfamiliar field. He should have to state the discipline of the Trappists, Cistercians, and others who preserved the primitive discipline by a division of the three Nocturns corresponding to the three watches, and by the application of Lauds to the fourth watch of the night.

Or, if he were to consider only the comparatively modern discipline, he should exhibit the secular canons as meeting at midnight according to Rubrics of the 'Juris Pontificii.' The Rubrics directed that the Office should begin after

midnight so as to be ended before the day-spring: 'Profeta ait; media nocte surgebam: "Ergo his temporibus laudes Creatori nostro referemus."' <sup>1</sup>

Nor was the difference between the primitive and modern discipline confined to the nightly Office. The primitive discipline reserved Vespers, or, as it was called, 'duodecima,' till the twelfth hour or six o'clock p.m., while the modern discipline pushed on the Vespers to three o'clock, and, of course, the hours of Sext and None earlier still. But the austere Orders, as was the case in our early Irish Church, have the several parts of the Office gone through at the times corresponding with the names of the hours, and suggestive of some stage of the Sacred Passion.<sup>2</sup>

Owing to this tedious variety the writer of the liturgical tract very wisely stated in general terms that each Church was to follow its approved custom in the choral service. In making this statement the Archbishop did not speak of particular privileges as being departures from the common law of which he was treating. But having stated that the received custom of recitation in choir ought to be followed, he added that it is more expedient to observe, as far as possible, in the private recitation, the several intervals between the several (7) hours. The synodal writer then laid down the common law or general opinion of theologians as to the lawful division in the private recitation. Every part of the Office could be said without sin, however inexpedient, from Prime to Vespers before mid-day, and Vespers and Compline after it. Then, instead of giving the common law for Matins, the writer referred to the Indult already given.

If the Archbishop had not treated of the time for the Office on general principles, as he had done in regard to its every other point, it would have been quite easy for him to say 'this is to be your practice in the private recitation of the Office in my diocese'—for he had no choral chapter—and as to the religious they, as the materials for a choir, did not live together. Thurles was the only town that contained two religious (Franciscans); and even though

<sup>1</sup> *Cap. Presbyter de celeb.*

<sup>2</sup> *Leabhar B., p. 247.*



they should have lived together they were not capable of forming a choir.

Under the word *time*, Matins and Lauds, without an interval were included, and the remarks of the Archbishop on these as said in choir appear to me to have been made on the principles of common law and referable only to the universal Church. Following the recognized manuals, especially Ferraris, the Archbishop states in regard to time 'in choro servanda est consuetudo recepta'; and Ferraris, 'in choro servanda sunt tempora consueta sub mortali, private non sub mortali tempora statuta singulis horis.' The remarks, on Matins, were made with regard to the general Church; but if we could suppose them made in regard to the Irish discipline they were qualified by the Indult previously given. But with regard to every other hour said in choir, besides Matins, and included under the word *time*, the remarks of the Archbishop could and did refer to the Irish discipline. For there was choir service in other parts of Ireland than in Cashel, and probable diversity of practice as to the intervals from Prime to Compline. We know that Compline did not necessarily follow immediately Vespers. Thus, while in Lent we are allowed to read Vespers after 9 o'clock, a.m., we are not allowed to read at once Compline after them. In like manner Pius VII., in granting leave to a certain bishop to have his canons go through all the Office at a single meeting and Matins and Lauds on the previous day after Vespers and Compline, conditioned that Compline should not be said till after Noon.<sup>1</sup>

To this variety of practice as to the hours, without speaking of Sext or None, that probably prevailed in Ireland the Archbishop may have alluded, saying that each established custom as to the hours should be followed. A reference only to the daily hours in Ireland by the Archbishop was natural on the supposition of the Matins and Lauds having been fixed by the Indult. This view is rendered the more probable as, when he speaks of the private Office he would have it, as to the intervals, modelled

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<sup>1</sup> Gardellini, vol. i., p. 294.

on the public recitation, and accordingly began with his treatment of Prime and not of Matins. Thus the context affords additional proof that the text of the Indult did not limit its application to the private recitation of the Office.

(c) It is desirable to consider the attitude of the Irish Church to the choral service when the Indult was given to the Irish priests. We can well suppose that the conditions under which the Office was gone through in Ireland was known to the Propaganda, and that the chiefs of the Irish Church in asking for an Indult in regard to the Office made known the general mode of its recitation.

As regards the secular clergy there was no daily choral service in any cathedral, even where there was a nominal chapter. The Bishops, then, in applying for an Indult did not ask, we may presume, for its application to a canonical or choral recitation. A choral chapter was a thing in the very distant future.

But the same statement cannot be made in reference to the religious. Many, indeed, were employed as curates or parish priests on the mission, and as such had no opportunity or obligation of reciting the Office *in choro*. For there was scarcely a second curate in any parish at this time; and where there happened to be two together they were not religious. While the large number of one hundred and fifty were provisionally secularised and under the immediate and sole jurisdiction of the bishops a still larger number, one hundred and seventy-eight, lived in their convents. They were worthy successors of those who had suffered in Ireland privations of every sort and met death in every shape. And now that some measure of liberty was enjoyed we may presume they availed of it, and followed their holy rule in the recitation of the Office. This was expected from them even when the Irish Church was, humanly speaking, at a very low ebb. Even so early as the year 1751 the houses of religious were not to be regarded by the Propaganda as formal convents without observing community life. The instructions of the Cardinal Protector are clear on the point. They are given in one of the chapters of the Synodal Statutes of Cashel. ('Habeantur

tanquam conventus formales illae tantum domus in quibus communem ducunt vitam Regularem.') The entire document, of which this is an extract, may be seen in *Hibernia Dominicana*, pages 180-2. The decrees of the Congregation insisted that the noviceship should be gone through in some Catholic country, but the Provincials in Ireland guaranteed that austere discipline and community life could be observed in Ireland as certainly as in any foreign Catholic country. The noviceship at the time was not allowed in Ireland. By and by, however, leave was granted for the establishment of noviceships in Ireland, but it was accompanied with the condition that the noviceships should be observed agreeably to the Pontifical decrees. The twentieth rule of the Decree of Clement VIII. directed that the novices should mix with the professed only 'during the time of choir-service, processions, and in refectory' ('in caenaculo causa refectionis'). In some convents during Dr. Bray's episcopate the common table, owing to poverty, was kept only during the concluding portion of the noviceship.<sup>1</sup> And when an effort was made to observe the rule with regard to the common table, it is quite certain that the choral service as required was not neglected. Assuredly the good religious did not deserve the reproach addressed to the degenerate Greeks:—

You have the Pyrrhic dance as yet,  
Where is the Pyrrhic phalanx gone?  
Of two such lessons, why forget  
The nobler and the manlier one?

During the Episcopate of Dr. Bray there were in Ireland 55 Dominicans in 14 houses; 68 Franciscans in 18 houses; 24 Augustinians in 8 houses; 28 Carmelites in 10 houses; and 10 Capuchins in 3 houses. I find no mention of how 7 Canons Regular were housed. Now, it is quite certain that in some, if not in all of these 53 houses, containing 187 religious, the Office was read *in choro*. Even in the 3 Capuchin houses, containing 10 residents, it could have been read in choir. For

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<sup>1</sup> *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. iii., p. 360.



according to law three persons, though only novices, could form a choir.<sup>1</sup>

And Gardellini<sup>2</sup> makes mention of a request preferred by and granted to a Jesuit, August 13, 1847, in connexion with the choir. He was allowed to begin Matins at twelve o'clock on the previous day even with a companion ('anche con compagno'), on account of missionary work. The privilege is given under the heading *in choro*.

Having seen that the Indult was obtained for all the religious in Ireland, we may be certain that their Superiors had joined the Bishops in requesting the Indult. The privilege was asked by the Provincials not for those who were secularised and withdrawn from their jurisdiction; and, therefore, we are led to infer it was asked for those who led a community life.

Furthermore, if the wants and welfare of the Irish Church were the chief motive for the Papal Indult, there was the same reason for granting it to the recitation of the Office in as well as out of choir; for in the year 1810, when the Indult appears to have been published for the first time, the population of Ireland was above four millions, and the difficulty then of supplying the spiritual wants of the faithful was enormously greater than at present. In the absence of public roads a priest then, in most parishes, had only a bridle-path, and had to wade through unbridged streams. The present facility of communication would enable a single priest to do as much as two at that time; and when we contrast the present educated state of the public mind even with that consequent on the six years' famine of 1845, devolving slow and painful work on the confessor, we can easily fancy the heavy work consequent on the penal laws during centuries, and aggravated by the Irish rebellion. All these causes combined, during the twenty-one years previous to the Synod in 1810, to make the Irish mission laborious indeed.

While the character of the country rendered the multiplication of priests doubly necessary, this, coupled with the

<sup>1</sup> Reiffenstuel, lib. 3, Decr. tit. 31 n. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., p. 50.

mental condition of the masses, rendered a quadruple increase of priests necessary. But so far from having three or four priests to one at present, there was scarcely one then with probably a larger population to every three priests at present. The number of secular priests was then fourteen hundred, and this circumstance inferred the necessity of drawing on the services of the religious.

The antecedent probability of religious having been utilised for missionary work is supported by positive evidence. The Provincials of the Orders assure us that the duties of the mission and the calls of dying penitents interfered with the observance of community life. They state that sudden and importunate calls drew them even from the necessary bodily refreshment: 'Utpote refectionis hora decumbentes et in articulo mortis constitutos arcessiti sacramentalis absolutionis beneficium impendant.'<sup>1</sup> This was not an occasional occurrence; it was the recognised duty of the religious; for the Provincials in advocating a noviceship in Ireland in preference to that in a foreign country stated that thus the novices would be more familiarised with the missionary work in Ireland, which was their destiny: 'Quia cum eorum singuli ob obeundas in hoc regno sacras missiones destinantur.'<sup>2</sup> Yes, each novice was destined, while observing as much as possible the discipline of his Order, practically to the work of the missionary priest. We are not to suppose, then, that the regulars, weighted with the work of the mission, were excluded from the benefit of the Indult.

Even in Dublin, where there ought to be less need of religious help, one would think, the duties of the secular priests had, according to the *Relatio* of Dr. Troy, to be supplied by the religious: 'Parochorum aliqui absque vicariis a regularibus vicinis in excipiendis confessionibus vivere coguntur.' To the same effect the Bishop of Waterford, in reference to the Franciscans there and in Clonmel, states 'they assist the pastors.' So, too, the Bishop of Ferns bears testimony to the missionary help of eight Franciscans

<sup>1</sup> *Hib. Dom.*, p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

in Wexford and of four Augustinians in Ross: 'They are employed in preaching, catechising, and instructing the people, attending the sick, and assisting the parochial clergy occasionally in the administration of the Sacraments.' Finally, among other testimonies, let us listen to that of Archbishop Bray himself. Writing of the religious, he stated: 'The resident friars or regulars not employed as curates are supported by the charity of the Catholics, and their assistance to the parish priests, in places where they reside, is necessary to the sacred functions.'

The religious then, while endeavouring to act up to the rules of their holy founders, were faithful to the missionary work for which they were ordained; and I repeat, if the necessities of the Irish mission were the motive of the Indult there appears no reason for withholding it from the religious. Nor was the Indult for the choir anything singular or unnatural. On the contrary, it were to penalise discipline and aspirations after what was perfect to grant to the seculars, free comparatively, what was withheld from the self-denying and doubly-weighted religious. Three or four met in order to recite the Office in common. The religious met, not in a church, for, without the encroachment of a choir, there was only scanty room, and often insecure, for their congregations. The meeting of the religious was so quiet and unceremonious, in some rickety tenement, as scarcely to deserve the name of choir. Their choir was quite different from that of secular canons. These were so much bound to give edification that their choir could not be moved from a fixed place in the church without Papal dispensation. But even such canons, because of the severity of winter or some other inconvenience, sometimes got an Indult to read all the Office together, from Prime to Compline, and begin Matins after mid-day the previous day.<sup>1</sup> Benedict XIV.<sup>2</sup> makes mention of an Indult empowering a bishop to allow his canons to begin Matins at three o'clock p.m., rather than at midnight. We learn from Suarez that it was a common practice through Spain to begin

<sup>1</sup> Gardellini, *Decret. Authen.*, vol. i., pp. 290-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Institutiones*, c. cvii., p. 21.



Matins in choir in winter at two o'clock p.m., and Ballerini<sup>1</sup> states that several religious Orders received the privilege of reciting Matins at two o'clock p.m.

To limit, then, without warrant, the Irish Indult to the mere private recitation of the Office would appear to be singular and, in the circumstances, unnatural. The Indult was not a very singular or extraordinary boon, and its unstinted extension was called for not by ostentation or mere convenience but by the necessities of a Church which lived through ages of persecution, under Providence, only by the indulgent care and annual financial support of the Sovereign Pontiffs. The probable inference then, from what I have stated is that the Indult extended to the Office in choir as read in Ireland.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv., p. 307.

## DR. SALMON'S INFALLIBILITY

## VII

PETER PLYMLEY said to 'his brother in the country,' that he always thought him 'a bit of a goose.' The ground for this opinion was that Abraham held theological views precisely similar to those which Dr. Salmon is labouring to infuse into his young controversialists; and if they take in their professor's teaching they shall certainly be open to the very doubtful compliment paid to the Rev. Abraham Plymley by his shrewd and candid brother. The Doctor is setting before them an adversary of his own creation; he is hiding from them the real adversary they shall have to confront; he is continually attributing to the Catholic Church doctrines she does not hold, and arguments she does not use. He is labouring to perpetuate a false tradition, and is not scrupulous as to the means of doing so; his misquotation of fathers would wreck the reputation of any one presuming to be a scholar, and his history and his theology are alike worthy of Mr. Mark Twain. In one thing only is he consistent, in his hatred of the Catholic Church, and all through his lectures he has given expression to that hatred with an adroitness which shows considerable ability, but ability sadly misapplied. An opponent who makes a good fight is deserving of respect, but Dr. Salmon has not done so throughout his lectures. There is not a solitary instance of a scholarly attempt to refute any Catholic doctrine, though there is abundant matter well calculated to strengthen the prejudices of the ignorant. His students have been from their childhood taught that nothing good can come from Nazareth, and he is labouring to strengthen this conviction instead of imitating the Apostle by inviting them to 'come and see.'

The Infallibility of the Church has been proved, and Dr. Salmon has not even attempted to refute the reasoning by which that doctrine is established. He very properly told his students early in his lectures that 'the whole

Roman Catholic controversy turns on the decision of the one question—the Infallibility of the Church—and he proceeded to give his decision, that is, to prove that the Church is fallible. But he does not seem to have at all realized the nature of the difficulties he has to meet at the very outset. For, whatever is to be said of the Church, the Doctor himself rejects all infallibility in religious matters, and, therefore, his own decision in this matter must be fallible.

He undertakes to prove that the Church is fallible; but how is he to do so? In order to do so he must show conclusively that the Church teaches false doctrine on some matter in which she claims infallibility. But in order to show that any doctrine is false there must be a standard of comparison to test it, and that standard must be a doctrine infallibly true. If the standard were not such, then a doctrine may be out of harmony with it—may contradict it, and still be true. Now, by what authority does the Doctor set up his infallible standard to convict the Church of false teaching? Only an infallible authority can set up such a standard, and Dr. Salmon denies that there is any such. He has no authority but his own reason. ‘The individual Christian’ is his judge of controversies, his supreme arbiter. Dr. Salmon’s reason may be very profound and reliable within its own sphere, that is, in the natural order; but the Church’s doctrines lie in the supernatural order, and into that order the Doctor’s reason cannot pry.

He, therefore, has no adequate standard to test the Church’s doctrines, and thus, from the very nature of the case, he can pronounce no opinion on them that is not fallible. If the Church teach anything that contradicts reason, the Doctor’s reason—his sole standard—can point out the contradiction, and by all means, let him do so; but let him not attempt the impossible task of measuring the supernatural by his natural reason. This would be like attempting to measure the sun’s light by a farthing candle. He cannot show that the Church errs in her teaching unless he is able to declare infallibly what is the truth on the matter in question, and this he cannot do. And so all his loud boasting of ‘beating us out of the open field,’ comes to



this that the very first step in his theological parade is an impossibility. His feet are fixed to the earth and he cannot move.

Lord Macaulay said that the Catholic Church was the most extraordinary work of human policy which the world ever saw ; but if Dr. Salmon's description of her were true she would have been the greatest monument of human folly which the world has yet witnessed :—a Church with a creed so flatly, so frequently, refuted by her own acts ; and yet her continued existence through nineteen centuries would be one of the greatest miracles recorded in history. Infallible in theory, but, according to Dr. Salmon, most fallible in practice, this Church has lived through all the ages, beset with difficulties which she has surmounted, assailed by determined and powerful enemies whom she has conquered ; how does the Doctor explain this standing miracle ? The explanation is, she is not what the Doctor describes her ; she is 'the Church of the living God, the pillar, and the ground of truth,' secured by God's explicit promise against the 'gates of Hell.'

Dr. Salmon devotes three long lectures to a series of statements, the aim of which is to discredit the Church as a teacher. Under the headings of 'Hesitations of the Infallible Guide,' 'Modern Revelations,' and 'Blunders of the Infallible Guide,' he has brought together a mass of miscellaneous matter as a series of charges against the teaching authority of the Church. In the charges themselves, there is nothing new, and there is nothing new or striking in the Doctor's manner of presenting them ; and when he has said his last word the Church's authority remains untouched. The lectures must have been amusing to his students, but as part of their training for controversy they were simply waste of time. The Church did not decide the controversy *De Auxiliis* ; she does not 'publish an authorized commentary on Scripture' (page 188) ; 'she does not put the seal of her infallibility' to any of 'her catechisms or books of devotion' (page 190) ; she does not tell us whether we are or are not bound to believe the extraordinary incidents recorded in the *Glories of Mary* and in the *Roman Breviary* ; she does not tell us what we are

to believe about Loretto, Lourdes, or La Salette. On all these she has carried her caution to an extraordinary degree, lest she may compromise her infallibility, but by a just judgment on her she has completely shattered the claim by her condemnation of the scientific teaching of Galileo. This is the burden of Dr. Salmon's three long lectures. Now in all these charges, except the last, he is condemning the Church for what she has not done; and in the last he is charging her with having done what she never did at all. He admits himself that he is judging her by what she has not done. 'The complaint I made was,' he says, 'that the Church of Rome did not tell us whether we are to believe these things or not.' And he wants to know 'why she does not' (page 215, note). The Doctor, in his capacity of *Judex Controversiarum*, is so much in the habit of sitting in judgment on his own Church—a Church made by men—that he fancies he can take the same liberty with the Catholic Church, founded by God. But she has her mission marked out for her, and she will not turn from her appointed course to accommodate even a Regius Professor. His duty is to hear her, not to judge her. He told his theologians that—

Romish teaching has constantly a double face. To those within the communion it is authoritative, positive, stamped with the seal of infallibility, which none may dispute without forfeiting his right to be counted a good Catholic. . . . She speaks differently to those who have the courage to impugn it, and bring it to the test.—(Page 187.)

Here is a grave charge, specific and direct; and as proof of it Dr. Salmon brings forward a number of subjects which, according to himself, the Church does not teach at all. There is a strange fatality about the Doctor's logic. The Church, he says, abandons her teaching on a number of subjects which, he says, she never taught at all. So the Doctor told his theologians who, no doubt, appreciated his logic. It shall be an evil day for the Catholic Church when Dr. Salmon's patent controversialists take the field against her. Now, the Doctor has a wide field open to him. Let him search through the history of the Church from the first Pentecost to the present day, from St. Peter to Leo XIII.,

and let him find out, if he can, a solitary instance in which the Church permitted anyone, either in the Church or outside of it, to impugn a doctrine which she once taught. He can find no such instance. For those who impugn or deny her defined doctrine the Church has invariably one answer, and that is final—*anathema sit*.

Dr. Salmon founds one of his charges on the controversy *De Auxiliis*, on which he takes his information from Burnet's *Commentary on the Seventeenth Article*. He has not studied the folios of Levinus Meyer or Serry, or the modern works of Schneeman, to say nothing of the voluminous writings of those who actually carried on the controversy; and the result is that he seems to know as much about the controversy *De Auxiliis*, as he does of the Beatific vision. It is amusing to hear one like Dr. Salmon giving his views so confidently on a controversy which for years engaged the talents of such men as Bannez and Alvarez and De Lemos on one side, and Molina and Lessius and Bellarmine and Gregory of Valentia on the other. A disputation on it by Dr. Salmon's students, and under his own training, would be better than a pantomime. It was essentially a scholastic controversy—confined to the schools, and the body of the faithful took no part in it; they did not and could not enter into its merits. No Catholic doctrine was affected by it; the necessity of grace was maintained by all the parties to the controversy; and so too was the existence of efficacious grace and its co-existence with free will. The point of the controversy was, what was the intrinsic nature of efficacious grace—what precisely it is that makes grace efficacious. This point was argued with a great deal of logical and theological subtilty on both sides, and, unfortunately, with a good deal of the *odium theologicum* also. To check, to repress this uncharitableness was the immediate, the pressing necessity, and that was done by Paul V. commanding each school to abstain from attaching theological censures to the opinions of the opposite school. But the interests of souls called for no decision on the question as to the intrinsic nature of efficacious grace, and no decision was given on it. It was allowed to remain, and it still is



a matter for free discussion amongst theologians, due regard being had to the requirements of charity.

Again, Dr. Salmon says: 'It might be expected that the infallible guide would publish an authoritative commentary on Scripture' (page 188). If the 'infallible guide' agreed with Dr. Salmon that the Bible alone is the rule of faith, then his suggestion may be valuable, though to make it really so the guide should first 'teach all nations' to read. But the 'Infallible Guide' does not agree with the fallible Doctor; and a more than sufficient answer to his suggestion is, that much as the Church prizes the Bible she does not depend on it for her teaching; she taught for many years before it came into existence, and she would have continued to do so till the end of time, even though it had not been written. Her Founder said to her: 'Teach all nations.' He did not say to her: 'Write a book, and read it for all nations, or give it to them to read for themselves.' Now, the Doctor knows all this well, but he has introduced this matter in order to have an opportunity of attacking the Church for the Notes of the Rhemish New Testament. He gives a number of these notes, which he professes to have taken from Macnamara's Bible, and he clearly regards them as most wicked in doctrine. Now, in the edition of Macnamara's Bible, published in Cork in A.D. 1818, there is not a single one of the notes quoted by Dr. Salmon, but they are the Rhemish Notes all the same; and Dr. Salmon seeks to make the Church responsible for them by quoting St. Augustine and St. Thomas as holding the doctrines which the Notes contain; though he is sorry to find that St. Thomas 'is able to quote St. Augustine for this doctrine.' The doctrine of the Notes, confirmed by St. Augustine and St. Thomas, is substantially this, that heresy is a grievous sin, and deserves to be severely punished; and that in certain extreme circumstances it may deserve capital punishment. The Church, however, whose aim is the conversion of the sinner, does not, as St. Thomas says, hastily condemn, but only after a first and second monition; but if the heretic continues obstinate, the Church, despairing of his conversion, separates him from her children by excommunication, and leaves him

to be dealt with by the civil tribunal. And St. Thomas argues, that as falsifiers of money and other criminals are severely punished, it is only just that even greater punishment should be inflicted on those who kill the soul. And, moreover, in the case of persons who have fallen away into heresy after baptism, the Notes say, with St. Thomas and St. Augustine, that such persons may be compelled to return to the Church, on the ground that they belong to her by baptism, and may, therefore, be compelled to keep the promises made by themselves in baptism or by their sponsors for them. A rebel does not cease to be a subject when he rises up against legitimate authority.

This is the doctrine of the Notes which has excited the virtuous indignation of the Professor, and, no doubt, of his students also. He made no attempt to deal with the doctrine on its merits; and lest his students should be led to think that it had any foundation in Scripture, he conveniently omitted from the note to Luke ix. 55 the following sentence:—‘Therefore St. Peter used his power on Ananias and Saphira, when he struck them both down to death for defrauding the Church.’ He did not remind his students that St. John described heretics as ‘deceivers and anti-Christ’s’; that St. Paul warned Timothy to avoid them, just as the Catholic Church says to her children to-day. There is more to be said for the Notes than the Doctor seems to think. The Church is a perfect society, supreme, and independent within her own sphere, established by God, for saving souls. She must, therefore, be able to make and enforce such laws as enable her to attain her end, and this power must be inherent in her; must be contained in the charter of her institution. This is the unchangeable principle out of which grew the laws of the Church regarding heresy. The Church says that it is permitted, that it is not unlawful to punish heretics, as well as other evil-doers, with death, but she does not say that it is necessary or always expedient to do so, that it may be, not that it must be, so punished is all that follows from the condemnation by Leo X. of Luther’s thirty-third proposition. The Church, as a matter of course, regarded heresy as a crime of the

greatest magnitude, directly destructive of souls ; and it was only natural that in the 'ages of faith' Christian society should take up the same view, and that it should find expression in the civil codes. And so it happened ; and in the early civil codes, drawn up under the influence of Christian ideas, we find heresy classed with high treason, and punished with equal severity. Indisputable evidence of this is supplied by Hergenrother, *Church and State*, vol ii., pp. 304, 309, 316, 320, and also by Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, vol. ii., pp. 543, 544. Such laws would, no doubt, in our time be regarded as extravagant in their rigorous severity. But we must recollect that the temper of the times is different. Now a crime against an earthly king is punished with death, whilst blasphemy against the King of Heaven is permitted to pass unnoticed. The legislators of those early times thought differently, and they often had before them, too, evidence of the ruin and devastation brought on by heresy. The Church did not inflict this punishment. She separated the obstinate heretic from the communion of her children by excommunication, and left him to be dealt with by the civil laws which regarded heresy as a crime against the state ; this is the legislation which St. Thomas vindicates, and which is so offensive to the humane orthodoxy of Dr. Salmon. Now, if he regard the soul as more precious than the body or than worldly goods, it is difficult to see how he can quarrel with this legislation ; and if, on the other hand, he considers the loss of the soul by heresy a lesser evil than the loss of life or property, it is difficult to see how he can claim to be a Christian—a follower of Him who said : 'What shall it profit one to gain the whole world if he suffer the loss of his soul.'

Whilst Dr. Salmon was thus declaiming against the intolerance of the Catholic Church, he could have seen from his window the spot on which the Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, Dr. O'Hurley, was put to a most cruel death—not for heresy, but for his attachment to the true faith ; and he could have found in his own library evidence of how Loftus, the Protestant Archbishop, was gloating over the sufferings



of the illustrious martyr. Has he no knowledge of the civil disabilities of his Catholic fellow-countrymen ; disabilities that are imposed on them solely because they are Catholics? Even the Duke of Norfolk cannot become Lord Lieutenant of Ireland as long as he remains a Catholic. Does he not see from the daily papers how even now, after seventy years of Catholic emancipation, Catholic jurors are told contemptuously to 'stand aside,' and for no other reason than that they are Catholics, and by insolent officials who own their positions to their Protestantism? Has he forgotten all this in his zeal to denounce St. Thomas and St. Augustine?

And here again Dr. Salmon seems to be quite unaware that the doctrine he is denouncing is actually taught by the leading divines of the Church to which he professes to belong. Pearson, *On the Creed*, art. 9, says: 'A man may not only passively and involuntarily be rejected, but may also by an act of his own, cast out or reject himself, not only by plain and complete apostasy, but by a defection from the unity of truth, falling into some damnable heresy.' Barrow says that a heretic 'in reality is no Christian, nor is to be assumed or treated as such, but is to be disclaimed, rejected, and shunned.'<sup>1</sup> Dr. Auliffe, in his *Parergon Juris Anglicani*, page 294, says that 'no man can doubt but that we may proceed with some severity' against heretics. Palmer, in his treatise on the Church, proves at great length that heretics may be excommunicated, as 'heresy is a most deadly sin.'<sup>2</sup> And<sup>3</sup> he details the punishments of heresy in a manner which shows how well his Church is able to copy from Catholic legislation. And Dr. Blunt, in his *Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology*, art. Heresy, has the same doctrine as Palmer, though he has to admit that 'Heresy has so completely evaporated as an ecclesiastical offence, that it is not even mentioned in modern books on ecclesiastical law.' Probably it is the evaporation that has acted on Dr. Salmon's memory, and that has made him forget the teaching of his brother

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii., p. 762.<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., p. 82.<sup>3</sup> Vol. ii., p. 225.

theologians. And that this Protestant theology was not allowed to remain a dead letter, the Catholics of this country have learned from a prolonged and bitter experience. To say nothing of the savage anti-Catholic legislation of Elizabeth and James I., in the Acts 7th and 9th of William III., s. 1, c. 3, and in 2nd Anne, s. 1, c. 3 and 6, we can find specimens of the toleration extended to Irish Catholics by the heads, in spirituals and temporals, of Dr. Salmon's Church. And with this legislation known to him (for he must know it), it is amazing that he should have referred to the doctrine of the Rhemish Notes. In Howard's *Special Cases on the Laws against the Further Growth of Popery in Ireland*, published in Dublin in A.D. 1775, the reader will find a record of religious intolerance as cruel as anything recorded of pagan persecutors; and all these unjust, iniquitous, inhuman laws were passed and put into execution by the heads of Dr. Salmon's Church, and in order to maintain the ascendancy of that Church.

And the zeal of Dr. Salmon's Church was not limited to the punishment of Catholics, as the following will show:—The Rev. Thomas Emlyn, a Presbyterian minister, was tried for 'heresy and blasphemy' in the Court of Queen's Bench, Dublin, on the 14th of June, 1703. The charge against him was grounded on heterodox views on our Lord's Divinity, which would now be regarded as ordinary specimens of the Higher Criticism. Some Protestant bishops, amongst them Dr. Marsh, of Armagh, and Dr. King, of Dublin, were present at the trial to testify their zeal for orthodoxy; and though the evidence was anything but strong, the jury found Mr. Emlyn guilty, and he was sentenced to a fine of £1,000, and he was to be kept in jail until the fine would have been paid. After the poor man had been two years in prison the authorities began to realize that the fine was excessive, or more likely, that its payment was impossible, and it was reduced to £70. Then came the point of the case that illustrates the zeal against heretics that animated Dr. Salmon's spiritual fathers. The Primate, Dr. Narcissus Marsh, a former Provost of Trinity College, was by law entitled to a shilling in the pound on all such

finer, and this most rev. Shylock insisted that his share should be levied off the original thousand and not off the reduced sum of seventy; and it was only when he found that the full amount could not possibly be extracted from the unfortunate 'heretic,' that he consented to accept £20 as a compromise. This is a manifestation of zeal against heresy which Dr. Salmon will not find recommended in the Rhemish Notes, or sanctioned in the teachings of St. Augustine or St. Thomas.

Now, the Catholic Church can tell definitely what is heresy; the Protestant cannot do so. In the Catholic Church there is an authority set up by God to teach true faith; heresy is a rebellion against that authority, and, therefore, is justly punished. But in the Protestant Church the 'individual Christian' is the authority, and since the individual cannot rebel against himself, heresy is impossible, and, therefore, it is irrational to punish it. Or rather, perhaps, since heresy is the selection of one's own faith by one's own authority, and since each Protestant claims a right to select for himself, then all alike are heretics, and no one has a shadow of right to censure or punish another for his religious views. In this matter the Catholic Church has been always consistent; the Protestant Church has been always inconsistent.

Again, Dr. Salmon complains that though the Catholic Church 'has catechisms and other books of instruction . . . she has not ventured to put her seal of Infallibility to any of them' (page 190). And hence he says 'if we detect a catechism in manifest error, if we find a preacher or a book of devotion guilty of manifest extravagance, . . . the Church always leaves a loophole for disowning him.' And he adds: 'Does it not seem strange that a communion possessing the high attribute of Infallibility should make no use of it in the instruction of her people?' (page 191). Yes, it would 'seem strange' if it were a fact; but it is one of Dr. Salmon's fictions, and not a very clever or ingenious one. The Catholic Church is a teacher, and she is that precisely in virtue of her Infallibility. It is that which ensures that the ever-living voice shall always enunciate divine truth.



Catechisms and books of devotion are permitted to circulate amongst Catholics, and are used by them, provided they have proper ecclesiastical approbation. That approbation ensures that the books contain nothing opposed to faith or morals—no doctrinal error, no unsound principle of morality.

Now this approbation presupposes an infallible standard of faith and morals, whereby the doctrine of such books is tested. And hence, if such books have this approbation, the faithful who use them have ample security as to the orthodoxy of the doctrine, as far as the approbation goes. And, therefore, 'in the instruction of her people' the Catholic Church always uses that very 'attribute of Infallibility' which, according to Dr. Salmon, she never uses at all. The Doctor was speaking to his students when he made this extraordinary statement, and clearly he thought his logic good enough for them. But all his rhetoric here is leading up to what he evidently regards as a crushing case against the Catholic Church. 'I need take no other example,' he says, 'than the case I have already mentioned of Keenan's Catechism' (page 191). He had already quoted the Catechism at page 26 to convict the Catholic Church of a change of faith, and now he quotes it to show, moreover, 'that we, heretics, knew better what were the doctrines of the Roman Church than did its own priests' (page 192). Now, assuming (and it is scarcely a safe assumption) the correctness of Dr. Salmon's extract from Keenan, what does it prove? According to the Doctor, Keenan said of Papal Infallibility, some fifty years ago: 'It is no article of Catholic faith.' This is, according to the Doctor and his friends, a false statement; they 'knew better what were the doctrines of the Roman Church than did its own priests.'

Now, in order that a doctrine be an article of Catholic faith, it must be revealed, and it must be proposed by the Church to the faithful. The Infallibility of the Pope was revealed in Christ's charge to St. Peter, and it has ever since been in the Church's keeping as part of the deposit of faith. But it was not proposed by the Church to the faithful until the Vatican Council, and, therefore, up to that time it was 'no article of Catholic faith.' And, therefore, Keenan's statement

was true and the Doctor's statement is not true. Up to the time of the definition it was an article of divine faith to such as had considered the evidence of its revelation and are satisfied of its sufficiency—and there were very many such; but it was not an article of Catholic faith for anyone until it was taught by the Church. But see what the Doctor's logic comes to. At page 26 he introduced Keenan's statement to convict the Church of a change in faith. If there be a change of faith made by the definition of Papal Infallibility, then Keenan's statement must have been true; it was not an article of faith when he wrote. But if Keenan's statement be false (as Dr. Salmon says at page 192), then there was no change in doctrine caused by the definition. But the Doctor's memory is just as bad as his logic, for at page 26 he held Keenan's statement to be true; at page 192 he holds it to be false, and again he holds it to be true at page 269, where, in reference to the evidence of some Irish bishops before a Royal Commission, he says, 'they swore, as they then could with truth, that the doctrine of the Pope's personal Infallibility' was not an article of Catholic faith. The students are fortunate in their teacher! Now all this is so elementary, so frequently and so clearly stated by Catholic theologians, that it is difficult to fancy a Regius Professor ignorant of it; and yet it is only the plea of ignorance that can shield him from the charge of bearing false witness against his neighbours.

A great rock of scandal to Dr. Salmon is the Roman Breviary, and also the process of canonisation of saints. This ardent lover of truth is shocked at 'the number of lying legends . . . that are inserted in the Breviary by authority for the devotional reading of priests' (page 196). But the Church, with her wonted versatility, is prepared to repudiate them when called to account by theologians of the Dr. Salmon type. He says: 'If a Protestant hesitating to become a convert to Popery, should allege, as the ground of his hesitation, the number of lying legends proposed by the Church for his acceptance, he would be told that this is no obstacle at all, and that as a Roman Catholic he need not believe any of them' (page 196). The Doctor is here referring

to the brief histories of the saints that are generally given in the lessons of the Second Nocturn of the Breviary. And as he proclaims himself that Catholics are not bound to accept these histories as truths of faith, it is difficult to see what legitimate motive he can have in putting them forward as arguments against the Church's Infallibility. As the Church orders the Breviary to be read by priests, it can contain nothing that is opposed to faith or morals; this is all the Church guarantees. The intending 'convert' is asked to accept the Catholic profession of faith, which comprises a number of truths originally revealed by God, and proposed by the Church for the belief of the faithful. The histories of the saints, given in the Breviary, were not revealed, and are not put forward as such by the Church; and, therefore, the intending convert is truly told that he is not bound to accept them as truths of faith—for it is of such truths that Dr. Salmon is speaking. But according to the Doctor they are 'lying legends proposed by the Church.' Now, the Doctor's word is not a substitute for proof, and he has not even attempted to prove that any of the statements referred to as 'lying legends' is really such. The Roman Breviary was frequently revised, and the last general revision of it was made under Urban VIII. by a congregation of cardinals, amongst whom were Bellarmine and Baronius, and they were assisted by a number of eminent scholars as consulting theologians, amongst whom were Gavantus, the great writer on Ritual, and our own countryman, Father Luke Wadding. Now, it is not a conclusive proof of the Doctor's modesty, or even of his prudence, to find him setting down as 'lying legends' statements which passed the criticism of such scholars. The Regius Professor would make a very sorry figure if he was for a while under examination in history and theology by Bellarmine and Baronius. But even on Dr. Salmon's own admission there is much more to be said for the histories of the Breviary. He says that many of them, at least, are taken from Bulls of Canonisation, and if he would only read one process of canonisation he would be in a better position to judge of the character of the evidence he is discussing so glibly. Let him but read



vol. v. of Moigno's *Splendeurs de la foi*, let him study the investigation there given, and he will be less confident in his assertion of 'lying legends.' The lying legends are those of Dr. Salmon, and of men like him, whose sole stock-in-trade they are. Such statements excite no surprise in Irish Church Mission teachers, but in a university professor they are lamentable.

In justification of his assertions Dr. Salmon quotes the case of the Holy House at Loretto, which he proves to be 'fictitious' on the high authority of his friend, Mr. Ffoulkes. Now, as Mr. Ffoulkes' reasons are not given, we have only his assertion repeated by Dr. Salmon, which, as a proof, amounts to nothing. Another of his arguments is from the case of St. Philumena—but the Doctor doctors the history of the saint in his own peculiar fashion. He says:—

We learn from the authorized history of her life that a good Neapolitan priest had carried home some bones out of the Roman catacombs, and was much distressed that his valuable relics should be anonymous. He was relieved from his embarrassment by a pious nun in his congregation, who, in a dream, had revealed to her the name of the saint and her whole history, etc. —(Page 197).

This history must have been 'authorised' by the Doctor himself. The real history, which he could have found in the Breviary, tells us that the relics were not 'anonymous' at all. They were discovered in the catacomb of St. Priscilla, on the 2nd of May, 1802. They were contained in an urn, and on a terra-cotta slab covering them was written: 'Philumena. Peace with thee.—Amen.' On the tomb also was found the lily, the symbol of virginity, also the palm, the blood-stained phial, the arrow, and other symbols of martyrdom. Dr. Salmon can see a fac-simile of the slab in Northcote and Brownlow's *Epitaphs of the Catacombs* (page 53). Now De Rossi, judging from the internal arrangement of this catacomb, and also from the inscriptions and symbolisms used, holds that it goes back to the second century of the Christian era. Here, then, we have a fact as strictly historical as anything recorded of the catacombs, showing that the relics in question are those of Philumena,

a virgin and a martyr, who must have suffered at a very early period of Christian history. Now, whether the 'dream of the pious nun,' alleged by Dr. Salmon, be real or unreal, the historical fact which he has conveniently suppressed reveals both the name and the character of the saint, and supplies also abundant foundation for the devotion to St. Philumena, which has so shocked the tender conscience of this truth-loving theologian.

This case of Philumena leads the Doctor on to 'the subject of modern revelation as a foundation for new doctrines' (page 199). He says: 'But these alleged revelations are also the foundation of new doctrines, and the Pope's silence concerning them affects the whole question of the rule of faith' (page 200). And the new doctrines thus introduced are, according to Dr. Salmon, 'Purgatory, Devotion to the Sacred Heart, and the Immaculate Conception.' These revelations are, according to Dr. Salmon, 'in plain English, ghost stories,' and on such stories 'beliefs are being silently built up in the Church' to such an extent that the Church really 'is a vast manufactory of beliefs to which additions are being yearly made' (page 213). The sum of his charge against the Church in this matter is that very many of her doctrines are founded on ghost stories, and that, as she will not tell us definitely what we are to think of these stories, she is, therefore, shown to be fallible. Now, first, Infallibility can be tested only by what the Church does teach, not by what she does not teach; and, hence, the Doctor's instances cannot be a test at all. And, secondly, no article of Catholic faith is founded, or can be founded, on any revelation not contained in the original deposit of faith. This is the Catholic theory, and Dr. Salmon is well aware of it. Whether there have been revelations made to individuals in later times is a matter to be determined by testimony, but such revelations cannot enter into the deposit of faith, and no article of Catholic faith can be grounded on them. And of this, too, the Doctor is well aware. If there be in reality any such modern revelations those to whom they were made are bound to believe them, not, however, as articles of Catholic faith (for such they cannot be), but as articles of

divine faith, for, in the supposition, God has spoken to them and they must believe Him. But others to whom the revelation was not made are not bound to believe it, for the simple reason that they have not sufficient evidence that God has spoken. Dr. Salmon says: 'If there be any one in the latter Church to whom God has made real revelations we are bound to receive the truths so disclosed with the same reverence and assent which we give to what was taught by the Apostles' (page 214). He is here giving testimony unconsciously against himself. Unfortunately for him in his own theory the statement is quite true. He has no better means of knowing what the Apostles taught than he has of knowing whether a revelation was made to this or that individual in recent times. But in the Catholic theory—the true theory—the Doctor's statement is quite false; for the Catholic has the infallible authority of the Church to tell him what was taught by the Apostles, whilst in the case of modern revelation he has only the authority of the person to whom the revelation is alleged to have been made.

One of the doctrines alleged by Dr. Salmon to have been founded on modern revelation is that of the Immaculate Conception. Well, the doctrine was defined in 1854, and the alleged revelation, or rather apparition, took place in 1858. The doctrine thus came before the revelation, and consequently could not be founded on it. The Doctor first builds his house and then looks about for a foundation. This is genuine town-clock theology. Again, he regards the revelations made to Margaret Mary Alacoque as the foundation of devotion to the Sacred Heart, and he says: 'My object is to show that every one of these alleged revelations has a distinct bearing on doctrine' (page 224). He holds that they give rise to the doctrine.

Now, devotion to the Sacred Heart is founded on the Incarnation, on the Hypostatic Union, and Dr. Salmon cannot well maintain that the doctrine has been in any way affected by the revelation said to have been made to Blessed Margaret Mary. Out of this doctrine devotion to the Sacred Heart grew, and though it has become much more general since Margaret Mary's time, it existed long



before her time. There is an Act of Consecration to the Sacred Heart given in the *Divini Amoris Pharetra*, written by Lauspergus, and published A.D. 1572, fully a hundred years before Blessed Margaret Mary's time. The devotion is distinctly referred to in the *Vitis Mystica*, c. 3, n. 8, fully four hundred years before her time; and it is not difficult to trace it much farther back into Christian antiquity. It is thus very much more ancient than Dr. Salmon fancies, and it could not, by any effort of imagination, be said with truth to have been founded on the revelations said to have been made to Blessed Margaret Mary. But to the Doctor 'it is downright Nestorianism;' and he condemns it on the ground that in the Nestorian controversy 'it was distinctly condemned to make a separation between our Lord's Godhead and His Manhood' (page 223). This precisely is what the devotion does not do. It rests on the impossibility of such separation; it presupposes the inseparable union of 'our Lord's Godhead and His Manhood,' as the Doctor can see for himself, in any Catholic treatise on the subject, if he care to ascertain the truth. Of Blessed Margaret Mary herself he says: 'This poor nun was subject to what we heretics would call hysteric delusions.' This is his substitute for argument. He does not consider the evidence for the alleged revelations; that would be a tedious, a difficult process, and may perhaps lead him to an undeniable conclusion. Within his class-room he knew that his assertions would pass for argument, but for those outside, who may read his lectures, and calmly and patiently test his statements, to fancy that his mere assertion will carry much weight is one of the most supreme delusions of his life.

But, as might have been expected, the doctrine of Purgatory is Dr. Salmon's most fruitful source of argument against the Catholic Church. All through his lectures, there is a tone of levity when speaking of Catholic doctrines that is open to grave suspicion, but this is most noticeable in his references to Purgatory. 'The whole faith of the Church of Rome on this subject,' he says, 'has been built upon revelations, or, as we should call it in plain English, on ghost stories. For hundreds of years the Church seems to

have known little or nothing on the subject' (page 206). The Doctor himself seems certainly 'to know little or nothing' of it when he speaks thus. The Catholic Church teaches that 'there is a Purgatory, and that souls detained there are helped by the suffrages of the faithful, but most particularly by the acceptable sacrifice of the altar.' This is the defined doctrine on which theologians are allowed to reason and pious souls to meditate, so long only as their reasonings and inferences do not infringe on this fixed truth. Where this place or state of purgation is: what the precise nature of the sufferings there endured: how long they are to last for anyone, the Church does not say: though there is a strong tendency of Catholic teaching to lead one to believe that the pains are severe. And much unauthorised speculation on these questions in popular instructions is distinctly discouraged by the Council of Trent. Now the supreme and sufficient argument for this or any other Catholic doctrine is the teaching of the infallible Church. The doctrine is necessarily involved in the doctrine and practice of prayer for the dead which the Church has always taught and maintained. If it be well to pray for the dead, if our prayers help them, then there must be some of them in such a state as to need our help. The saints in heaven do not need our prayers or help, and to the lost souls in hell our prayers can do no good. The souls, therefore, who can be served by our prayers must be in some intermediate state, in some state of purgation or expiation, where our prayers can procure for them the succour they need. This place or state Catholics call Purgatory. This is the substance of the doctrine on Purgatory which the Church has always taught, though Dr. Salmon told his theologians that for hundreds of years she seems to have known little or nothing of it.

Now, in the face of this confident assertion stands the indisputable fact that the doctrine was taught and believed by God's chosen people long before the Catholic Church came into existence at all. Dr. Salmon is, of course, familiar with the well-known text, 2 Machabees xii. 43, 44, which records that Judas Machabeus made certain provision 'for sacrifices to be offered for the sins of the dead, thinking

well and religiously concerning the resurrection,' etc. This clearly cannot be set down as the personal opinion of Judas. He is giving expression to the belief which must have been held by all those who co-operated with him in that act of mercy; by all who believed in the resurrection. They must have believed that it was not 'superfluous and vain to pray for the dead.' Now, if it was not 'superfluous,' then some of the dead must stand in need of prayers; and if it be not 'vain,' then the prayers must be useful to the departed souls. No wonder, then, holding this doctrine, that he should say, 'It is, therefore, a holy and a salutary thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from their sins.'

It will avail the Doctor nothing to say that the book is not canonical; for (to say nothing of the conclusive evidence against this statement) the text supplies historical proof, that the Jews at that time prayed for the dead; and believed that departed souls were succoured by the prayers of the living. It is then absolutely certain that the doctrine was believed and acted on by the Jews in our Lord's own time, and there is no trace of any protest from Him or from the Apostles against it. On the contrary, there are texts in the New Testament which seem to presuppose the doctrine, and the force of such texts becomes much stronger when taken in connexion with the comments and teaching of early fathers. Doellenger, whom Dr. Salmon frequently quotes as an authority, shows that several texts of the New Testament were understood in early times as referring to the state of the departed souls and to make special comment on 2 Tim. i. 16-18.<sup>1</sup> Tertullian<sup>2</sup> says 'we make annual sacrifices for the dead,' and in the opening sentence of the next chapter (iv.) he says: 'Of this and other such customs if you ask the Scripture authority, you shall not find it. Tradition hands it down to you, custom confirms it, faith secures its observance.' And in his book, *De Exhortatione Castitatis*, he argues against second marriages

<sup>1</sup> *First Age of the Church*, vol. ii., pp. 64-70.

<sup>2</sup> *De Corona Mil.*, c. iii., No. 79.



on the ground that the husband has still a religious affection for the deceased wife, 'for whose soul,' he says, 'you pray, for whom you offer up annual sacrifices.'<sup>1</sup> St. Cyprian in his sixty-sixth letter *Ad Clerum* refers to a previous synod which forbade priests from becoming executors, and he now orders that anyone who violates that law shall not have the sacrifice offered for him when dead. St. Cyril of Jerusalem<sup>2</sup> says that after 'Commemorating patriarchs, and prophets, and apostles, and martyrs, that God may through their intercession receive our prayers, we then pray for . . . all those who have died amongst us believing that it shall be the greatest help to their souls for whom prayers are offered while the holy and august victim is present.' It is quite unnecessary to multiply texts from the early fathers, this doctrine is the teaching of them all. Most readers will recollect the feeling language of the dying St. Monica to her son, St. Augustine, asking to remember her at the altar. St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom Epiphanius, St. Gregory the Great, all teach this doctrine in the most unmistakable language. Again in all the ancient liturgies there are prayers for the dead,<sup>3</sup> and the same cry for mercy goes up from the tombs of the catacombs. Moreover, in several early councils we find canons regulating oblations for the dead. Against all this teaching it is alleged that the prayers referred to are only commemorations such as we find made of persons departed who certainly do not need our prayers. We often find the Blessed Virgin and the Apostles so commemorated.

A glance at the texts and prayers will however dissipate this delusion. In the text given from St. Cyril a clear distinction is made between those whom we commemorate to honour, to gain their intercession, and those whom we commemorate as an act of charity to obtain mercy for them. And this distinction is clearly laid down in the writings of other fathers, and is as clearly embodied in the ancient liturgies, as it is in the Roman Missal of this day. Honourable mention, such as distinguished soldiers get in military

<sup>1</sup> Cap. xi.

<sup>2</sup> *Cat. v. Myst.*, No. 9.

<sup>3</sup> See Renaudot, *Observationes*, vol. ii, p. 103. Ed, London, 1843.

despatches, will not satisfy this. And from these original fountains of Apostolic teaching, the doctrine has come down through fathers and councils to our own time. Now, are all these testimonies ghost stories? In the face of this chain of evidence the Doctor told his theologians that for many hundreds of years the Church seemed to have known little or nothing of the doctrine!

And in this, as in other matters, Dr. Salmon seems to know as little of the teaching of his own theologians, as of that of ours. The very latest commentator on the Articles, the Rev. E. Tyrrell Greene, M.A., says, while explaining Article 21:—‘There is abundant evidence which goes to prove that the practice of prayer for the dead prevailed in the Primitive Church’ (page 148); and he proves his assertion from the ancient liturgies and from inscriptions in the catacombs. Dr. Luckock, Dean of Lichfield, says:—‘It seems almost impossible to form any other conclusion than that the souls of the departed pass through some purifying process, between death and judgment.’<sup>1</sup> And Dr. M. MacColl, Canon of Ripon, in his *Reformation Settlement*, after a long and appropriate quotation from Jeremy Taylor, says:—

I will now assume that I have established these three statements:—(1) that the Church of England has nowhere refused her sanction to prayers for the dead; (2) that such prayers have been sanctioned by the Christian Church from the beginning; (3) that the Christian Church inherited them with our Lord’s tacit sanction from the Jewish Church.—(Page 318.)

And that Dr. MacColl is correct in his reference to the Church of England, was clearly proved by the decision of the Court of Arches in the case of *Brecks v. Woolfrey*, Nov. 19th, 1838. In that year a Catholic, John Woolfrey, died at Carisbrooke, in the Isle of Wight. He was buried in the local cemetery, and his wife erected a tombstone to his remains with the following inscription:—

Pray for the soul of J. WOOLFREY.

It is a holy and a wholesome thought to pray for the dead.

—2 Ma. xii. 46.

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<sup>1</sup> *Intermediate State*, c. vii. 62.

This prayer was too distasteful to the orthodoxy of the local parson, Rev. J. Breeks, who cited Mrs. Woolfrey before the court of the Bishop Winchester, in order to have the tombstone and inscription removed. From this court it was sent to the Court of Arches, of Canterbury, where a decision was given on the day above-named by Sir Herbert Jenner Fust. The charge is a most elaborate survey of the ecclesiastical law bearing on this question; but the outcome brought very little consolation to the wounded feelings of the Rev. John Breeks. The tombstone, with its prayer, was to remain. The rev. gentleman was much more orthodox than his Church. He may inhibit prayers for the dead, but there is no evidence that the Church of England ever did so. And, as if to make matters worse for Mr. Breeks, the judge had the cruel taste of quoting the epitaph, composed by Bishop Barrow, for his own tomb; which can still be read in the Cathedral of St. Asaph, and which is quite as Roman as the prayer for poor J. Woolfrey. All these men too, of course, based their opinions on 'ghost stories.' Surely if Dr. Salmon had been aware that divines of high standing, scholars of high reputation, had made, after mature examination, the statements given above, he would have been less reckless in addressing an audience even such as his was.

Instead of setting before his students the real foundation of our doctrine, he entertained them with the recital of a number of stories well calculated to bring ridicule on it. He took from Father Faber, and from the Abbé Louvet, a number of alleged revelations as to the general character of Purgatory, and the state of the souls therein, and on these 'ghost stories' he told them 'the whole faith of the Church of Rome' on this matter rests. He has not even attempted to disprove any one of the 'stories.' And even though he had disproved them all, the Catholic doctrines on Purgatory and on Prayers for the Dead would remain just what they are. From Father Faber's *All for Jesus* he quotes a number of such expressions as 'Our Lord said to St. Gertrude,' or 'to St. Teresa,' which he clearly regards as too silly to need refutation. Now, Father Faber must have believed that



there was evidence for these statements, and must have believed them. He does not give them as arguments for doctrine. In fact, only one of the passages quoted by Dr. Salmon refers to Purgatory; and Dr. Salmon draws from them the following conclusion:—‘A number of new things about Purgatory are stated on this authority . . . for instance, that the Blessed Virgin is Queen of Purgatory, that St. Michael is her Prime Minister,’ etc. (page 205). This is very witty, and must have been amusing to Dr. Salmon’s theologians, but Father Faber is not to blame for the Doctor’s profane levity. He believed the revelations quoted by him, just as he was free to disbelieve them if he thought the evidence unsatisfactory. And anyone who reads his work, and knows his history, must feel that he possesses the critical faculty quite as much as Dr. Salmon, though he has used it in a different way, and with far different results. And certainly Dr. Salmon, as revealed in those lectures, is not the man to give a decisive opinion on the dealings of God with favoured souls as St. Gertrude or St. Teresa.

But Dr. Salmon’s favourite author on this subject is the French Abbé Louvet. This priest seems, from his book, to be a pious man, not overburdened with judgment, and he wrote in circumstances of special difficulty. ‘I have formed a very high opinion both of the piety of the Abbé and of his literary honesty,’ says Dr. Salmon (page 205). And no wonder, for he supplies the Doctor with some valuable material for his lecture. He gives, for instance, and fully believes the history of St. Patrick’s Purgatory as told by Count Ramon, and, furthermore, he actually regards it as in some way connected with the real Purgatory of the departed souls. No wonder that Dr. Salmon should admire so learned, so reliable an authority. But, to do the good Abbé justice, he does not claim such high authority himself. In his Preface he apologises for the many imperfections of his book. He is a hard-working missionary in China, and he says that the book was written during a period of illness, away in his distant mission many thousand leagues from any library, from notes taken long before, and from memory. To expect a reliable or valuable work on a difficult subject from one so

circumstanced is out of the question. And the Abbé's memory failed him on one very vital matter. According to the law of the Catholic Church such a book should not be issued without proper ecclesiastical approbation, and the Abbé's book has none; and it is certainly quite characteristic of Dr. Salmon, as a controversialist, that he should quote as a high authority on Catholic doctrine a book written in violation of the law of the Catholic Church. There are recorded in Scripture visions and revelations quite as wonderful as any recorded by the Abbé Louvet. Those recorded by him then are possible, and for all that Dr. Salmon has said they may be true. They are not to be disposed of by notes of exclamation. As long as statements like those of Abbé Louvet do not infringe on faith or morals, the Catholic Church is just as much, and just as little, concerned with them as Dr. Salmon himself, and he is quite aware that this is so. And yet he makes on it the following characteristic comment:—

To people of their own community they assert things as positive facts, which they run away from defending the moment an opponent grapples with them. It would seem as if their maxim was, 'We need not be particular about the truth of what we say if no one is present who can contradict us.'—(Page 216, note.)

*Et tu Brute!* Such a statement implies an unusual amount of hardihood, considering the character of his own lectures!

The 'Gallican theory' is, according to Dr. Salmon, fatal to the Infallibility of the Church. 'That theory,' he says, 'places the Infallibility in the Church diffusive' (page 262). The Doctor's language here is equivocal. It would apply either to passive infallibility of the body of believers, or to the active infallibility of the teaching Church. And as his aim here is to assail 'infallibility in teaching,' let it be supposed that he is more logical than his language indicates, and that by 'the Church diffusive' he means the body of bishops diffused throughout the Church, and including, of course, the Pope. The Gallicans held that this body was infallible in its teaching, and this doctrine has been already

proved. They disbelieved in the Infallibility of the Pope; and it is a curious thing about Dr. Salmon's logic that his arguments against the doctrine which the Gallicans held are arguments in favour of the doctrine which they denied, and which he himself denies and denounces most vehemently. 'One thing is plain,' he says, 'namely, that if this is the nature of the gift of infallibility Christ has bestowed on His Church, the gift is absolutely useless for the determination of controversies' (page 269). 'We can see thus that the Gallican method of ascribing Infallibility to the Church diffusive does not satisfy any of the *apriori* supposed proofs for the necessity of a judge of controversies' (page 271). Thus, whilst arguing against one Catholic doctrine he is, no doubt, unconsciously proving another; his argument against the infallibility of the Church tends very strongly to prove the Infallibility of the Pope. The General Synod should look to the Doctor's logic. As Dr. O'Hanlon used to say, 'such teaching deserves a note.'

Now, the Gallicans held the Infallibility of the Church, how then can they be quoted as witnessing against that doctrine? The Doctor has not explained the intricate process which led him to this discovery. How far Gallicanism can be regarded as an argument against Papal Infallibility will be considered when that doctrine comes on for discussion. Dr. Salmon is well aware, for he says so, that the Declaration of 1682 was forced on the French Church by the tyranny of Louis XIV.

I believe [he says] that, but for court pressure, Bossuet and his colleagues would not have engaged in the controversy with Rome, which the act of formulating these propositions involved. . . . I have my doubts whether these hangers-on of the court of Louis XIV. really carried the religious mind of the nation with him.—(Page 266.)

And yet, strange to say, in the very same page he says: 'The four Gallican propositions expressed, as I believe, the real opinion of the French Church!' They did not express the real opinion of the venerable French Church, and of this there is now conclusive evidence. They were forced on by the unscrupulous tyranny



of the king and his ministers; and were accepted only by time-serving prelates who were ready to give to Cæsar what belonged to God. M. Charles Gérin, in his *History of the Assembly of 1682*, has accumulated from sources hitherto unpublished, a mass of information on the proceedings of the assembly; and has put in its true light the conduct of its leading spirits. It was a packed assembly. Its members were really chosen by the king's agents. Only thirty-four out of one hundred and thirty bishops were present, and these were selected, not for their learning or their piety, but for their well-known servility; and M. Gérin has produced letters of very many of them which show how fully they expected to be rewarded for their services. Such an assembly could have no moral weight, and its decision was forced on the French Church by the most absolute tyranny. In his fifteenth chapter M. Gérin shows what were the feelings of the French Church at the time, and the means adopted to crush those feelings. Colbert, the king's unscrupulous minister, had his spies in the University to note how the articles were likely to be received, and the secret reports supplied to him are brought to light by M. Gérin. Of one hundred and sixty doctors of the Sorbonne 'all, but six or seven,' are reputed as opposed to the articles; in the College of Navarre 'all, but one,' opposed; at St. Sulpice and the Foreign Missions Colleges 'all, but four or five'; and among the orders 'all.' And a month after the assembly Colbert, himself, writes that nearly all the bishops who signed the declaration would willingly retract the next day if they could. This is the evidence of facts, as adduced by M. Gérin, and it completely disproves Dr. Salmon's statement that the 'four articles expressed the real opinion of the French Church.' And it is clear, therefore, that even as a difficulty against Papal Infallibility, Gallicanism breaks down hopelessly.

In speaking of General Councils Dr. Salmon has surpassed himself. Here his real controversial tact is conspicuous; and if his students carry away from his lectures any respect for early General Councils, the fault is not attributable to their Professor. He told them that the authority of General

Councils had now practically ceased to be matter of controversy, because that Catholics 'who claim that prerogative for the Pope, and whose ascendancy was completely established at the Vatican Council of 1870, have been quite as anxious, as we can be, that no rival claim for councils should be allowed to establish itself' (page 281). The Doctor is here drawing on his imagination. Catholics can never give up any doctrine once taught by the Church. There have been several dogmatic treatises written on the Church since the Vatican Council; and he will find in each one of them this doctrine stated and vindicated, though he told his students it was practically set aside. This doctrine is included in the ordinary proof of the Infallibility of the *Ecclesia Docens* which Dr. Salmon has not considered. But having laid down the above extraordinary premises, he proceeds to discredit General Councils on Catholic authority. 'I am trying to prove no more,' he says, 'than has been asserted by eminent Roman Catholic divines as, for example, by Cardinal Newman' (page 282). Now it must be borne in mind that there is question only of General Councils, for to such only do Catholics attribute Infallibility. And Newman's testimony against them, he says, is that 'Cardinal Newman describes the fourth century Councils' (Nicæa and first of Constantinople being of the number), 'as a scandal to the Christian name.'

It appears absolutely useless to look for a fair quotation in Dr. Salmon's book. This quotation is from Newman's *Historical Sketches*, vol. iii. p. 335, and is as follows:— 'Arianism came into the Church with Constantine, and the Councils which it convoked and made its tools were a scandal to the Christian name.' Dr. Salmon omitted all except the concluding words of the sentence, and applied these words in a sense openly and expressly excluded by the text. According to Newman, certain Arian Councils were 'a scandal to the Christian name,' and, therefore, says Dr. Salmon to his students, we have Newman teaching that all the fourth century Councils, Nicæa, and the first of Constantinople amongst the number, were 'a scandal to the Christian name.' Now, Dr. Salmon could not have mistaken

Newman's meaning in the passage, for besides his specially naming the Arian Councils, he added, in the very next sentence, 'the Council of Nicæa, which preceded them, was by right final on the controversy, but this Constantine's successor, Constantius, and his court bishops would not allow.' And yet Dr. Salmon quotes Cardinal Newman as teaching that even this Council of Nicæa was 'a scandal to the Christian name'!

On the strength of his misquotation of Newman, Dr. Salmon proceeds to show that the Ecumenical Councils of the fifth century were quite as much discredited as those which preceded them, and selects specially the Council of Ephesus. His argument against this Council is founded altogether on the personal character of St. Cyril of Alexandria, whom he paints in the very blackest of colours indeed. After referring to a number of Cyril's alleged misdeeds, he again quotes Cardinal Newman :—' Cardinal Newman here gives up Cyril, "Cyril, I know, is a saint, but it does not follow that he was a saint in the year 412"' (page 307). Now, to say that a man is a saint does not look like giving him up; and Newman, moreover, says of him, after referring to the charges made against him :—

Thoughts such as these . . . were a great injustice to Cyril. Cyril was a clear-headed constructive theologian. He saw what Theodoret did not see. He was not content with anathematising Nestorius; he laid down a positive view of the Incarnation which the Universal Church accepted, and holds to this day, as the very truth of Revelation. It is this insight into and grasp of the Adorable mystery which constitutes his claim to take his seat among the Doctors of Holy Church.<sup>1</sup>

But the question is not at all what was the personal character of Cyril, but was the Council infallible: and Cardinal Newman, in the very page quoted by Dr. Salmon, has given his answer which is the answer of all Catholic antiquity: 'There was a greater Presence in the midst of them than John, Theodoret, or Cyril, and He carried out His truth and His will in spite of the rebellious natures of His chosen ones.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hist Sketches*, vol. iii., p. 345.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 353.



Cardinal Newman here asserts, what no Catholic ever thought of questioning, that the authority of General Councils is due to the over-ruling guidance of the Holy Ghost, and not to the personal character of those who compose them. And at a time when heretical bishops were intruded in several sees by the civil power, and laboured by the most violent means to diffuse the poison of their heresy, it is not much matter for surprise that one like St. Cyril, of strong temper, and of stern, unbending orthodoxy, should, in dealing with them, have sometimes forgotten the principles of politeness. But, in the eyes of Dr. Salmon, St. Cyril's unpardonable sin is that he was the Pope's Legate at the Council.

Dr. Salmon quotes a well-known text of St. Gregory Nazianzen against the authority of General Councils. It is from the opening of letter forty-two to Procopius : ' If I must write the truth, I am disposed to avoid any assembly of bishops, for of no synod have I seen a profitable end, but rather an addition to, than a diminution, of evils ' (page 297). Now, there is nothing more notorious about the text than that it does not refer to General Councils at all. The only General Council held before this letter was written was that of Nicæa ; and in his twenty-first oration on St. Athanasius he speaks in most enthusiastic terms of that ' Holy Council held at Nicæa, and of the three hundred and eighteen most select men whom the Holy Spirit brought together there.' Surely, then, it is trifling, even with his students, to quote St. Gregory against that Council. Now, the letter was written before the second General Council, the first of Constantinople, and consequently could not refer to that Council either. There are some Protestant writers who say that Gregory's letter was in reply to an intimation to attend the second General Council, and they continue with a strange perversity to quote his letter against it. But, even though this were granted (and it is not granted, for it is not true), the letter could have no reference to General Councils, for the second General Council became general only *in exitu*. No one regarded it as a General Council at its opening. And, therefore, even though Gregory's letter actually referred to it, it

would be no evidence against the authority of General Councils. St. Gregory was speaking of a number of synods held in his time, in which the violence of heretical bishops rendered calm discussion impossible, and from which, therefore, no good result could be anticipated. And Dr. Salmon himself supplies abundant proof that St. Gregory was complaining of such synods, and that he had ample cause.

At page 295, he quotes even St. Augustine against the infallible authority of councils. But it is perfectly clear, even from the extract given by Dr. Salmon, that the saint is only anxious to bring his Arian opponent to argue on the common ground of Holy Scriptures; and hence he says, 'I shall not quote Nicæa against you, for you reject it; nor you quote Rimini against me, for I reject it; let us argue on the Scriptures which we both accept.' The extract is from *Liber Contra Man. Ar.*, Lib. 2, c. 14, n. 3, and the opening sentence of the section shows how fully St. Augustine maintained the doctrine which Dr. Salmon told his students he denied!

But Dr. Salmon puts the climax to his arguments against the Infallibility of General Councils, when he compares them to meetings of the Protestant Synod! 'When an assembly of ourselves meet,' he says, 'together to consult on questions affecting the interests of the Church . . . we do not expect any such assembly to be free from error' (page 285). After this very modest disclaimer on the part of the Doctor, it is difficult to see how General Councils can survive the blow. It is 'the most unkindest cut of all.' As already stated the Infallibility of General Councils *rests* not on the personal character and merits of those who compose them, though very many learned and holy men are always among them, it rests on God's promise to be with His Church in her teaching. Dr. Salmon accepts the doctrine of the early General Councils, not, however, because the Councils were infallible, but because he knows that the doctrine is true. But how does he know this? The answer is not far to seek, it is the old story, General Councils are not infallible but the Doctor is.

## TRINITY COLLEGE AND THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN

IN the February number of the I. E. RECORD,<sup>1</sup> I dealt at considerable length with some statements, recently made, in which it was denied that there is a distinction of any kind between Trinity College and the University of Dublin. The statements<sup>2</sup> were as follows:—

I can confidently assert that *no such entity as a University of Dublin, distinct from Trinity College, or independent of it, or outside it, or in any way apart or separate from it, exists, or ever did exist, legally, constitutionally, or in fact.*

Again:—

*The College is thus the University in every particular.*

And again, after a quotation from the Act of Union:—

These words are repeated three times in Article Eight, showing that constitutionally *the University of Trinity College and the College of the Holy Trinity of Dublin are one and the same thing, perfectly identical.*

It would almost seem that the trouble taken, not merely to establish the existence of the distinction between Trinity College and the University of Dublin, but to point out the precise nature of the distinction between them, was taken in vain. Not more than a day or two after the appearance of the article in which all this had been done, the statement was again put forward, and no less emphatically than before,—

That Trinity College is the University of Dublin in every particular, and that the University of Dublin is Trinity College.

Furthermore, it was now alleged that, so far from the assertion of the absolute identity of Trinity College with the University of Dublin being in any way inaccurate, or

<sup>1</sup> See I. E. RECORD, Vol. xi., no. 2, Feb. 1902, pages 158-182.

<sup>2</sup> Throughout this paper, the italics in the passages quoted are mine.



indeed in any way open to question, it was a matter definitely established by a solemn judicial decision :—

This assertion is not open to argument or doubt, as *it has been solemnly decided by a court of justice.*

And, as if in final confirmation of the conclusive character of the judicial decision thus brought to bear upon the point,—a decision given by one of the most eminent members of the Irish Judicature, the present Master of the Rolls,—the public were informed that the decision—

Was never appealed from, and now places the matter *beyond argument or criticism.*

As to all this, I do not think it proper, in the circumstances, to content myself with a merely general assurance that the assertion—‘Trinity College is the University of Dublin, and the University of Dublin is Trinity College,’—often as it may be reiterated, is simply untenable; that every word written in the February issue of the RECORD in refutation of it stands good; and that, as to the additional assertion now made—that the identity of Trinity College with the University of Dublin is a matter not open even to argument or doubt, a matter solemnly affirmed in a court of justice, by a judicial decision, never appealed from, and consequently placing it beyond argument or criticism,—the attempt thus made to sustain the denial of the existence of a distinction between Trinity College and the University of Dublin is as completely out of joint with fact as I have shown the denial itself to be.

I do not, as I have said, think it proper, in the circumstances, to rest satisfied with this mere broad general statement. The readers of the RECORD have, I feel, a claim upon me to go a step further, and put them in a position to see for themselves how the case really stands as regards the bearing upon it of the judicial decision referred to. I proceed therefore to do so.

At the outset, I may state at once that the judicial decision in question is one that does not in the most remote degree conflict with any statement of mine. It has

nothing whatever to do with any matter ever dealt with by me. To make this plain, nothing more will be needed than to show, from the text of the judgment itself, what the point decided by that judgment really was.

The judgment of the Master of the Rolls, out of which so much capital has been sought to be made, has been introduced to public notice in the following terms:—

An old graduate of Trinity College, named Reid, died in 1883, having by his will bequeathed a large legacy to 'The Corporation of the University of Dublin.' The question arose, to whom should it be paid. The Corporation of Trinity College claimed it, and *declared that they were entitled to it, because Trinity College is the University of Dublin.*

An action was brought . . . in the Court of the present Master of the Rolls. The plaintiffs were:—'The Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity College, Dublin;' the defendants were . . . 'the Chancellor, Doctors, and Masters of the University of Dublin.'

AS THE PLEADINGS DISCLOSE, the plaintiffs claimed the money, *as being the University,*—

Here, for the second time in the course of this short quotation, we meet with the statement that 'the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity College,'—that is to say, the Corporation of Trinity College,—claimed Mr. Reid's bequest on the ground that 'Trinity College is the University of Dublin.' That is a very definite statement. It is a statement made in a letter addressed to a public newspaper by a professional lawyer. The statement, moreover, is coupled with a distinct assurance, given to the public by the writer of the letter, that the claim which he alleges to have been made on behalf of Trinity College was made in a particular document,—one of the documents technically designated 'the pleadings' in the case.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I ought perhaps to explain that the word 'pleadings,' as thus used, has reference, not to the speeches or other oral statements made by counsel, but to certain written documents that are lodged in Court. One of these, put in by the plaintiffs, is designated the 'statement of claim:' another, put in by the defendants, is designated the 'statement of defence.' In the suit taken with reference to Mr. Reid's bequest, these two documents constitute the 'pleadings.'

We shall see a good deal more about the pleadings in this case, a little further on.

I cannot but apprehend that a statement coming before the public with credentials apparently so satisfactory,—especially in view of the volunteered citation of documentary evidence in proof of it,—may, if uncontradicted, be accepted as true. I am obliged, therefore, to say that the statement thus formally made is, nevertheless, quite at variance with fact.

No such assertion as that alleged to have been put forward by the representatives of Trinity College in the suit in question, was ever put forward by them. The documents so strangely referred to as documents in which it is to be found, contain no such assertion. The statement for which the gentleman who has put it forward was unfortunately induced to make himself responsible to the public, is a statement that could not have been made by any person of ordinary intelligence who had read with ordinary care the legal documents referred to.

I shall have something more to say upon this aspect of the case when I come to deal with it in detail. For the present, I resume the quotation :—

*As the pleadings disclose, the plaintiffs claimed the money, as being the University, and the defendants claimed it on the ground that the University is distinct from the College, and that they represented the University.*

The case was argued by eminent counsel on both sides, and on June 2, 1888, the Master of the Rolls delivered an elaborate judgment in which he reviewed the constitution of Trinity College and its University from its creation under the charter of Elizabeth to the date of the judgment . . .

Then his lordship decreed that *the money bequeathed to the University of Dublin must be paid to Trinity College, the two things being inseparable and indistinguishable . . .*

The judgment of the Master of the Rolls . . . never was appealed from, and now places the matter beyond argument or criticism . . .

The next literary critic who desires to prove that there is a University of Dublin distinct from Trinity College may save himself the trouble of reading ancient history by reading one of the most erudite judgments ever delivered at the Four Courts.

I have reserved for separate quotation the following further statement. It is a statement that could hardly fail to inspire full confidence in the accuracy of the account



given of the judgment of the Master of the Rolls in the passages I have just quoted. Before transcribing it, I may, however, state that it presents for consideration an aspect of the whole case which, I have no doubt, will seem to many readers of this paper somewhat peculiar, not to say inexplicable. The statement is as follows:—

It [the judgment of the Master of the Rolls in the case referred to] is *public property*, and *can be read by any person*. I have given *the exact date*, to make it *easy of reference*.

All this might well seem,—as, I have to confess, it seemed to me when I first read it,—somewhat superfluous. It might fairly be assumed, one would think, that a judgment such as this judgment of the Master of the Rolls was described to be, was not unlikely to be found where any such judgment would naturally be looked for, namely, in the *Law Reports* of the time. It was, we were assured, an elaborate and erudite judgment. No important judgment of the eminent judge by whom it was delivered, could fail to be so. Then, we were told, it judicially decided a matter that unquestionably is of singular interest, as well as of great public importance,—the actual position of Trinity College in relation to the University of Dublin, and of the University of Dublin in relation to Trinity College. Furthermore, as was alleged, it decided all this in such a way as to show that the College and the University are not two things but one,—so that all the supposed legal lore of at least one great lawyer, Isaac Butt, to say nothing of others, in regard to the distinction between the College and the University, was nothing better than empty folly. The decision, we were moreover assured, was of such a nature as to place this matter, once for all, beyond the reach of ‘argument,’ ‘doubt,’ or ‘criticism.’ The volumes of the *Law Reports* for the time in question are so easy of access that the assurance elaborately given, that a judgment of such exceptional importance was ‘public property,’ and could ‘be read by any person,’ might well seem superfluous.

But, superfluous or not, the assurance was at all

events a welcome one. For, whatever might be obscure in the case, one thing was plain. No one who had even an elementary idea of the points to which, in a suit for the interpretation of a will such as that in question, a judge would naturally address himself, could read the statement I have quoted, as to the point decided by the judgment referred to, without desiring to have some further information on the subject. An offhand assertion that, in interpreting the will of an individual testator, a judge of great eminence undertook to decide, and actually decided, that Trinity College and the University of Dublin are one and the same thing,—even although the assertion was made by a lawyer, and was backed up, as the assertion in question was, by a distinct reference to specified legal documents,—could hardly claim to be entitled to acceptance until the documents thus specified, and the report of the judgment itself, had been examined.

The date of the judgment was considerably given, 'to make it easy of reference.' The testing of the correctness of the account given of the point at issue in the case, and of the decision given upon it, seemed then to be a very simple matter. Any reported judgment can be found with ease by means of the well-arranged Indexes of a volume or two of the *Reports*,—or, if necessary, in the last resort, by means of the Digests, in which the various items of the Indexes to the volumes of a series extending over a number of years are arranged in alphabetical order throughout.

I have here to touch upon a somewhat personal aspect of the case. I happen to be not unacquainted with the general arrangement of the *Reports*. Having taken it for granted that I should be able to find without difficulty the report of the important judgment in question, I thought it somewhat strange that an examination of the volume of the *Reports* for 1888, and subsequently a search through some later volumes of the series, failed to disclose the faintest indication that any question

as to the relation of Trinity College to the University of Dublin, or as to their identity, or the distinction between them, had been decided, or had even come before an Irish Court for decision.

The explanation, however, of my failure,—an explanation arrived at with definite certainty only after reference to some legal friends of more than ordinary experience,—was simple enough. This judgment, represented as being of such rare interest, and of such exceptional importance, is not to be found in the *Reports* at all.

Further investigation led to the discovery that a printed report of the judgment is preserved in the Library of Trinity College. Other copies, I must presume, are to be found elsewhere: otherwise it would not be easy to see how the statement that the judgment is 'public property' and may be 'read by any person,' could have been made.

But, let this be as it may, it is hard to see how the mention of the date of the judgment, as the only clue given to facilitate reference to the report, was anything but misleading. A great deal of time and labour that might have been more profitably employed would have been spared if the plain statement had been made,—not that this judgment of the Master of the Rolls is 'public property,' or that it can be 'read by any person,' or that it was delivered on the 2nd of June, 1888, and so can easily be referred to,—but that a copy of the judgment is to be found, in whatever place, really accessible to the public, a copy of it is to be found in point of fact.

I am assuming—I trust not over-confidently—that the statement publicly made as to this judgment being 'public property,' is true. I am consequently assuming that a copy of the judgment is to be found in some place where it may be 'read by any person' who may not happen to have the privilege of admission to the Library of Trinity College. I may add, however, that, as I have ascertained on inquiry, nothing is known of this important judgment, or of any report of it, either at Messrs. Hodges, Figgis, and Co.'s, the publishers to the University, or in the



Library of King's Inns, or even in the National Library of Ireland

I have not been able to have the report of the judgment searched for elsewhere than in the places I have just now mentioned. My only means therefore of getting access to it was by having the twenty-six pages of the report of it that is preserved in the Library of Trinity College transcribed for me there by two friends, who, with very great kindness, undertook the task. They did so in order that I might not be left without a copy of this judgment with which I was so plainly called upon to deal,—publicly stated, as it had been, that the judgment was legally conclusive against all that I had written in the last issue of the RECORD, the public being at the same time informed that the judgment was 'public property,' and could be 'read by any person.'

At all events, I have a full transcript of the judgment before me now. Also, as 'the pleadings' in the case have been so confidently referred to, it is satisfactory to know that, although the case in question was decided more than thirteen years ago, the documents appealed to are not at all beyond the range of inspection. Every such document is placed on official record, and I have before me, as I write, an officially certified copy of 'the pleadings' at both sides in this case—the 'statement of claim' on the one hand, and the 'statement of defence' on the other. Thus I am in a position to show up in full detail the very peculiar and very questionable way in which the case, and the judgment given in it, have recently been put before the public.

We have seen that the suit brought into Court, was for the judicial interpretation of a will. The will was a very peculiar one. The testator, as it appeared, intended to leave a considerable amount of property to the authorities of Trinity College for certain specified purposes, including a gift of books to the Library, and the establishment of a Professorship and of some Sizarships. But in making his will, he mixed up 'the University of

Dublin,' 'the Corporation of the University of Dublin,' 'Trinity College, Dublin,' and 'the Board of the University,' to such an extent that even the Master of the Rolls had no little trouble in undoing the tangled knot.

1. There was a bequest of books to 'The Librarian for the time being, of the University of Dublin,'—the books to be divided by the Librarian, at his discretion, between 'The Library of the University' and 'The lending Library of Trinity College.'

2. There was a bequest to 'The Corporation of the University of Dublin' for the endowment of a Professorship, the duties of which were to be assigned by 'the Board of the University.'

3. There was another bequest to 'The Corporation of the University of Dublin' for the establishment of certain Sizarships in Trinity College,—the conditions to be determined by 'the Board of the said University,' and a portion of the fund to be applied to rewarding schoolmasters for preparing students 'for the Sizarship examinations of the University.'

The point to be determined was to whom the second and third of these bequests were to go. The question to be adjudicated upon, however, was not, whether the Library of Trinity College is the Library of the College or the Library of the University,—nor whether the Board of Trinity College, consisting of the Provost of the College and the seven Senior Fellows of the College, is the Board of the College or the Board of the University,—nor whether the College examinations for Sizarships are College examinations or University examinations,—nor whether the Corporation of Trinity College is, or is not, the Corporation of the University of Dublin,—nor whether Trinity College is, or is not, the University of Dublin.

None of those questions arose in the case. The question that arose in it was of a widely different nature. Mr. Reid, the testator, whose executors awaited the judgment of the Court, had used in his will the expression, 'the Corporation of the University,' and the question was *what body he, Mr. Reid, meant to designate by that expression.*

Mr. Reid's bequest was claimed, on the one hand, by the 'Provost, Fellows, and Scholars,'—in other words, the Corporation,—of Trinity College. It was claimed, on the other hand, by the Senate of the University of Dublin. To which of these bodies had Mr. Reid intended his bequest to go? That was the point to be decided in the case.

This may be the most convenient place to dispose of the extraordinary series of assertions already referred to,—that the case adjudicated upon by the Master of the Rolls was a case of a bequest to the University; that Trinity College claimed the money 'as being the University,' and that the Master of the Rolls upheld the claim of the College, judicially deciding that 'Trinity College is the University of Dublin in every particular.'

Now, in the first place, neither Trinity College, nor its legal representatives, took up any such position as that the College is the University of Dublin.

And, secondly, the Master of the Rolls—far from deciding that Trinity College is the University of Dublin—on the contrary, as we shall see, distinguished, in this very judgment, between the College and the University, in the clearest possible words.

For the present, I shall deal only with the first of these two points. Trinity College did not, as alleged, claim the bequest on the ground that the College was the University. It has, as we have seen, been publicly stated, not only that this claim was made, but that the claim is disclosed in the pleadings. That statement is wholly incorrect. No such claim was made. No such claim, therefore, is disclosed in the pleadings. On the contrary, the 'statement of claim' distinguishes clearly between the College and the University throughout.

The claim made by the College, as the 'statement of claim' itself shows, was not that Trinity College is the University of Dublin, or that the Board of Trinity College is the Board of the University. As set out in the pleadings, the claim was that, there being no such body, strictly speaking, as 'the Board of the University,' the words 'Board of the University'



in the will must be taken to refer to the Board of Trinity College,—this being ‘the only Body called or known as “the Board,” either in the College or in the University.’ And so on of the rest.

The ‘statement of claim’ put before the Court on behalf of Trinity College is perfectly definite: as the following summary of it shows, there is nothing stated in it that is not indisputable fact. After setting out Mr. Reid’s will, a voluminous document, the statement recounts, in legal terminology, the following facts:—

There is no such Body, strictly speaking, as ‘the Board of the University:’ there is *the Board of Trinity College*, and there is *the Senate of the University*.

Trinity College is *the only College in the University*: by Letters Patent of Elizabeth and Charles I., the College is incorporated under the name of the Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin, the Plaintiffs in this action.

The Provost and Senior Fellows of the College constitute the Governing Body of the College: they are known as the Board of Trinity College. There is no other Body called or known as ‘the Board,’ *either in the College or University*.

The defendants in the action, the Senate of the University, were incorporated by Letters Patent of Queen Victoria, under the title of the Chancellor, Doctors, and Masters of the University of Dublin. These Letters Patent are dated 24th July, 1857.

The testator, Mr. Reid, was educated in Trinity College, where he took his degree of M.A.: he was called to the Irish Bar. He went to Bombay in 1853 [the date is important], and never returned to Ireland.

All the endowments by which *the University of Dublin* is sustained are vested in the Plaintiffs, and are *managed by the Board of Trinity College*.

Until 1874, when a new Body, known as the Council, was constituted by Letters Patent, the appointment of the Professors in the University was vested in the Board. It is now, with certain exceptions, vested in the Council, subject to the approval of the Board. Certain other functions (specified), previously discharged by the Board, require, since 1874, the sanction of both Board and Council.

The Council, as constituted by the Letters Patent of 1874, consists of the Provost, or the Vice-Provost, of Trinity College, and sixteen other members elected out of the Members of the Senate of the University.

The *Board of Trinity College* elect to all the existing Sizarships, after the usual examination of candidates.

Beyond the usual formal statements, as to the death of the testator, the grant of probate to his executors, the amount of property bequeathed, and so forth, the statement of claim contains nothing more.

This, I trust, sufficiently disposes of the unaccountable assertion that:—

AS THE PLEADINGS DISCLOSE, the plaintiffs claimed the money, *as being the University.*

At the other side, the case of the defendants, the Senate of the University, came simply to this: that the Senate was incorporated under the title, 'The Chancellor, Doctors, and Masters of the University of Dublin;' and that the body thus incorporated was the one designated by Mr. Reid, 'The Corporation of the University of Dublin.'

The case thus lay between two corporate bodies, the Corporation of Trinity College and the Corporation of the Senate of the University, each claiming to be the Corporation to which Mr. Reid intended his bequest to go.

As the Master of the Rolls expressed it:—

This is a case of latent<sup>1</sup> ambiguity, and in such cases the rule is (when the fact of ambiguity is shown), first to see whether the other words of the will afford grounds sufficient to enable us to decide between the two conflicting bodies, and, if not, then to admit extrinsic evidence.

And again, towards the close of the judgment:—

In my opinion, treating the question as one of *intention*, the testator has clearly shown on the face of the will itself that *what he meant by 'The Corporation of the University of Dublin'* was the Corporation of Trinity College.

I am bound to give effect to that intention unless it is encountered by some rule of law.

At this point, it may be well, for the information of those who may not otherwise have an opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the provisions of the law

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<sup>1</sup> It is fortunately unnecessary to enter upon an explanation of the technical distinction between 'latent' ambiguity and 'patent' ambiguity. It is sufficient to know that the ambiguity in Mr. Reid's bequests was an ambiguity that was to be dealt with by the Court in the manner so clearly expressed in the extract from the Master of the Rolls' judgment, quoted in the text above.

relating to such matters, to indicate, as briefly as possible, to what extent, and under what conditions, the personal intention of a testator is taken by a court of law as determining the true interpretation of his will.

The fundamental principle to be followed in the interpretation of a will is essentially different from that which regulates the interpretation, for instance, of a deed. In a deed, every phrase and every word has to be construed with technical accuracy, without reference to the personal intentions of the parties to the deed, however clearly ascertained those intentions may be. It is quite otherwise with a will. As to this, the common-sense rule of the common law is stated as follows in a manual of authority :—

In construing wills, the Courts have always borne in mind that a testator may not have had the same opportunity of legal advice in drawing his will as he would have had in executing a deed. And the first great maxim of construction accordingly is, that the intention of the testator ought to be observed.<sup>1</sup>

This explains how it was that the principal point to be adjudicated upon in the suit in the Rolls Court between the Senate of the University of Dublin and the Board of Trinity College, was, whether, by the complicated phraseology which he employed in his will, Mr. Reid,—the testator whose will was in question—*meant to designate the College* or *meant to designate the University*.

There is, however, an important point to be noted here. It would be by no means correct to state without qualification that the ascertained intention of a testator is, in all cases, to determine the interpretation of his will. Such a statement, indeed, would be very far from the truth. The intention to which effect will be given must be one that can be gathered from the will itself. In other words, it must be an intention in some way expressed in the will,—that is to say, the will must be so worded as to be capable of bearing the meaning that has to be put upon it in order to give effect to the testator's ascertained intention.

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<sup>1</sup> Williams. *Principles of the Law of Real Property* (17th edition). London, 1892, page 229.



Moreover, a Court is by no means left to its own uncontrolled discretion in deciding whether an expression in a will is capable of being construed so as to give effect to the ascertained intention of a testator. It would not, for instance, depend upon the merely personal view of a Judge whether such an expression as 'The Corporation of the University of Dublin,' could be taken by him as meaning 'The Corporation of Trinity College,' or whether such an expression as 'The Board of the University,' could be taken by him as meaning 'The Board of Trinity College,' on its being ascertained that those were the meanings which a testator personally intended to convey by the expressions in question. To quote again from the manual quoted from a few pages back—

The decisions of the Courts in pursuing this maxim [that the intention of the testator ought to be observed], have given rise to a number of subsidiary rules, to be applied in making out the testator's intention; and, when doubts occur, these rules are always made use of to determine the meaning; so that the true legal construction of a will is occasionally different from that which would occur to the mind of an unprofessional reader.<sup>1</sup>

As the same writer goes on to explain,—

Certainty cannot be obtained without uniformity, nor uniformity without rule. Rules, therefore, have been found to be absolutely necessary; and the indefinite maxim of observing the intention, is now largely qualified by the numerous decisions which have been made respecting all manner of doubtful points, each of which decisions forms and confirms a rule of construction, to be attended to whenever any similar difficulty occurs.<sup>2</sup>

Now it is a fundamental rule in this matter that an expression which, from usage or otherwise, has one definite meaning, and one definite meaning only, cannot have a different meaning put upon it by a Court for the sake of carrying out the ascertained intention of a testator. A bequest, for instance, made to St. Vincent's Hospital, Dublin, would not, in any circumstances, be awarded by a Court to the Mater Misericordiæ Hospital, Dublin. In such

<sup>1</sup> Williams. *Principles of the Law of Real Property* (17th edition). London, 1892, page 230.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

a case, evidence as to the intention of the testator,—evidence for instance, that he named the one hospital instead of the other, simply by mistake,—would not be admissible.

Thus, in a case in which a testator devised to certain trustees all his estates in the County of Limerick, and it was proved that he had no estates in that county, but had estates in the adjoining County of Clare, it was decided in the House of Lords by Lord Brougham, then Lord Chancellor, assisted by Chief Justice Tindal, and by Lord Lyndhurst, Chief Baron, that evidence to prove that the testator intended to devise his Clare estates, and that the word Limerick was inserted by mistake for Clare, was not admissible.<sup>1</sup>

This rule, of course, determines the construction of a bequest in which a word occurs which has, by statute, or in any equivalent way, acquired a definite meaning. Thus, for instance,—the word ‘acre’ having a statutory meaning,—it has been decided that evidence was not admissible to prove that a testator who devised forty-five acres of land in Ireland, meant Irish, not statute, acres.<sup>2</sup>

In the case of Mr. Reid’s bequests, there was, as we shall see, no real room for doubt that by the words ‘the University of Dublin’ he meant to designate Trinity College. But before the Judge could go into any inquiry as to what Mr. Reid’s intentions were, he had to ascertain whether there was room for any such inquiry, as there certainly would not have been, if, in the case of Trinity College and of the University of Dublin, the expression ‘the University’ had been determined by statute, or by unvaried usage, to designate only the University, as distinct from the College. As is clearly expressed in the passage already quoted from the judgment,<sup>3</sup> it is only ‘when the fact of ambiguity is shown,’ that the rule about seeking, in other parts of the will or elsewhere, for evidence of the testator’s intention can be applied.

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<sup>1</sup> See Jarman on Wills (5th edition, London, 1893), vol. i. page 412.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, page 392, footnote (e).

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, page 265.

Thus, as the Master of the Rolls pointed out in his judgment,—

If the gift had been to ‘the Senate,’ or to ‘the Chancellor, Doctors, or Masters,’ there would have been no question, since, whatever belief one might have had of the intention of the testator, the body would have been unmistakably defined.

No one indeed could assert that, in the case of Trinity College and the University of Dublin, those two designations have been uniformly and consistently used to designate, respectively, the College and the University. I have had occasion elsewhere<sup>1</sup> to call attention to the fact that, whilst, in a number of Acts of Parliament, the College and the University are clearly and sharply distinguished, there is at least one Act in which the two expressions ‘the College,’ and ‘the University,’ are plainly used to designate the same body. A similar absence of uniformity in usage is to be observed,—as I have also had occasion to point out,—in the case of some of the Letters Patent or Charters referring to the College and the University.<sup>2</sup>

The looseness—to use the Master of the Rolls’ expression—with which the expressions the ‘College’ and the ‘University’ have thus been used both by the Crown and by the Legislature, was clearly brought out by him in an elaborate analysis of the earlier College Charters, the Act of Union, and the Irish Reform Act of 1834.

The incorporation effected by the Letters Patent of 1857 was, in his opinion,—

Not the incorporation of the University of Dublin, but of its Senate merely.

Still, as he expressed it,—

There are two bodies in existence [the plaintiffs and the defendants in the case, the Corporation of Trinity College on the one hand, and the Corporation of the Senate of the University on

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<sup>1</sup> In a letter published in the *Freeman's Journal* of the 6th of January, 1902.

<sup>2</sup> See the letter referred to in the preceding footnote.



the other] to either of which [in the will in question] the designation of 'Corporation of the University of Dublin' may refer, and to one or other of which it must refer; not with strict accuracy in either case perhaps, but *sufficiently clearly to enable a gift to take effect in favour of whichever is in fact meant.*

In other words, there was no such unvaried and consistent use of the expressions as would stand in the way of the carrying out of Mr. Reid's intention in favour of either body, if his intention as to which of the two he meant to make his legatee could be ascertained.

The question being thus reduced to a question as to the personal intention of Mr. Reid, the claims of the different bodies whom he might be supposed to have intended to designate had to be considered.

First, the Master of the Rolls dealt with the body known as 'the Council.' In the course of the proceedings in Court, it had been suggested that this might be taken to be the body which Mr. Reid had designated 'The Board of the University.'

'The Council' is a body of somewhat recent erection. It was brought into existence by Letters Patent of the late Queen, dated November 4, 1874. In relation to the distinction between the College and the University, these Letters Patent of 1874 are of considerable importance. They distinguish clearly between the two bodies, the College and the University. Having done so, they vest in a 'Council,' to be elected from amongst the members of the Senate of the University,—and, to a certain specified extent, by the members of the Senate, voting as members of it,—certain powers previously vested in the Board of Trinity College alone. The following extracts from the Letters Patent may usefully be transcribed here:—

Whereas the regulations of the Studies, Lectures, and Examinations *in our said College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity*, near Dublin, preliminary to obtaining Degrees in Arts or Faculties *in our University of Dublin*, and the appointment and election of Professors, have been vested in *the Provost and Senior Fellows of our said College*. . . .

And whereas it has been represented to us that it is desirable that a Council, to be constituted . . . as hereafter mentioned, should . . . have a share in the regulation of the Studies, Lectures, and Examinations of *our said College*, and in the appointment and election of Professors, and the regulation of the tenure of office and the duties of said Professors. . . .

And whereas the Provost and Senior Fellows of *our said College* and the Senate of *our said University* have given their assent to the constitution . . . of such Council, it is therefore our will and pleasure that a Council be constituted . . . which shall consist of the following members.

The Letters Patent then go on to provide for the election of a Council, consisting of 'the Provost of *our said College*,' and of sixteen members. These members are—

To be elected out of the Members of the Senate of *our said University*.

Regulations for the holding of the first election were to be framed,—not by the Provost of the College, but by—

The Chancellor, or, in his absence, the Vice-Chancellor, of *our said University*.

Power was also given to 'the Provost and Senior Fellows and Council,' acting jointly, to alter the rules regarding the election of the Members of the Council, with, however, the proviso—

That no such . . . variations shall have any force or efficacy until they shall have received the sanction of the Senate of the *University* in congregation lawfully assembled.

With certain specified exceptions, the nomination to all Professorships is then given to 'the Council,' subject to the approval of the Provost and Senior Fellows of the College. But the Provost and Senior Fellows cannot hinder the appointment of a Professor nominated by the Senate, except on grounds judged by the Chancellor of the *University* to be sufficient.

Before the establishment of the Council, the existence of the University, as distinct from the College, had, of course, been fully recognised by law. As distinct from the College, the University had, for instance, the capacity of receiving within it one or more Colleges,

other than Trinity College,—such as the ‘other Colleges or Halls,’ contemplated by the Charter of James I.—the College, ‘to be of the University of Dublin,’ and ‘to be called by the name of the King’s College,’ the erection of which was provided for by the Act of 1667,—and the College, to be ‘a member of the University of Dublin,’ the erection of which was contemplated by the Act of 1793.

But, distinct as Trinity College and the University of Dublin undoubtedly were, there was, until a comparatively recent time, but little that could be regarded as a visible indication of the distinction between them. This was no less so, as regards the students and other residents in the College, than as regards the public outside. As—in speaking of the state of things in the College when Mr. Reid was a student there, ‘long before the Senate was incorporated or the Council heard of,’—the Master of the Rolls felicitously expressed it, the College and the University were, at that time, ‘inseparably and indistinguishably blended.’<sup>1</sup> But the establishment of the Council made a striking change. The members of the Council are elected exclusively from amongst the members of the Senate of the University, and a specified section of them are elected by the members of the Senate of the University, voting as members of that Senate. Thus, through its Senate, the University, as distinct from either the Corporation of Trinity College, or the Board of Trinity College, became a tangible reality in connection with the College and its educational work.

The suggestion that the expression, ‘The Board of the University,’ in Mr. Reid’s will, might mean the Council,

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<sup>1</sup> One of the strangest of the many strange statements recently made in reference to the Master of the Rolls’ judgment is that in which this felicitous phrase, admirably expressive of the close combination of the two bodies, the College and the University, is represented as a decision that the University is the College, and that the College is the University!

Starting from the postulate that the description of one institution as the parent of another, *Collegium, Mater Universitatis*, is only an expressive way of saying that the two institutions are one and the same, we must, of course, be prepared to find ourselves brought face to face with some eccentric results.



was set aside by the Master of the Rolls as quite untenable. Of the Council he said :—

I need not allude in detail to its constitution ; suffice it to say it is nowhere called the Board in any official document.

And again, towards the close of the judgment :—

‘The Board’ has a well-defined meaning in Trinity College. It means the Provost and Senior Fellows. It was contended . . . that the word is synonymous with ‘Council.’ In my opinion the testator *did not mean* to designate a body which was not constituted till long after his connection with Trinity College ceased.

The contest here is between the College and the Senate.

In the second place, the Master of the Rolls took up the case of the defendants, ‘the Chancellor, Doctors, and Masters of the University of Dublin,’—in other words, the Senate of the University.

The question being as to the testator’s intention, the case of the Senate was an essentially weak one. The Senate,—as I explained in my paper in the last number of the RECORD,—was not incorporated until 1857, years after the testator had left the College and University. There was no reason to suppose that Mr. Reid, living, as he did, away in India, had ever even heard of the incorporation of the Senate. At all events, there was nothing whatever to support the view that the Senate was the body *which he meant to designate* by the expression, ‘The Corporation of the University of Dublin.’ Besides, as the Master of the Rolls pointed out, that was not even a technically correct designation of the Senate. Speaking of the Letters Patent of 1857, by which—

The Senate or Congregation of the University of Dublin, consisting of the Chancellor, Doctors in the several faculties, and Masters of Arts of the said University—

had been erected into a body corporate—

under the name, style, and title, of the Chancellor, Doctors, and Masters of the University of Dublin,—

the Master of the Rolls considered that this was an incorporation, not of the University of Dublin, but of its

Senate.<sup>1</sup> Neither on the ground, then, of strict legal accuracy in designation, nor on the ground that Mr. Reid, by the expression 'The Corporation of the University,' could be held to have meant to designate the Senate, could judgment be given in favour of that body.

The Senate of the University being thus excluded, the only remaining body that Mr. Reid could be supposed to have intended to designate by the expressions in his will was Trinity College. We are now nearing the close of this interesting judgment, and we reach the point at which, as I have mentioned in an earlier part of this paper, the Master of the Rolls, so far from having decided that Trinity College and the University of Dublin are 'inseparable and indistinguishable,' or—

That Trinity College is the University of Dublin in every particular, and that the University of Dublin is Trinity College,—on the contrary, most formally and expressly distinguished between them.

I quote from the judgment. Coming to his final judicial interpretation of Mr. Reid's intention as expressed in the will, the Master of the Rolls said:—

In the words of the will itself are to be found indications which leave to my mind no doubt as to what his intention was . .

First, he bequeaths all the books which he may die possessed

<sup>1</sup> Although the point stands quite apart from any question dealt with either in this or in my former paper, it is interesting to note that, on the question described in my article in the February number of the RECORD (page 177) as a lawyers' question, pure and simple, with which I was not in any way concerned, the Master of the Rolls held that, prior to the Letters Patent of 1857, the Corporation of Trinity College was the only Corporation connected with either the College or the University.

This was the view taken also by that eminent lawyer, the late Baron Fitzgerald (see RECORD, *ibid.*, page 176.) The Master of the Rolls, after expressing his view on this point, added:—'It cannot, therefore, admit of doubt that, prior to the Letters Patent of Queen Victoria [A.D. 1857], a gift to "*The Corporation of the University of Dublin*" would have meant a gift to Trinity College, Dublin, and could have meant nothing else.'

It may also be worth noting that, as is quite clear from several passages of the judgment itself, the attention of the Master of the Rolls, strange to say, was not called to the important legal opinion of Sir Joseph Napier.

of 'to the Librarian, for the time being, of the University of Dublin.'

There is no *Librarian of the University of Dublin*, or of the Senate of the University of Dublin. There is a *Librarian of Trinity College*.

No Librarian of the University of Dublin, and yet a Librarian of Trinity College! These strikingly definite statements, let it be remembered, occur in the judgment which, as the public have been most formally assured, decided—

That Trinity College is the University of Dublin in every particular, and the University of Dublin is Trinity College.

Notwithstanding Mr. Reid's obvious mistake in the designation of the person to whom he wished to bequeath his books in trust for the College Library,—notwithstanding even the fact that in the bequest itself he not merely called that Library 'the Library of the University,' but distinguished it by this designation from another library, the lending Library, which he properly designated 'of Trinity College,'—no question was raised, or could be raised, as to this bequest. *Falsa demonstratio non nocet cum de corpore constat*.

So much for the bequest to the Library. Then as to the bequest for the Professorship, the Master of the Rolls said :—

Secondly, the testator bequeaths his shares or stock . . . to his trustees for the purpose of paying the same to the Corporation of the University of Dublin, to endow in the said University a Professorship . . . provided that it shall be lawful for the Board of the University to assign any other duties . . . to be performed by the said Professor . . .

The word Board has a well-defined meaning in Trinity College. It means the Provost and Senior Fellows. It was contended . . . that the word is synonymous with Council. In my opinion the testator did not mean to designate a body which was not constituted till long after his connection with Trinity College ceased ; and his use of the words 'Board of the University' affords a key to what he meant by 'the Corporation of the University of Dublin.'

Here again, as we see, the question was, What body did Mr. Reid mean to designate when he said 'The Corporation of the University of Dublin.'



As to the bequest for the establishment of additional Sizarships, the words of the Master of the Rolls were especially pointed and emphatic. He said:—

Thirdly, the testator bequeaths his Three per cent. Consolidated Bank Annuities to the Corporation of the University of Dublin, 'to found in Trinity College, Dublin, additional Sizarships . . and the Board of the said University shall determine the annual stipend to be allowed . . and I empower the same Board to apply the residue . . to such schoolmasters . . as [under certain conditions] shall undertake to prepare . . a certain number of boys . . for the Sizarship Examinations of the University . .

There are *no Sizarships in the University*. They are *in the College*.

There are *no Sizarship examinations of the University*. They are held *in, and by, Trinity College*.

No Sizarships in the University, and yet Sizarships in the College! No Sizarship examinations of the University, and yet Sizarship examinations held in, and by, Trinity College! And we find all this emphatically stated in the judgment which, it was sought to lead the public to believe, had decided—

That Trinity College is the University of Dublin in every particular, and that the University of Dublin is Trinity College.

But this line of comment, necessary in the circumstances, is becoming monotonous. I will only add that it was immediately after the words just quoted, relating to Mr. Reid's expression, 'the Sizarship examinations of the University,' that the Master of the Rolls concluded his judgment with the following pithy summing up of the case, the two first sentences of which I have quoted in an earlier portion of this article, as a luminous introduction to all that was to follow:—

In my opinion, treating the question as one of *intention*, the testator has clearly shown on the face of the will itself that *what he meant by the Corporation of the University of Dublin* was the Corporation of Trinity College.

I am bound to give effect to that intention unless it is encountered by some rule of law.

I have already shown,—at, I fear, too great length,—that the

phrase 'Corporation of the University of Dublin' has *no such defined meaning* as, in a case like the present, *excluding all enquiry as to particular intention*; and I have therefore no hesitation in pronouncing a decree for the plaintiffs.

And this is the end of the case in which the issue was represented to be, whether Trinity College is, or is not, the University of Dublin! And this is the judgment which was represented as having decided that Trinity College is the University of Dublin in every particular, and that the University of Dublin is Trinity College!

The importance of the question dealt with in this paper is manifest. Just now, a determined effort is being made to secure for a temporising policy in the matter of University education in Ireland, whatever Catholic support can be secured for it. It ought, we are told, to be recommended to the Royal Commission now inquiring into the subject, that the Commission, as the outcome of its inquiry, should report in favour of the establishment of a College for Catholics in the so-called 'University,' known as the Royal University of Ireland.

In justification of the policy thus suggested, it is proclaimed that the establishment of a Catholic University, or the establishment even of what has come to be known as a 'University for Catholics,' is now quite out of the question. The Catholics of Ireland are told, then, that instead of looking for the establishment of a new University for themselves, or of looking for equality with their Protestant fellow-countrymen on any other line,—by means, for instance, of the foundation, in the University of Dublin, of a Catholic College equal in all respects to the present solitary College of that University, Trinity College,—they will better consult for their own interests if they meekly accept as inevitable a further postponement, for some indefinite time, of the establishment of religious equality in the matter of higher education in Ireland, and beg of the Royal Commission to report in favour of the establishment of a College for them, side by side with the Queen's Colleges, in the Royal 'University'!

To secure some foothold for this temporising policy, no stone is being left unturned. Thus the public have recently been told that one road to equality, hitherto supposed to have been open, is hopelessly blocked by a definite judgment of a court of law, solemnly deciding that there is no such thing as a University of Dublin distinct from Trinity College. If this were so, the idea of establishing in the University of Dublin a College for Catholics, distinct from Trinity College, and on a footing in the University in all respects equal to that of Trinity College, would be a mere chimera. There would be an end, then, of one possible project, as to which the Bishops of Ireland have publicly declared themselves satisfied that, under it, religious equality could be fully secured, and every religious interest fully safeguarded.

It seemed well worth taking the necessary pains to show the utter irrelevancy of the appeal to the judicial decision by which, as the public were led to believe, progress in that particular direction had been proved to be impossible. One thing has now been made plain. There is no judicial decision to the effect alleged.

Will, then, the attempt that has been made to represent that one particular line of settlement of the Irish University question on the basis of religious equality lies outside the sphere of legal possibility, be persisted in? If it be, some other method of furthering it will have to be tried than that of appealing to a judgment which, as has now been conclusively shown, decided nothing whatever as to the relation, whether of identity or of distinction, between Trinity College and the University of Dublin, and was simply a judicial interpretation of what a certain Mr. Reid meant by two or three puzzling expressions in some clumsily drafted clauses of his will.

✠ W. J. W.



## Notes and Queries

### LITURGY

#### THE SEPARATE CONSECRATION OF CHALICE OR PATEN

REV. DEAR SIR,—Possibly you may find space to clear up a perplexity, which is mine to-day and to-morrow might be another's.

It has happened more than once that I have been obliged to get a chalice or paten re-gilt.

I am told that I ought not to ask a bishop to re-consecrate either of these articles separately, as the separate consecration of chalice only or paten only would involve a mutilated ceremony not contemplated by the rubrics of the Pontifical.

What am I to do? Should I be justified in sending for consecration the newly-gilt paten, together with a chalice already in use, which does not itself need consecration.—Yours faithfully,

γάρμα.

The section of the Pontifical which describes the ceremony of the consecration of the sacred vessels does not *expressly* arrange for the separate consecration of a chalice or a paten. The ceremony is, in substance, as follows :—

The bishop, having said the *Adjutorium nostrum*, etc., reads, for the consecration of the paten, an invitatory and prayer, and then anoints the paten with chrism, using the *form*. He next reads, for the consecration of the chalice, an invitatory and prayer, and anoints the chalice, using a form. Lastly, he says a single prayer over both, and sprinkles both with Holy Water.

It will be seen that the only thing common to the consecration of the two are the *Adjutorium*, the final prayer, and the sprinkling with Holy Water.

In case of the separate consecration of a chalice or paten, the procedure would be very simple :—

Say *Adjutorium*, observe the rite given above for the *one* sacred vessel to be consecrated, and sprinkle with Holy

Water after having said the final prayer with the necessary change. The only words that require a slight and obvious change are '*Hoc vasculum et Patena sanctificentur . . . . efficiantur.*'

Is this lawful ?

We think it is. The only alternative is that mentioned by our correspondent—to present, for re-consecration, with the unconsecrated vessel, a vessel which is already consecrated and which is not supposed to have lost its consecration. We can remember no precedent for this alternative in any part of the Liturgy, whereas such an arrangement as we have described is quite usual. One instance, which is perfectly analogous as regards the point under consideration, is the case of the blessing of Holy Water. The *Ordo ad Faciendam*, etc., prescribes the blessing of salt ; now the Sacred Congregation of Rites<sup>1</sup> declared that salt need not be blessed each time, but that salt blessed on a previous occasion may be used, of course without being re-blessed. In the same way, a chalice or paten may be consecrated separately ; though there is not an *express* Rubric to this effect, the Pontifical does *implicitly* contemplate it. The facility of separating the two ceremonies seems to indicate this intention.

Other examples may be adduced, such as the conferring of Orders in various combinations for which the Pontifical does not expressly provide, and for which, consequently, certain changes have to be made.

As regards practice, we have ascertained from a prelate that in some instances in which he was asked to consecrate a paten without a chalice, or a chalice without a paten, it never occurred to him to doubt that the ceremonies could be detached. The improbability of doubting is the only reason that we can suggest for the fact that this question is not even raised, as far as we can see, in any one of the many authors, who treat of the consecration of chalices and patens.

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<sup>1</sup> Dec. Auth., 8 Apr., 1713.

MASS ON HOLY THURSDAY, WITHOUT MASS ON GOOD  
FRIDAY AND HOLY SATURDAY

REV. DEAR SIR,—You would very much oblige me by answering the question : May a Priest say Mass on Holy Thursday, without doing so on Good Friday and Holy Saturday?—Yours, etc.,

P. H.

The Sacred Congregation of Rites has decided this question by the following Decree :—

Dubium I. An Feria V. in Cœna Domini in Ecclesiis Parochialibus aliisque non Parochialibus celebrari possit Missa lecta vel cum cantu quin peragantur functiones Ferie VI. in Parasceve et Sabbati Sancti.

Dubium II. An prædicta Missa legi vel decantari possit in Ecclesiis et Oratoriis spectantibus ad Regulares, ad Seminaria et ad Pias Communitates.

Ad I. In Ecclesiis Parochialibus ubi adest Fons baptismalis, servantur Rubricæ Missalis et Decreta, adhibito Memoriali Ritu Benedicti XIII., pro functionibus præscriptis, si extet defectus sacrorum ministrorum et clericorum. In aliis vero Ecclesiis non Parochialibus omitti potest functio Sabbati Sancti, non tamen illa Ferie VI. in Parasceve; et fiat sepulcrum: expetita facultate pro usu dicti *Memorialis*, si idem sacrorum ministrorum et clericorum defectus existat.

Ad II. Affirmative quoad Regulares proprie dictos juxta Decretum sub n. 2799 diei 31 Augusti 1839; Negative quoad Seminaria et Pias Communitates, nisi habeatur Apostolicum Indultum.

9 Dec., 1899.

N. 2799 referred to runs thus :—

1. An in Ecclesiis ubi functiones majoris Hebdomadae fieri nequeunt, Feria V. in Cœna Domini celebrari possit Missa lecta.

2. An si hujusmodi Ecclesiae sint Regularium, id liceat, ut Superior communicare valeat suos Alumnos pro adimplemento Paschalis præcepti.

Ad I. 'Negative.'

Ad 2. Superior celebret in privato Oratorio ad ministrandam Religiosis communionem: et si desit Oratorium, fiat in Ecclesia ianuis clausis.

Hence (1) there is one case in which Mass may be said on Holy Thursday without any function on Good Friday or Holy Saturday, that in which Regulars, strictly so called, cannot carry out the functions of Holy Week, and wish to



give the Paschal Communion to the Religious. Even in this case the Mass is to be said in a private oratory, or, if there be no oratory, in the church with closed doors.

(2) In parochial churches, where there is a baptismal font, there is no permission for Mass on Holy Thursday, unless the functions of the Triduum be carried out, at least according to the *Memoriale Rituum*.

(3) In non-parochial churches, Mass is allowed on Holy Thursday with the omission of the functions of Holy Saturday but not those of Good Friday.

(4) In all other cases—in Seminaries and Communities—Mass may not be celebrated on Holy Thursday without an Apostolic Indult, unless the functions of the Triduum be carried out. The omission of the function of Holy Saturday does not seem to be extended to these cases.

P. O'LEARY.

## CORRESPONDENCE

## FATHER FINN'S NOVELS

CINCINNATI, *February 5th*, 1902.

REV. DEAR SIR,—Your reviewer, J. B., in a very kind appreciation of my latest published story, seems to accuse me of a touch of snobbishness in giving *English* names to all my school-boy heroes. I am sure he will withdraw the charge when he has read the following explanation :—

I wrote *Tom Playfair* for the little boys I was teaching at the time, and did not dream of ever publishing the story. To designate Tom's character, I named him 'Playboy,' and Playboy he remained for years till there came question of publication. It was manifest that Playboy would be unsuitable; at the same time I wanted the idea of a play-lover to be suggested by my hero's name. Playfair naturally suggested itself, and so Playfair it became, and I must confess it never occurred to me to ask myself whether the name were English or Irish. Next came Percy Wynne. I thought that Wynne was an Irish name. 'Percy' I chose as hinting at the girlishness of the character. Again, I never asked myself whether 'Percy' were English or Irish. Harry Dee, my next school hero, has an Irish name; so has Harry Archer; so, too, Gerald O'Rourke.

And now for *Claude Lightfoot*. I wrote the entire story before I could settle upon that restless young gentleman's name. Intending to make the name of the hero the name of the book too, I wished for something that would hit off the character. It came, at last, with the last chapter. Again, I never asked myself whether the name were English or Irish.

You will observe, then, that when I wished to choose a name illustrative of the character, it was, from the nature of the case, an English name, not because it was English, but because it suggested a meaning.

I take this occasion to thank you for the kindly manner in which you have dealt with my little stories.—Yours sincerely,

F. J. FINN, S.J.

[On the first count in the charge—Tom Playfair—we are quite willing to acquit Father Finn. In the case of Percy

Wynne we begin to become unsettled. When we come to Harry Dee we are reluctantly compelled to convict, but with extenuating circumstances. We cannot, however, accept Claude Lightfoot. Claude is entirely too much for us.—J. B.]

FATHER MATHEW UNION

DONERAILE,

13th February, 1902.

DEAR REV. SIR,—May I once more make your hospitable columns the medium of communication with our members and the clergy generally, to inform them that our Council met for the first time on the 11th inst., in St. Finbarr's West Temperance Hall, Cork. In the unavoidable absence of Monsignor M'Swiney, the Venerable President of the 'Union,' the chair was filled by the Very Rev. Father Wogan, Guardian, O.F.M., Vice-President. There were also present:—Very Rev. Prior O'Quigley, O.P.; Rev. Dr. MacCarthy, P.P.; Rev. Father Flynn, P.P.; Rev. Father Cregan, Adm.; Rev. Father O'Leary, C.C.; and the Secretary. Others wrote to say they could not come. The Very Rev. Father Nicholas, Vicar, O.S.F.C., and the Very Rev. Prior O'Leary, O.S.A., were placed on the Council.

After an interesting discussion, the first General Meeting was fixed to take place on the 3rd June next in Cork.

There are some who will say that Dublin would have been a better selection, being more central, and considering the location of many of the members. At any other time there would be much to be said in favour of that view; in fact, one of those present suggested such an alteration of Rule VII. as would put that idea into practice. But this year the Grand National, or, rather, International, Exhibition will be held in Cork from May to November, and, doubtless, there are few of the clergy who will not patronise it; therefore, they can 'kill two birds with one stone' by so arranging that their visit to the Exhibition and to our Meeting shall synchronise.

The date, 3rd June, was fixed on (1) so that it should be as soon as possible, in order to shorten the long night of inactivity, (2) not to interfere with the Diocesan Retreats nor the big Meeting in Maynooth, (3) not to clash with the Vacation.

The 'Report' has been in the hands of the Members for some



time, and it will be seen by its pages that we have over 100 members, but we want 1,000, and now is the time for the other 900 to send in their names, so that they may play a part in the General Meeting. Especially would I appeal to those who have already made the sacrifice by taking the Pledge, of whom there is a goodly number scattered over the country ; they have done well in becoming Total Abstainers, they will do still better by joining the 'Union.' I would ask those who are already Members to help the poor Secretary by doing a little 'recruiting,' particularly at the approaching Retreats.

Any Member who wishes to read a Paper at the Meeting, or to propose any alteration in the Rules, or to make any suggestion, will please communicate with me, in order that I may prepare an Agenda.

The Council will have to be elected (or re-elected), according to Rule IV., the Members from each Diocese and Order selecting their own representative.

It has been suggested that there should be *four* Vice-Presidents, one from each Province, but such questions are for the Members to decide upon.

There are many plans for soberising Ireland. I believe that if the Irish Clergy joined this 'Union,' *as a body*, the problem would be solved. 'Happy above all,' says Cardinal Manning, 'are the Pastors who go before their flocks in the League of the Cross.'

Your faithful Servant,

WALTER O'BRIEN, C.C.,  
*Secretary.*

## DOCUMENT

**PILGRIMS TO THE HOLY LAND DISPENSED FROM  
RECITATION OF THE BREVIARY**

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE SUPER NEGOTIIS ECCLES. EXTRAORD.  
INDULGETUR AD TRIENNII COMMUTATIO BREVIARII, PRO  
SACERDOTIBUS LOCA SANCTA PEREGRINATURIS

*Très Saint-Père.*—Le directeur des pèlerinages populaires de pénitence aux Lieux-Saints, humblement prosterné aux pieds de Votre Sainteté, expose que durant ces pèlerinages il arrive souvent que des prêtres ne peuvent, à cause des fatigues et difficultés de ce voyage, réciter ni convenablement, ni commodément, l'office divin ; en conséquence il implore humblement de Votre Sainteté, qu'Elle daigne étendre à ces prêtres le privilège déjà accordé aux prêtres des pèlerinages de la Société allemande de Terre-Sainte, par rescrit du 6 mars 1898, renouvelé le 26 février 1901, en vertu duquel il leur est accordé, pour le temps du pèlerinage, de réciter le chapelet de cinq dizaines à la place de l'office divin, quand ils ne peuvent réciter celui-ci facilement.

Ex Aud. SSmi. Die 21 Julii 1901.

Ssmus. Dominus Noster Leo divina Providentia Papa XIII., referente me infrascripto S. Congr. Negotiis Ecclesiasticis extraordinariis praepositae Secretario, benigne annuit pro gratia, juxta preces, ad triennium proximum. Contrariis quibuscumque minime obfuturis. Datum Romae e Secretaria ejusdem S. C. Die, mense et anno praedictis.

✠ PETRUS, Arch. CAESARIENSIS, *Secretarius.*

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE HEBREWS TO THE ROMAN PERIOD. By R. L. Ottley. Cambridge University Press.

THIS work is published, the author says, in order to furnish students with a manual which is consistent with the present state of knowledge. Care has evidently been taken with the chronology, even though no attempt is made to enter into the discussion of some vexed questions. We think, however, that it would have been to the advantage of students in general if Mr. Ottley had dealt with the Assyrian chronicles, eponym canons, etc. Tables of dates are given, however, the first of which, entitled 'Primitive History to Accession of Solomon,' must be accepted subject to the author's warning, 'the following dates are for the most part extremely uncertain.' The remaining five tables, in which the dates are more or less ascertained, mention some contemporary events in profane history, but, as we said, we should have been pleased to find a continual use made of at least the Assyrian chronology in the body of the work. The maps which Mr. Ottley gives are good, and well adapted to students; especially the physical map of Palestine, which strikes one as being almost as useful as Smith's large map. The representation of the accompanying details displays considerable ingenuity. We wish that we could approve of the writer's own standpoint, but, unfortunately, it is that of the higher critic. At the same time it must be said that he has not, as so many others, made a history of the Hebrews the occasion for ventilating his theories and for constructing history in accordance with them. His own views are kept almost out of sight. They appear chiefly in an Appendix. In our opinion the value of the book would have been enhanced if mention of archæological discoveries, especially some recent ones, were more frequently made. The author's style is easy and flowing, so his *Short History* is very readable. R. W.

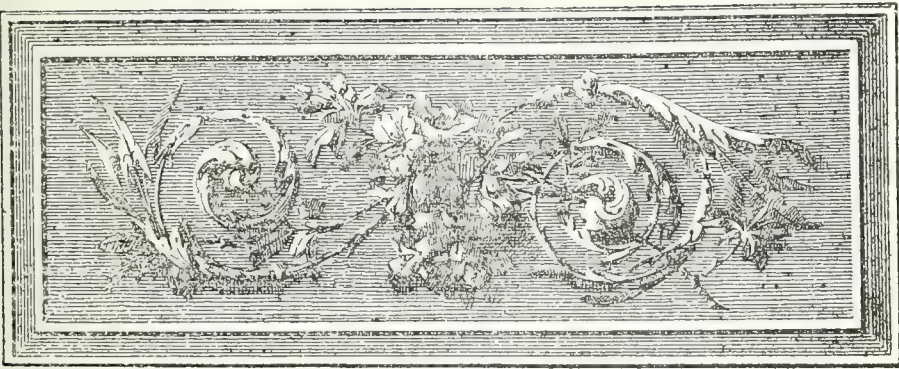
CEREMONIES AND PROCESSIONS OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SALISBURY. By C. Wordsworth, M.A. Cambridge University Press.

EVERY publication that tends to throw light on ecclesiastical



usages common in England before the Reformation is of great interest at the present day. We always find, as we anticipated, that in olden times Catholics had the same devotional practices as those we are accustomed to take part in. On this account, the ceremonies of a Cathedral church are full of instruction to every intelligent reader. Those of Salisbury, which were very elaborate, show what care had been bestowed on them, in order to ensure the beauty of Divine worship. A comparison between the 'Processions and Ceremonies' now edited and the corresponding portions of the *Pontificale Romanum* would afford much pleasure to others, as it has done to the writer of this notice. The Sarum rite promulgated by St. Osmund for his own diocese in 1085 was very perfect. Other dioceses in the south of England and some in Scotland and in Ireland accepted it. We may mention here that words used in the marriage ceremony at the present day in this country are to be found in the ancient Sarum rite. What Maskell did for its Missal some years ago, Mr. Wordsworth has now done for its Processional. Some of the usages were almost peculiar to Salisbury, for instance, the custom of carrying three crosses in the procession on Christmas Day, and on Ascension Day of carrying a lion and a dragon. It would be impossible within our limits to mention even a tithe of the interesting things which this book contains. Students of liturgy will find that it contains a mine of information. It should be, if not in every priest's collection, at least in all our college libraries.

R. W.



## ST. ASSICUS

### FIRST BISHOP AND PATRON OF THE DIOCESE OF ELPHIN

**I**T is the peculiar good fortune of Elphin, not alone that the see was founded by the National Apostle, but that, except the feast day, all the known facts respecting the first bishop have been recorded in the two most authentic memorials of native hagiography,—the *Tripartite Life* and the Patrician Documents in the *Book of Armagh*. St. Assicus was one of St. Patrick's earliest and most remarkable disciples in Ireland and the first bishop of the very ancient see of Elphin. St. Patrick in his missionary tour through Connaught, which he entered by crossing the Shannon at Drumboilan,<sup>1</sup> near Battle-bridge, in the parish of Ardcarne, according to Usher in 434,<sup>2</sup> according to Lanigan in 435,<sup>3</sup> came to the territory of Corcoghlan, in which was situated the place now called Elphin.

The prince or chief of that territory, a noble druid named Ona, or Ono, or Hono, of the royal Connacian race of Hy-Briuin, gave land and afterwards his castle or fort to St. Patrick to found a church and monastery. The place, which had hitherto been called, from its owner's name,

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<sup>1</sup> See *Irish Monthly*, vol. vii., p. 487, 'St. Patrick's Travels through Elphin.' Right Rev. J. J. Kelly, D.D.

<sup>2</sup> *Index Chron.*, Works, vi., p. 569.

<sup>3</sup> See *History*, vol. i., p. 240.

Emlagh-Ona,<sup>1</sup> received the designation of Elphin, which signifies *the Rock of the Clear [Spring]*, from a large stone raised by the saint from the well miraculously opened by him in this land, and placed by him on its margin; and from the copious stream of crystal water which flowed from it and still flows through the street of Elphin. There St. Patrick built a church called through centuries *Tempull Phadruig*, Patrick's Church, which he made an episcopal see, placing over it St. Assicus as bishop; and with him he left Bitheus, son of the brother of Assicus, and Cipia, mother of bishop Bitheus. St. Patrick also founded at Elphin an episcopal monastery or college, which is justly considered one of the first monasteries founded by him, and placed over it the holy bishop Assicus.

The site of the church built by St. Patrick was that at present occupied by the Protestant church of Elphin. The town extends along the summit of a ridge, in a direction nearly east and west. The Church of St. Patrick was situated on the eastern verge of this ridge. It is unnecessary to dwell on the dishonour and insult offered to the memories of St. Patrick and St. Assicus, and to the faith and feelings of their flock, by raising the temple of a new religion on the ruins of their venerable cathedral. This, however, is a degradation to which many of our most august sanctuaries have been subjected. The new, beautiful, and commodious Church of St. Patrick, built by the learned and patriotic parish priest, Very Rev. Canon Mannion, on the opposite or western end of the ridge on which Elphin is situated, holds

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<sup>1</sup> Ab Erico Rubro (son of Briun) originem sumpserunt Kenal-mac-erca: Erixi ex Aenea filio tres nepotes Ida, Ono, et Dobtha; a quo Kinel-dobtha: de quibus O'Hanly, et O'Broenan in tractatu Corcachlandae in Roscomaniae districtu inter Tir-Olillam ab Aquilone, et Bagnam montem a meridie: S. Berachi (S. Berache or Barry) atavus idem Dobtha extitit. Ida, et Ono Corcholandae domini professione Druides erant. Ono idem, ex quo Hy-onach regio, et familia obtulit ultro suam arcem S. Patricio, Imleach-ona nuncupatur; ubi Sanctus sedem episcopalem Oilfinensem erexit, quae usque in hunc diem (1685) ita continuat a multis saeculis perampla ditioe locupletata Ecclesia autem haec nomen illud adepta fertur, ex eo quod in loco, in quo extructa est, sit fons limpidus a S. Patricio de nocte productus e terra, Fionn, i.e. lucidus, vel clarus appellatus, et ad ejus marginem ingens lapis ibi jampridem erectus; nam *Oil* vel *Ail* prisca lingua Hibernica lapidem, vel saxum denotat: unde Oilfinn idem sonat, quod saxum lucidi fontis.—*Ogygia*, pars. iii., cap. lxxix., p. 375.



the legitimate succession to the Church of St. Patrick and St. Assicus. Like so many of the towns of Ireland, the episcopal city of Elphin had its origin in the church and monastery which St. Patrick founded there, and over which he placed St. Assicus in the fifth century. The name of Emlagh-Ona is still preserved in the townland of Emlagh, which adjoins the town of Elphin. Emlagh-Ona was obviously so-called to distinguish it from this other Emlagh, coterminous with it and still retaining the name.

The first bishop of Elphin was a worker in metal. He is described in the *Book of Armagh* as a *cerd*, i.e., a wright, the *faber aereus Patricii*, and he made altars, chalices, and patens, and metal book-covers, for the newly founded churches. Following the example of their master, the successors and spiritual children of St. Assicus founded a school of art and produced most beautiful objects of Celtic workmanship in the diocese of Elphin. Of these, some remain to the present day, objects of admiration to all who see them. The famous Cross of Cong, undoubtedly one of the finest specimens of its age in the western world, was, as an inscription on it testifies, the work of Maelisa Mac Egan, comarb of St. Finian of Clooncruff,<sup>1</sup> near Elphin, co. Roscommon, under the superintendence of Domhnall, son of Flanagan O'Duffy, at Roscommon, who was successor of Coman and Kiaran, abbots of Roscommon and Clonmacnoise, and bishop of Elphin. It is held that the exquisite Ardagh Chalice,<sup>2</sup> which was given to Clonmacnoise by Torlogh O'Connor, and was stolen thence, was made, if not by the same artist, in the same school at Roscommon. The Four Masters record A.D. 1166: The shrine of Manchan of Maothail (Mohill) was covered by Rory O'Connor, and an embroidering of gold was carried over it by him, in as good style as relic was ever covered in Ireland. It is, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> Cluain-cremha, i.e., the meadow or lawn of the wild garlic, now Clooncruff, to the east of Elphin. The plunder of Cluain-cremha is recorded at A.D. 815 of the *Annals of Ulster*. Dr. B. MacCarthy, in his Introduction to the *Annals of Ulster*, just completed, shows that Dr. O'Connor took *Orgain* (pillaging) to signify the taking away of the organs and turned it into *direptio organorum*; subjoining an irrelevant dissertation to show the very ancient use of organs in the psalmody of the Western Church.

<sup>2</sup> So called from having been found at Ardagh, co. Limerick.

fair to conclude that this beautiful work was also executed in the school of art founded by St. Assicus in the diocese of Elphin.

Like our Divine Lord Himself, who ennobled and sanctified the labour of the handicraftsman, like St. Paul, who earned his livelihood by the work of his own hands, the patron of Elphin, we have seen, was a worker in metal. His was

The nobility of labour, the long pedigree of toil.

He was clearly such a craftsman as a celebrated writer of our time had in view when he wrote :—

If the poor and humble toil that we have food, must not the high and glorious toil for him in return, that he may have Light, have Guidance, Freedom, Immortality. These two in all their degrees I honour : all else is chaff and dust, which let the wind blow whither it listeth. Unspeakably touching is it, however, when I find both dignities united ; and he that must toil outwardly for the lowest of man's wants, is also toiling inwardly for the highest. Sublimier in this world know I nothing than a peasant saint, could such now anywhere be met with. Such a one will take thee back to Nazareth itself : thou wilt see the splendour of heaven spring forth from the humblest depths of earth, like a light shining in great darkness.<sup>1</sup>

About seven years before his death, St. Assicus, grieved because some of the inhabitants of Magh-Ai, or Machaire-Connaught, the plain in which Elphin lies, had falsely given out that a lie had been told by him, seeking solitude, desiring to be alone with God, secretly fled from Elphin northward to Slieve League, a precipitous mountain in Donegal. He spent seven years in seclusion on the island of Rathlin, adjacent to Glencolumbkille. His monks sought him, and at last, after great labour, found him in the mountain glens. They sought to persuade him to return with them to Elphin ; but he refused on account of the falsehood which had been spoken of him there. The king of the territory gave to him and to his monks after his death the pasture of one hundred cows with their calves, and of twenty oxen, as a perpetual offering. There the

<sup>1</sup> *Sartor Resartus.*

holy bishop died, and they buried him in the desert, far from Elphin, in Rathcunga, in Seirthe. Rathcunga is now locally called Racoon. It is a conical hill, the apex of which is entrenched like a rath, and contains an ancient cemetery, now disused, in the parish of Drumhome, county Donegal. In this sacred and celebrated place, St. Patrick had built a church and monastery, where had dwelt seven bishops: and in the same place, St. Bitheus, bishop, the nephew of St. Assicus, is buried. Their relics were held in the highest honour, and for many ages were religiously guarded by the monks and venerated by the people.

Of the church and monastery of Racoon, hallowed by the relics of the holy bishop and anchorite Assicus, and the holy bishop, Bitheus, and by the presence of St. Patrick and seven bishops, even the ruins have perished. But the children of St. Assicus, the first bishop and patron of Elphin, still, even to our age, have piously preserved his memory, and hold before their eyes his example of the union of labour and contemplation. St. Assicus probably died before the close of the fifth century. His feast is observed on the 27th of April, on which day he is honoured as patron of the diocese of Elphin, where his festival is celebrated as a double of the first class with an octave. It is a major double for the rest of Ireland.

Hennessy<sup>1</sup> identifies Bite with St. Beoaedh, bishop of Ardcarne, in the county of Roscommon. 'He was,' he says, 'nephew of St. Assicus, bishop of Elphin, who was also buried in Rathcunga. St. Beoaedh died on the 8th of March, 524, on which day he was venerated. The *Chronicon Scotorum* has his death at 518.' But Beoaedh (Vividus Hugo) of Ardcarne—Beoaedus de Ardcharna in Connacia, qui erat episcopus, obiit 523: *Mart. Dungall.*, *Mart. of Tallaght*, pp. xvii., 3—does not appear to have been identical with Bite, nephew of St. Assicus. Bite was a bishop and is often mentioned in the *Tripartite* and *Book of Armagh* with Essu and Tassach (Assic), as one of Patrick's *cerds*. He was left at Elphin with Cipia his mother, and, there can be little doubt,

<sup>1</sup> *Tripartite*, p. 434, n. 3. Beoaedh is also given in the *Calendar of Aenghus*, at March 8.



succeeded the founder, St. Assicus. There is a St. Biteus, abbot of Inis-cumhscraidhe, now Inishcoursy, co. Down, at the 29th of July. St. Biteus of Elphin is given in the list of St. Patrick's disciples furnished by Tirechan, Asacus (*recte* Assicus), Bitheus, Falertus (Felartus).<sup>1</sup> But the equation of Bite and Beo-Aed calls for no refutation. The latter died, according to the rectified chronology of the *Annals of Ulster*, in 524. He was seventh in descent from Lugaid Mac Con, king of Ireland, slain A.D. 207. Amongst the saints of Lugaid's sept mentioned in the versified Genealogies of Saints,<sup>2</sup> Bite is not included,—an omission which effectively disposes of the allegation that he was nephew of Beo-Aed.

Assertions have been made regarding St. Assicus which are not borne out by the ancient authorities, and serious mistakes have been committed by various writers in treating of him. It has been said that Elphin derives its name from a white rock or stone: that Assicus was a druid: that he was the husband of Cipia and father of bishop Bitheus: that he retired from Elphin through shame because he had told a lie there. There seems to be no warrant for these statements in the reliable sources of our knowledge respecting St. Assicus. To show this, I give the extracts regarding our saint from the *Tripartite* and *Book of Armagh*.

### *Tripartite Life*<sup>3</sup>

It is there he (Patrick) founded Cell-mor of Magh-glass, and left therein two of his people, *i.e.*, Conleng and Erccleng. Deinde venit in fines Corcu-ochland, on this side of Tirerrill (Ua-Ailella, ac. pl., MS.) and north of Baune (Ba[d]hgna MS.).<sup>4</sup> There were two brothers in that place,

<sup>1</sup> *The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, with other Documents relating to that Saint*. Edited with Translations and Indexes by Whitley Stokes, D.C.L., LL.D., 1887, p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> *Book of Ballymote*, 232b, 233a.

<sup>3</sup> Part II., Stokes's ed., p. 94-6.

<sup>4</sup> Anciently Sliabh-baghna na d-Tuath [S.—b. of the territories], extending through the three districts called *The Tuatha*, from north to south, parallel with the Shannon. The western side of Sliabh-Baune (Corcoghlan) belonged to Mac Branán, descended from Ona; the eastern (Kinél-Dofa) to O'Hanly, descended from Erc the Ruddy. Caranadoc Bridge (Caradh na-dtuath; Calad na-d., by interchange of l and r: *causeway of the Territories*) still preserves the ancient name of the Tuathas.

*i.e.*, Id and Hona (hOna MS.); druids (were) they. Dixit hOno ad Patricium: What wilt thou give me for that land? Dixit Patricius: Vitam eternam. Ait hOno: Thou dost possess gold; give it to me for it. Respondit Patricius: I have given my gold to all (persons), but God will give more. He came upon a mass of gold afterwards in the enclosed place of the swine and Patrick gave that lump of gold to him for the territory. Tir-in-brotha (*land of the mass*) is its name. Tunc dixit Patricius: Nec rex eris, nec de semine tuo regnabit in eternum. Illius vero lacrimis misertus est Patricius dicens, he shall not be king whom thou wilt not accept and ordain (*i.e.*, place over them and maintain in power): quod impletur. The race of (Muircertach) son of Erc is the strongest and wealthiest in Connaught, but they rule not as arch-kings.

Ono, son of Oengus, son of Erc the Ruddy, son of Bron [Briun], de quo the Ui-Onach: he offered (presented: obtulit = the Irish of the text) his dwelling to Patrick and Imlech-Ononn (was) its name at that time; Ail-find, however, to-day. From the rock that was raised from out the well that was made by Patrick in the field and is over the brink of the well nominatur locus *Ail-; find* de aqua noncupatur. Et dixit illi Patricius: Blessed shall be thy seed and there shall be victory of laics and clerics from thee to doom; and with them shall be the heritage (coarbship) of this place. Et posuit ibi Assicum et Bite[um], filium fratris Assici[-cus, MS.], et [Cipiam, matrem Bitei episcopi. Assicus, sanctus episcopus, faber ereus (erat) Patricii, and he used to make altars and quadrangular dishes (patens) and quadrangular book-keepers, in honour of Patrick. And there was a quadrangular dish of them in Armagh, and another in Elphin, and another in Domnach-mor of Magh-Seolai, on the altar of Felart, the holy bishop (Felarti, episcopi sancti, MS.), in Ui-Briuin-Seolai, far from Elphin westward.

Assicus went afterwards in flight into the north, to Sliabh-liac in Tir-Boghaine. He was seven years on an island there, and his monks sought him out, and found him after toil in the mountain glens, and they took him with

them thence. And he (*i.e.*, Assicus, gloss in text) died with them in the desert, and they buried him in Rath-Chunga in Serthi. Inde dicitur, *Time to fare to Serthi* (*i.e.*, it is time to be dead and buried: a local proverb). And the king of the territory gave to him and to his monks after his death the pasture of one hundred cows, cum vitulis suis and of twenty oxen, in offering perpetual. For he said himself that he would not go again into Magh-Ai,<sup>1</sup> because of the lie that was said there of him. His relics are in Rath-Chunga, and to Patrick belongs the church. (But) the community of Colum-cille and (that) of Ardstraw<sup>2</sup> occupied it (literally, has come upon it: the verb agreeing with the first subject; it became a Columban abbey). . . .

He (Patrick) went after that, between Assaroe and the sea, into the territory of Conall (Tyrconnell), the place where Rathcunga is to-day. He marked out a place there, and said it would be a habitation and city for him (Patrick), cum septem episcopis. Et ubi [ibi] est Bite, filius fratris As[s]jici, from Elphin.<sup>3</sup>

Stokes reads (p. 148) and translates (p. 149) 'cathir dócum vii. episcoporum: ' a city for seven bishops. He took *docum* to be an Irish genitive governing *episcoporum*. But Dr. MacCarthy showed that the reading was 'do, cum septem episcopis': for him (the Irish *do*), with seven bishops. The whole text is a mixture of Irish and Latin. Stokes adopted what he admitted was a 'brilliant' emendation.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Magh Ai, now Machaire-Chonnacht, or the Maghery, a beautiful plain in the county of Roscommon, extending from near the town of Roscommon to the verge of the barony of Boyle, and from the bridge of Cloonfree, near Strokestown, westward to Castlereagh.

<sup>2</sup> Ard-Srath, Ardstraw, now a parish church, but formerly a cathedral, near Strabane, in the county Tyrone.

<sup>3</sup> Part II., Stokes, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> The seven bishops of Racon are invoked in the Litany of Aengus, in the *Book of Leinster* (lithographed edition, page 374a, l. 14).

See the Litany of Aengus Céile De published (with translation) from a MS. in the Archives of St. Isidore's, once portion of the *Book of Leinster*, by Dr. B. MacCarthy, M.R.I.A., I. E. RECORD, First Series, vol. iii., p. 471.



*Book of Armagh—(Collectanea of Tirechan).<sup>1</sup>*

Venierunt ad Campum Glais, et in illo posuit celolam magnam, quae sic vocatur, Cellula magna. [The Cell-mor of Magh-Glais of the *Tripartite*.] Et in illa reliquit duos barbaros [*i.e.*, not Roman subjects, but natives], Conleng et Ercleng, monachos sibi.

Deinde venit ad Assicum et Bitteum et ad magos qui fuerunt de genere Corcu-Chonluain, Hono et Ith, fratres. Alter suscepit Patricium et sanctos ejus cum gaudio et immolavit sibi domum suam et exiit ad Imbliuch-Hornon (*lege* Hononn). Et dixit illi Patricius: *Semen tuum erit benedictum, et de tuo semine erunt sacerdotes Domini et principes* (abbots) *digni, in mea elimossina* (subject to Armagh) *et in tua hereditate* (the coarbs or abbots to be of Hono's sept). Et posuit ibi Assicum et Betheum, filium fratris Assici, et Cipiam, matrem Bethei episcopi.

Assicus, sanctus episcopus, faber aereus erat Patricio et faciebat altaria [et] bibliothecas qua[drata]s. Faciebat in[super] patinos sanctus noster (sancti nostri, MS.) pro honore Patricii episcopi. Et de illis tres patinos quadratos vidi: id est, patinum in aeclessia Patricii in Arddmachae et alterum in aeclessia Alofind (gen. of Ail-find: Elphin), et tertium in aeclessia magna Saeoli, super altare Felarti, sancti episcopi.

As[s]icus iste fecit profugam in aquilonem regionis ad Montem-lapidis[-um] (Sliabh-liac).<sup>2</sup> Et fuit septem annis in insola quae vocatur Rochuil,<sup>3</sup> retro Montem-lapidum. Et quaerebant illum monachi sui et invenierunt eum in convallibus montanis, juxta laborum artificiorum (their toil in the search was like the labour of artizans). Et abstraxerunt eum monachi ejus. Et mortuus est apud illos in disertis montibus et sepelierunt eum irRaith-chungai hi Sertib (in Racoön in Serthi). Et dedit rex illi et monachis suis post mortem [ejus] foenum c. vaccarum cum vitulis suis et bovum xx.,—immolatio aeterna; quia dixit quod non revert[re]tur in Campum-Ai, quia mendacium ab illo dixerunt. Et sunt

<sup>1</sup> Folio 11 c. d.

<sup>2</sup> Sliabh-liag, a precipitous mountain over the Atlantic, in the parish of Glencolumkille, barony of Bannagh, county of Donegal.

<sup>3</sup> Now called Rathlin O'Birne, adjacent to Glencolumkill, about fifty acres in extent.

ossa ejus in Campo-Sered, hirRaith-chungi (in Magh-Sered, in Rath-chunga). Monachus Patricii [erat], sed contenderunt eum familiae Columbae-cille et familia Airdd-sratha.<sup>1</sup> . . .

Patricius vero venit de fonte Alo-find (of Elphin) ad Dumecham Nepotum-Ailello (Ui-Ailella : Tirerrill) et fundavit in illo loco aeclessiam, quae sic vocatur *Senella Cella Dumiche* usque [ad] hunc diem, in quo reliquit viros Sanctos Macet, et Cetgen, et Rodanum prespiterum.

Etiam intravit (Patricius) in Campum *Sereth* trans amnem [the Erne] inter Es-ruaid [Assaroe, co. Donegal] et mare, et fundavit aeclessiam hirRaith-argi (in Rath-argi) et castramentatus est in Campo-Sereth. Et invenit quendam virum bonum de genere Lathron et baptizavit eum et filium tenerum cum eo, qui dicebatur Hinu, vel Ineus, quia posuit illum pater in fana (=lintheum, a sheet) super collum ejus, quia natus est in via cum patre de monte veniens. Et baptizavit Patricius filium et scripsit illi [patri] abgitorium<sup>2</sup> [elements of Christian Doctrine] et benedixit eum benedictione episcopi. Qui postea retenuit Assicum sanctum cum monachis suis in Ard-roissen,<sup>3</sup> id est, hirRaith-congi (in Racoon), in Campo-Sereth, in tempore regum Fergusso et Fothuid.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Reeves (*Adamnan*, pp. 284-5) infers from this passage that the monks of Ardstraw were in dispute with Columban monks respecting Racoon, county Donegal. But the tenor of the Tract and the absence of *ad invicem* (cf. confluentes (sic) *ad invicem* (*Book of Armagh*, fol. 13a) show that the contention (for the grazing of 100 cows with their calves and 20 oxen) was directed against Armagh, conjointly and successfully, by the monks of Ardstraw and the Columban monks. This is clear from the extract given above from the *Tripartite*. 'His (Assic's) remains are in Racoon and to Patrick belongs the church. [But] the community of Colum-cille and [that] of Ardstraw have seized it.'—*Annals of Ulster*, ed. MacCarthy, vol. iii., pp. 514-5.

<sup>2</sup> For the references to the *abgitoria* in the *Tripartite* and *Book of Armagh*, see Introduction to *Annals of Ulster*, p. cviii., note 6.

<sup>3</sup> Roshin, Tirlugh barony, Co. Donegal, on the road from Belleek to Ballintra. The corresponding place of the *Tripartite* shows that the final sentence (Qui postea, etc.) is an addition. The value of it may be estimated from the equation of Roshin and Racoon, and the fact that Fergus and Fothud are not found as joint or successive kings in the regal successions. The rulers in question were Fergus and Domnall, kings of Ireland, A.D. 565-567. They are best known as victors with Dermot, king of Ireland, in the battle of Culdrevny (Cooladrummon, eight miles north-west of Sligo town), on behalf of their kinsman, St. Columba, in 561.

<sup>4</sup> *Book of Armagh*, fol. 15, a, b.

From these texts it is clear that Elphin does not mean a white stone or rock. Stokes (page 96) gives the text of the *Tripartite*: *Nominatur locus Ailfind; de aqua nuncupatur*: and translates—The place is named *Ail-find* from the stone (*ail*) which was raised out of the well that was made by Patrick in the green, and which stands on the brink of the well: it is called from the water [*find* (fair)]. But Dr. MacCarthy, in his criticism in the *Academy*,<sup>1</sup> showed that this text and rendering were incorrect. For, he pertinently asked, if the place is named Ailfind from the *ail* or stone, what remains for it to be called from *aqua*? It has to be borne in mind that the scribes did not understand their text; and that, as can be seen in the facsimile prefixed to Stokes's edition, punctuation was confined to the full stop. Dr. MacCarthy amended it thus: From the *ail* (rock) . . . *nominatur locus ail; find de aqua nuncupatur*. The place is named Ail from the *ail* and designated *find* (fair, clear, sparkling) from the water. In other words, Ailfinn is *petra purae* (aquae), or in Irish Ail-finn (*uisce*), rock of clear water. *Uisce* is masculine or neuter, and so has *finn* or *find* (pron. *feen*), not *finne* or *finde*, in the qualifying adjective. There is not a shred of authority for the statement that Assicus was a druid, or of the race of Ono.

According to the *Tripartite* and *Book of Armagh*, Bite was the nephew, not the son, of Assicus. The former has Bite, *filius fratris Assici*, and the latter, *Eit posuit ibi Assicum et Betheum, filium fratris Assici et Cipiam, matrem Bethei episcopi*. In one MS. of the *Tripartite* the reading is *filium Assici*. Stokes adopted this, though he had in the other, and printed it himself at foot (page 96), *filium fratris Assicus* [-ci], and the same in the *Book of Armagh*. This Dr. MacCarthy<sup>2</sup> pointed out, and Stokes accepted the correction.

St. Assicus fled from Elphin, not because he had told a lie there, but (which is quite another thing) because a lie had been told there of him. In Stokes's *Tripartite* (page 96),

<sup>1</sup> See also *Trans. R.I.A.*, xxix., page 195.

<sup>2</sup> See *Trans. R.I.A.*, vol. xxix., part vi., page 195.



the sentence: 'For he said himself that he would not go again into Magh-ai,' is inserted between *Serthi* and *unde dicitur*, an unwarrantable tampering with the text of the two MSS., as the corresponding passage in the *Book of Armagh* proves. Stokes furthermore translates, in accordance with this schoolboy collocation: They buried him in Racoon, for he had declared that he would not go again into Magh-ai, on account of the falsehood which had been uttered by him there. But *roraidead uad* does not mean 'which had been uttered by him,' but had been uttered as if from him; *by him* (denoting agency) would be *lais*, and this is confirmed by the Latin of the *Book of Armagh*: quia mendacium ab illo dixerunt—the people of Magh-ai gave out a lie as coming from him. The local ruler of Baunagh gave to him and his monks after his death his princely offering through joy at having his bones in Racoon, instead of their being carried home to Elphin; and St. Assicus would not have them brought to Elphin, because of the falsehood which had been given out there as if uttered by him, and his monks remained where the relics of their holy master rested.

The author of the Life of St. Patrick in the *Book of Armagh* says: The holy bishop Assicus was the goldsmith of Patrick, and he made altars, and quadrangular book-cases. Our saint also made patens in honour of Patrick the bishop; and of them I have seen three quadrangular patens, that is, the paten in the church of Patrick in Armagh, and another in the church of Elphin, and the third in the great church of Saetli, on the altar of Felart, the holy bishop. The altar of Felart, on which was this beautiful paten of St. Assicus, was in the church founded by St. Patrick on Lough Sealga, called Domnagh-Mor of Magh Sealga, in the townland of Carns, near Tulsk and Rathcroghan, the royal residence of Connaught.

The *Tripartite*<sup>1</sup> tells us that from Oran (which is in the barony of Ballymoe, between Roscommon and Castlerea), where he had left bishop Cethec, St. Patrick directed his steps to another place not far from Oran, also very celebrated

<sup>1</sup> Stokes, pp. 106-8.

in pagan and Christian times, namely, to Magh-Selca, *i.e.*, to Duma-Selca, where there were six young men, sons of Brian [Briun], viz.—Bolcdere, Derthacht, Eichen, Cremthan, Coelcharna, and Echaid.<sup>1</sup> And Patrick wrote three names there on three stones, viz.: Jesus, Soter, Salvator. Patrick blessed the Ui-Briuin from Dumha-Selca, and Patrick's seat is there between the three stones, in quibus scripsit literas, et nomina episcoporum qui cum illo illic fuerunt, viz., Bronus episcopus<sup>2</sup> of Caisel-Irre, Sachellus of Baislic-mor in Ciarraighe, Brocaid of Imlech-ech, brother to Loman of Ath-truim, Bronachus, presbyter, Rodan, Cassan, Benen, Patrick's successor, and Benen, brother of Cethech, Felartus, bishop, and his sister, a nun there, and another sister, quæ sit in insola in mare Connaicne, *i.e.*, Croch-Culli-Conmacne. And he founded a church on Loch-Selca, *i.e.*, Domhnach-[mor] of Magh-Selca, in quo baptizavit the Ui-Briuin et benedixit. Patrick went into Gregraidhe, of Loch-Techet, and founded a church there.

Hennessy, in his version of the *Tripartite*,<sup>3</sup> says: 'Duma-Selca, or the mound of the chase, was the old name of a mound which still exists in the townland of Carns, a little to the south of the village of Tulsk, in the county of Roscommon. The mound or moat lies due east from the celebrated mound of Carnfree. Canon O'Hanlon, in his *Lives of the Irish Saints*,<sup>4</sup> says: 'Magh-Selca, also called Duma-Selca, is interpreted in English, the Mound of the Chase. This was the old name of a mound which still exists in the townland of Carns, a little to the south of Tulsk village, in the county of Roscommon.' The place, we learn from the *Dinnsenchus* (history of names of places) in the *Book of Ballymote* (lithographed edition, page 386 b-7b) was

<sup>1</sup> *The Book of Ballymote*, in a genealogical tract, which Charles O'Connor of Belanagare, has headed 'Of the Hy-Brune Heremonians,' states, (page 89a) that there were 24 sons, who are named, the eldest of whom, Eichin, was king at the coming of Patrick. All proved obstinate, except the youngest, Duach the Valorous, who was converted by St. Patrick, and became the first Christian king of Connaught. To him and his seed the saint promised the kingship, 'and that was fulfilled.' The prophecy, needless to add, was made after the event!

<sup>2</sup> Stokes (p. 108) inserts [Biteus] and translates (p. 109) Bite of Casel-Irre, although he gave before (p. 94), episcopus Bronus . . . qui est at Caisel-hIrroe. So also at pp. 140, 319.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 407, note.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 592, note.

originally called Ard-cain (pleasant height),<sup>1</sup> and afterwards Duma-selga (mound of chase), from the chase of the six swine of Derbriu,<sup>2</sup> daughter of Eochy the Generous (King of Ireland, B.C. 137). The names, various wanderings, and deaths (the heads were brought to the mound) are set forth in prose, and, more copiously, in twenty-seven quatrains. Hennessy and Canon O'Hanlon, therefore, hold that Magh-Selca, where Patrick baptized the sons of Briun was at the present Carns, near Tulsk and Rathcroghan; yet, strange to relate, both, following O'Flaherty, say that Domhnach-mor of Magh-Selca, which occurs in connection with it, in the same passage, is on the banks of Lough Hackett, county Galway, and is now called Donagh-Patrick. O'Flaherty, in his *Ogygia*,<sup>3</sup> states that the six sons of Brian [Briun] were converted in Magh-Seola, on the banks of Lough Hackett, [in the diocese of Tuam]; and Hardiman, in his edition of O'Flaherty's *Iar Connaught*, says: 'Here also he built the church of Domnach-mor, now called Domnach-Patruig, on the banks of Loch Sealga (*recte* Loch Cime), in the barony of Clare, county Galway.'<sup>4</sup>

This is all clearly wrong, as the *Tripartite* says that St. Patrick came from Oran, which is in the vicinity of Carns, and far away from Lough Hackett. It states that Patrick blessed the Ui-Briuin from Dumha-Selga, and, in immediate continuation, that 'he founded a church on Loch-Selca; *i.e.*, Domnach-mor of Magh-Selca—in quo baptizavit Uu-Briuin et benedixit.' Therefore, Dumha-Sealga, Loch-Sealga, and Domnach-mor of Magh-Sealga are in the same place, namely, in the townland of Carns, to the south of the village of Tulsk, south-east of Rathcroghan, county of Roscommon, and not far from Oran, from which St. Patrick went to it. The townland of Carns is so named from the Dumha-Sealga and the celebrated Carnfree, the tumulus or mound of Fraech, on which The O'Connor was

<sup>1</sup> There is still a village called Ardkeena, adjoining Tulsk.

<sup>2</sup> Derbriu.—This is the form in the poem on the names of celebrated women by Gilla-Modubta (*circa* A.D. 1172) in the *Book of Leinster* (p. 137b). Drebru, by metathesis of *e* and *r*, is the *Ballymote* word.

<sup>3</sup> Part III., cap. lxxix., p. 374, marginal notes.

<sup>4</sup> O'Flaherty's *West Connaught*, p. 148. Taken from the *Ogygia* (*loc. cit.*).



inaugurated, and which is so frequently mentioned in the Irish Annals.<sup>1</sup> It is in the parish of Ogulla, barony and county of Roscommon. Carnfree, originally called Cnoc na Dala (Hill of the Meeting), was so called from Fraech, the son of Fiodhach of the Red Hair, from whom also is named Cluain-Fraich, near Strokestown, a palace of the O'Conors down to the sixteenth century. The townland is still called Cloonfree Palace. 'They conveyed the body of Fraech,' says the *Dinnsenchus* of the *Book of Lecan*, 'to Cnoc na Dala, to the south-east of Cruachan, and interred him there; so that it is from him the Carn is named: unde dicitur Carn-Fraich;' i.e., the Carn of Fraech. It is less than three miles south-east of Rathcroghan. Duma Sealga, i.e., the Hunting Mound or Mound of the Chase, is the green hill to the east of Carnfree.

Carnfree is now usually called Carn-breac, the speckled carn, because it is composed of clay and large stones, which appear through the grass. It is not nearly so high as the Dumha-Sealga, which rises about thirty feet above the level of the surrounding fields, and seems to be entirely composed of earth. It is of sugar-loaf shape, and not more than two feet square on the top. 'The green moat to the east of Carnfree,' writes O'Donovan, who visited the place in 1837, 'is the Dumha-Sealga, so celebrated in the *Dinnsenchus* and Lives of St. Patrick.' The *Tripartite* tells us that at Dumha-Sealga, which was near the royal palace of Cruachan, Briun's six sons were living. It was here, then, that St. Patrick converted the Hy-Briuin and held his council. Here he founded the church called Domnach-mor of Magh-Sealga, 'in quo baptizavit Uu-Briuin et benedixit.' Colgan, in his paraphrase of the *Tripartite*, tells us that the saint went from Oran to Magh-Sealga, and there—in loco amaeno ubi circumfusa regio late conspicitur—in a pleasant place, where there is a wide prospect of the surrounding country, held his council. Now, as O'Donovan observed, the Dumha-Sealga and Carnfree are most conspicuous objects in the plain of Croghan. From them a wide prospect may

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<sup>1</sup> See *Annals of the Four Masters*, 1225, 1407, 1461.

be had for miles around. Here, says the Latin *Tripartite*, St. Patrick and his attendant bishops sat and deliberated concerning the conversion of the people of the territory. It adds: In supra memorato tractu de Dumha-Selga, ad marginem lacus, qui vulgo Loch-Selga vocatur, extruxit ecclesiam, quae *Dominica magna* nuncupatur: et in ea in mysteriis fidei instruxit, lavacro regenerationis intinctos Christi familiae aggregavit, suaque sacra benedictione munivit filios [Briuin], gentemque de Hua-Briuni.<sup>1</sup> These were the sons or relations of Briun, King of Connaught. Their palace was hard by at Rathcroghan. Domnach-mor of Magh-Sealga was, therefore, near Dumha-Sealga. There was in ancient times a large lake called Loch-Sealga, or Selca, extending from the present lake at Briarfield to the Ardakillan Lough. The country has been thoroughly drained; but in the Mona-Gran<sup>2</sup> and swallow-holes intervening there are distinct traces of the ancient lake. There is no proof whatsoever, from the ancient and reliable authorities, that Lough Cime or Lough Hackett was ever known as Lough Sealga; while the part of the ancient Lough Sealga, or Selca, which still remains at the place now called Briarfield, near Carns, still retains the name of Shadlough.

From the Domnach-mor of Magh-Selca, in which he baptized the Hy-Briuin and blessed them, St. Patrick went into the Gregraide. The hill of Drum-Greagh-raighe, and the church of Cell-Curcaighe, now Kilcorkey, near Belanagare, and in the neighbourhood of Rathcroghan and Carns, are referred to in the Irish Annals as in the territory of Greaghraighe: so that before and after he founded Domnach-mor of Magh-Sealga, St. Patrick was in the immediate neighbourhood of Carnfree and Cruchan-Ai, and far away from Galway and Lough Hackett. The Domnach-mor of Magh-Sealga stood a short distance north of Dumha-Sealga. The foundations of an ancient church can still be traced; there are still evident signs of the church-yard, and the field is now called Church-park. A pass leading out of this

<sup>1</sup> *Triad Thaum. Septima Vita*, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Grean (gran) means the gravelly bed of a bog or stream; hence, *mona regan*, boggy gravel beds or gravel-bottomed bogs.

field is called *Stile an Aifrin*. Between it and the hill is another field called *Shan-baile*, i.e., the old town, which doubtless grew around the church and monastery. This Dumha-Sealga of Magh-Ai, as we have seen in the *Dinnsenchus*, was celebrated even before the time of St. Patrick.

The church and monastic house founded by St. Patrick in Magh-Sealga, near Rathcroghan, were for ages held in the utmost reverence, and continued to be a retreat, whither the chiefs of the Hy-Briuin retired from the world to prepare for death. Thus, the Four Masters, at the year 1448, relate that Conor, son of John, son of Eachmarcach Mac Branan, lord of Corcachlan for a period of thirty-seven years, died at Dumha-Sealga on Magh-Ai, having resigned his lordship the year before, and was buried at Roscommon. Under the same year, the Annals of Duald Mac Firbis record his death thus: 'Conner, son to John ffits [son] Eachmarkagh, dux of Corcachlann for the space of thirty-seven years, died at Dumha Sealga on Magh-ay, after he had renounced his lordship a yeare afore that for God's sake, after receiving extreme unction and making penance, and was buried in Roscommon. God rest his soule.'

St. Felart, on whose altar one of the patens made by St. Assicus was used, was the bishop placed by St. Patrick over the Domnach-mor of Magh-Seola or Sealga. He was one of the bishops present with the saint at Dumha-Sealga: Felartus bishop, and his sister, a nun there, that is, at Dumha-Sealga.<sup>1</sup> She is distinguished from another sister in Galway: namely, the sister who is in an island in the sea of Connemara (Connemara). Archdall, in his *Monasticon Hibernicum*<sup>2</sup> says a monastery named Domnachmor, was in Magh-seola, in the country of Hybruin-seola, in the county of Roscommon, where St. Felartus was bishop in the fifth century. Walsh, in his ecclesiastical history of Ireland, has Domnach-more of Magh-Sealga, in the territory of Hy-Briuin-Seola, county of Roscommon. St. Felartus, a disciple of St. Patrick, was bishop of this church. He attended the synod of Magh-Seola which St. Patrick held here. And

<sup>1</sup> *Tripartite*, Stokes's Edition, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Page 609, co. of Roscommon.



again, under the heading Co. Roscommon, 'Magh Selga or Seola, Domnachmore of: In the Life of St. Patrick, by St. Evin (*i.e.* the *Tripartite Life*), it is stated that the apostle, having come to this plain, near Elphin, found three pillar stones.'

St. Patrick was accompanied to Ireland by some Gallic missionaries, who asked him to assign places of retirement to them where they might serve God in seclusion.<sup>1</sup> From the hill of Oran he pointed out to each of them his own place. One of these was the Imge of Baslic [Baslick], between Hy-Maine and Magh-Ai. Canon O'Hanlon<sup>2</sup> refers here to the Gauls invoked by St. Aengus in his Litany of Irish Saints: SS. Gallos de Magh-Salach, invoco in auxilium. The plain here referred to is not Magh-Sealga of Cruachan, but Magh-Salach, *Sally-plain*, as is clear from the *Book of Leinster*.<sup>3</sup> After the Collectanea of Tirechan, in the *Book of Armagh*, are three columns of notanda mainly indicating parts of the *Tripartite* not included in the *Book of Armagh* Patrician Documents. The last but one (not in the *Tripartite*) is: Gas, Mac Airt, in Campo Sailech: Gas, son of Art, in Magh-Sailech.<sup>4</sup> As Elphin and its neighbourhood are so much in the *Tripartite* and *Book of Armagh*, there is little doubt that Magh-Sailech is Sally-Field, at the northern end of the peninsula running into Lough Boderg, in the parish of Kilglass, barony of Ballintober North, diocese of Elphin.<sup>5</sup> Near this is the *Rath of the Romans*. The *Annals of the Four Masters*, at the year 1248, have the entry: Felim, son of Cathal Crovderg, gave by order of Teige O'Monahan, Rath-na-Romhanach to the Canons of Kilmore, in the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Augustine. The townland is now called Rathnarovanagh. It is probable that some of the Romans invoked by Aengus dwelt here.

There is now no trace of the stones inscribed by St. Patrick. O'Donovan tells us that he made every search for the inauguration stone of the O'Conors, but could find no such stone, nor tradition respecting it. He thinks it

<sup>1</sup> *Tripartite*, Stokes, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> *Lives of Irish Saints*, vol. iii., p. 592.

<sup>3</sup> *Book of Leinster*, 387a, line 39.

<sup>4</sup> Stokes, p. 351; Hogan, p. 116.

<sup>5</sup> Identified by Dr. MacCarthy.

probable that it was either destroyed or carried away several centuries since. There is still here a long standing-stone called *Cloch fhada na gcarn* (long stone of the cairns). There are a few other slabs standing, without any particular dressing or shape. At present no remains exist of any ecclesiastical buildings of stone at Dumha-Sealga or Carns. This cannot surprise us, when we recollect that, in the words of the Four Masters, the men of England broke down the monasteries and sold their roofs and bells and burned the images, shrines and relics of the saints.

There are some ruins at Killukin in the neighbourhood, which gives name to a parish in the diocese of Elphin. Among the miracles of St. Patrick are 'the consecrated residences not to be destroyed, namely, Rath-Airthir and Sen-domnach in Magh-Ai: *Eccur Sen-domnaig*, that is a proverb.'<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered that the *Tripartite* says the altar of Felartus was in Ui-Briuin-Seolai, far westward from Ailfind.<sup>2</sup> There were many Seolas: there was eastern Seola (Airthir-Seola) and western Seola. Lanigan translates this from Colgan's *Tripartite*, 'at some distance from Elphin, to the west,' which corresponds to the situation of Carns; and says: 'Next we find him, Patrick, at Mag-Seola, at some distance from Elphin to the west, in which place he is said to have held a synod.'<sup>3</sup> And in a note: 'The situation of Mag-Seola is laid down somewhat precisely in the *Tripartite Life*, l. 2, c. 39, which places it in regione de Hybr[i]uin, quae haud parum ab Ailfinia ad occidentem distat.' The *Life* in the *Book of Armagh*, which is more accurate than the *Tripartite*, has only: Et tertium in aecllesia magna Saeoli, super altare Felarti, sancti episcopi.<sup>4</sup> This is strongly confirmed by Tirechan's account in the *Book of Armagh*: Venit vero Patricius ad Selcam [*i.e.*, Duma-Selca] in quo [fuerunt] filii Briuni, cum multitudine episcoporum sanctorum. Castrametati sunt in cacuminibus Selcae, et posuerunt sibi stratum et sedem inter lapides, in quibus

<sup>1</sup> Stokes's *Tripartite*, p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> *Ecc. Hist.*, p. 244 and p. 247, note 92.

<sup>4</sup> Hogan's *Documenta*, etc., p. 69.

scripserunt manu sua literas quas hodie conspeximus oculis nostris. Et cum illo fuerunt Bronus, episcopus, Sachellus. . . . Felartus episcopus de genere Aillello [et ejus] sorores ii.,—[una, monacha ejus; et altera, quae est in insola] in mari Conmaicne, [quae] sic vocatur Croch Cuile.<sup>1</sup> Et plantavit aeclessiam super stagnum Selcae *inscae* [*recte*, insulae], et babtitzavit filios Broin<sup>2</sup> [Briuin]. We have here, therefore, there can be little doubt, one of those glosses or explanations of a scribe who did not know the localities.

The *Tripartite* tells us that Patrick came into the territory of Corcu-Ochland, on this side of Ui-Aillella (Tirerrill). The *Book of Armagh* says that the druids, Hono and Ith, fuerunt de genere Corcu-chonluain. They were of the royal Ui-Briuin race of Connaught, Ono being the son of Erc the Ruddy, son of Bron [Briun], de quo the Ui-Onach. Corcaghlan, Corcu-Ochland in the *Tripartite*, was one of the three districts anciently called *Teora Tuatha*, the three Tuathas or Territories. These were Tir-Briuin-na-Sinna, Kinel-Dofa, and Corcaghlan. These territories extended from the northern part of Lough Ree to Jamestown on the Shannon, from Jamestown to Elphin, and thence again to Lough Ree. Kinel-Dofa (or Doohy-Hanly) comprised the parishes of Kilglass, Termonbarry, and Clontuskert, together with the eastern part of Lisonoffy [*Fort of Ui-Dobhtha*, or *Ui-Dofa*] parish, in the baronies of Ballintober North and South, county Roscommon. Corcaghlan included the parishes of Bumlin, Cloonfinlough, Kiltrustan, and the western part of Lissonuffy, which was anciently called Templereagh. These parishes now form part of the union of Strokestown. We see from the *Tripartite* and *Book of Armagh* that in the time of St. Patrick it extended to Elphin. The Kinel Mac Erca were the Mac Branans and O'Hanlys, the ancient chiefs of this territory. Mac Branan, Prince of Corcaghlan, was descended from the noble Druid Ona, who presented

<sup>1</sup> This Island of Connemara is now called Crughnakeely, and sometimes Deer Island.

<sup>2</sup> *Documenta de S. Patricio, ex Libro Armachano*, edidit E. Hogan, S.J., p. 76. 30. *The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, with other Documents relating to that saint, edited by Whitley Stokes, D.C.L., LL.D. *Tirechan's Collections*, p. 319.



Emlagh-Ona, now Elphin, to St. Patrick, and, therefore, through Erc the Red and Briun, King of Connaught, from Eochy Mughmeodain, Monarch of Ireland from A.D. 358 to 366. Eochy was father of the celebrated Niall of the Nine Hostages, whose eldest son, Laeghaire, was monarch at the time of the coming of St. Patrick. From Eochy's eldest son, Briun, king of Connaught, the O'Conors, O'Rourkes, Mac Dermots, Mac Geraghtys, O'Beirnes, and other ancient families of Connaught derive their descent. O'Donovan says that in 1837 the representative of the family of MacBranan was Hubert Branan, of Belmont, near Strokestown, brother of the late respected parish priest of Ahamlish, diocese of Elphin, the Rev. Malachy Brennan. Hubert Branan, as O'Donovan tells us, then enjoyed a small property of about fifty-six acres in Corcaghlan, one of the most ancient hereditary estates in the world.

[*To be continued.*]

J. J. KELLY.

## SHALL WE RETURN TO PAGAN ETHICS?

THE question of morals is, at the present time, of paramount importance. Next to the dissemination of right principles of morality nothing is more imperative than the eradication of wrong ones. Not only must the true standard of right and wrong be vigorously maintained, but false standards must be peremptorily challenged. The well-being of society demands this. Unsound principles are the parents of insane deeds. Warped notions of right and wrong are the greatest menace to the body politic. False systems of ethics, established on unsound bases, soon collapse, and in their fall overturn all that is best in our social institutions.

For this reason it seems to me that an article entitled 'The Relation of Ethics to Religion,' which was printed in the September number of the I. E. RECORD, should not be permitted to pass unchallenged. To be sure, the writer's intention appears to be the best. He wishes to separate morals from religion; yet he trusts to religion to keep men moral. His anxiety is about those who cast off religion. For them he wishes to draw up a code of morals independent of all religion—natural as well as supernatural. He is manifestly aware that he is treading on dangerous ground; and, hence, he proceeds apparently with the greatest caution. He does not venture a single dangerous statement which he does not—sooner or later—modify, cancel, or wholly withdraw. He seems to have a dim consciousness of the moral ruin which must inevitably follow a general adoption of his principles; but he looks to religion to ultimately repair the moral chaos which their adoption would create.

Of the writer, Mr. W. Vesey Hague, I have no knowledge beyond what is furnished by his article. Judging from that article, the writer would seem to belong to that peculiar class of men who have come into being with the so-called scientific movement of the last half century. These men do not belong to the movement itself; but they are completely

dazzled—in some instances, even blinded—by the false glare and glitter of modern ideas. They take the leaders of agnostic thought at their own lofty estimate of themselves. They are unable to distinguish between the mere tinsel and the real gold in our progress. And they believe that the agnostics and the speculative scientists, who have nothing to show but their empty negations and still more empty guesses, are the glory of our age; simply because agnostic and scientist are so loud-voiced in their own behalf. With this class the tendency is to decry everything Christian, and extol everything pagan. While still clinging to Christianity, they do not disguise their admiration of things agnostic. They adopt the ideas and opinions of their agnostic idols; they copy their mincing style and affected language; they lend an air of importance to common words by capitalizing the initial letter. In the tasks which they set themselves they seem to keep one eye on the task, and one ever on the agnostic model. Religion they treat with a species of condescending tolerance; but they never fail to let you understand that they regard it as a bore. It is something for which they find it necessary to be always apologizing. It might be tolerable if it kept its own place; but it insists, they remind you, in obtruding itself where it is not wanted. Christianity, they admit, is good for the restraining of the masses; but whenever it comes into conflict with modern ideas, the blame is, of course, to be placed upon religion.

The writer of the article in question seems to be a moderate disciple of this school. There is in his article the same ill-disguised impatience over the intermeddling on the part of religion; there is mild censure for the scholastic ethics; there is a sneer at what he calls 'the classic moralists' of the Church. 'Our modern Catholic system,' he complains, has so invaded the realm of morals that morals and religion are now intermingled in an almost hopeless state of confusion, which defies all attempt at disentanglement. Things have, indeed, come to such a pass that—

The morality of a Catholic is so much apart of his religion, and the natural ethical impulses are for him [the Catholic] so inseparably



associated with the dictates of a divine lawgiver, that it is hardly possible for him to conceive of a morality which should rest upon any other basis than that of a divine ordinance.

But this is not the worst. So far, in Mr. Hague's opinion, has the evil progressed, so completely has religion interwoven itself into the very texture of our morals, and 'the positive morality of Christian countries of to-day is so much a purely religious affair that, were the hope of a future state of existence suddenly blasted, it [the morality] would inevitably disappear.' This state of things Mr. Hague regards as exceedingly deplorable. 'The exclusive character of such a view as this,' he tells us, 'must be patent to all who take the trouble to think out the matter for themselves,' and it 'is particularly regrettable just now when the continuous spread of agnosticism tends to render the recognition of a non-religious ethic every day of more importance.'

Poor deluded Christians that we are. What mistaken notions we have had of things! What a foolish complacency we took in contemplating the beauty of Christian morality! It was our vaunted boast that the true idea of morals—man's primal notion of right and wrong being in a great measure lost—came into the world with the Sinaitic code, and that the spread of morality invariably followed the light of the Gospel. Now it appears we were all wrong. Our work was a Much Ado about Nothing. The proper application of our energies in the moral sphere would have been shown in framing a code of ethics from which all notion of law, obedience, duty, conscience, rewards and punishments, merit and demerit—even freedom and responsibility—was rigidly excluded; so that when the gigantic intellects of agnosticism had succeeded in brushing aside for ever the cobwebs of Christian sophistry—which had so long beclouded the minds of men—there might be still left some influence to save those illustrious emancipators of thought from lapsing into barbarism. It is quite an original and novel notion that it is the duty of Christian moralists to abandon their own sphere in order to codify moral regulations for our neo-pagans. A cynic might even suggest that if the tendency of agnosticism is to upset morality, that

very fact should stand against the new cult as its severest condemnation. Mr. W. Vesey Hague, however, seems to think otherwise. Indeed he unhesitatingly throws the blame on religion. Religion has unblushingly entered into an unholy alliance with morality. This alliance was evil and misleading from the outset. Now it has created confusion worse confounded; and the sooner we recognise the necessity of divorcing morals from religion the sooner the evil will be remedied. Back to paganism we must go if we are to have 'an ethic' pure and uncontaminated by contact with religion, if we wish to break up for ever the unhallowed union. The world has had enough of the preposterous mistake of the 'attempt to found goodness upon duty, to make morality submission to an absolute commandment, the result of a law "shot out of a pistol" in the supra-mundane regions,' and it will not be the fault of Mr. W. Vesey Hague if this state of things should continue. It is true that his views as to how the deplorable evil is to be remedied are not very definite. Even such as they are, he tells us they are only 'provisional.' He admits that he is 'far from thinking that' he has 'been entirely successful in solving the problem;' but he hopes that some one will take up the matter and work it out 'with greater fulness of detail and more fruitful results' than he could presume to attempt. One thing, however, is fixed in his mind as absolutely certain, viz.: that morality must be completely secularized; and further, he has concluded that the only way to accomplish this is by a speedy return to pagan ethics.

The attempt to secularize morals is not entirely new—not even in our day; although no Catholic before Mr. Hague had, as far as I am aware, undertaken the attempt. The eudaemonism in which Mr. Hague would have us all take refuge—though he tries to disguise it under the name of Aristotelianism—is, in reality, nothing more than a vague and undefined utilitarianism. The greatest-happiness principle of Bentham and Mill reached the climax of absurdity at the hands of Mr. Herbert Spencer, under whose fostering care, the doctrine, it was hoped, had been 'cherished' for

ever into everlasting peace and rest. In his efforts to reconcile the conflicting interests of egoism and altruism, so long the bane of the famous theory, Mr. Spencer found the reconciliation and solution of the discordant claims in a sublimated form of altruism, according to which—if practically carried out to its logical conclusion—a man's greatest happiness should consist in planning how to surreptitiously inflict injury on himself, in order to be thus rendered able to afford others the altruistic satisfaction of relieving him. One would suppose that absurdities of this nature would put an end to the greatest-happiness principle for ever, and with it the secularization of morals. It is, indeed, true that Mr. Hague does not openly avow the utilitarian doctrine, and that it is to ancient rather than to modern paganism he appeals for a remedy; but that is neither here nor there, for in his search for a secular basis of morals he makes common cause with Mill and Spencer.

Mr. Hague's notion of what constitutes the ethical end of human action is vagueness itself. He starts with the assumption that 'the doctrine of eudaemonism is well founded, and that happiness of some sort is the end and aim of all human activity.' This indeterminate happiness being assumed as the end, all actions are 'right' or 'reasonable,' according as they are 'conducive to, in harmony with, or, at least, not opposed to, the ultimate end.'

Now this might be all very well if we knew in what form of happiness Mr. Hague makes the well-being of mankind consist. But while he reminds us that 'in the interpretation given to the notion of happiness the widest possible differences have prevailed,' he is singularly cautious about committing himself to any particular interpretation of the term, and in consequence we can make very little headway as to what actions are right or wrong. If actions are moral or immoral in proportion as they are conducive to an end, it is quite manifest that we must know what that end is before we can pass judgment on the morality or immorality of the action. It will not do to say happiness is the end of action. We must give some definite meaning to this term



happiness ; otherwise we may be liable to confound moral with immoral actions. And as Mr. Hague himself says ' the widest possible differences have prevailed ' regarding the meaning of the term, it is all the more necessary for him to tell us to which of those widely-differing significations the term happiness is to be restricted. Is it the happiness of the individual or the happiness of society ? Is it the happiness of the egoist or that of the altruist ? If the happiness of the individual, is it his happiness in this life or in a future life ? All these forms of happiness are so widely different that actions which might be highly conducive to one of them might be highly destructive of the other. St. Augustine tells us that Varro, even in his time, enumerated as many as two hundred and eighty-eight different forms of the sovereign good or the well-being of man. The agnostic moralists assume happiness as the basis of morals, and by happiness they tell us they mean what gives pleasure. Now the epicurean placed his happiness in sensual pleasures, the stoic placed his happiness in virtue, while Plato and Aristotle agreed in believing intellectual pleasure to be the highest form of human happiness. It is quite manifest then that if the right or reasonable in human action be what leads to happiness, it is necessary to define at the outset what we mean by happiness ; for few things are more certain than that actions which conduce to virtue or to intellectual enjoyment are by no means the actions that lead to the sty of Epicurus. Consequently no system of ethics can be based on a general notion of happiness ; and to say that ' happiness of some sort is the end and aim of all human activity,' and then to ' contend that on this assumption a complete and coherent system of Ethics may be worked out,' is about as reasonable as to say that we can build up a system of ethics on the Gulf Stream.

But Mr. Hague tells us that he is not concerned with the ethical standard, ' but rather with the bare notions of ethical right and wrong ' ; and although his notions of right and wrong, as has been seen, must remain vague and uncertain, he is determined, at all hazards, to effect a complete and eternal separation of morals from religion.

'Ethics must hand over to religion the concepts she has borrowed, and of which she has made an illegitimate use, and religion on her side must recognise the independence and relative autonomy of ethics.' This is the treaty which he would draw up between the two rival powers, and which establishes for ever 'the independence and autonomy' of morals. The concepts which ethics has borrowed from religion are, as we have seen, the concepts of law, duty, obedience, conscience, and so forth. These being eliminated the dereligionization (or secularization) of morals is complete, and we are ready to return to the morality of the pagan. Since, however, we are asked to abandon our Christian view of morals, and go back to the Nicomachean ethics, it might be advisable to glance for a moment at what pagan ethics have really done for morality.

Investigation upon this point is not altogether reassuring. To be sure we have had various pagan systems—many fine words, and even some exalted notions of right living. But the real test is not in moral theories, but in the results which the applied theories give us. The enhancing beauty for Mr. Hague, of the Greek and Roman moralist was that 'he never imposed commands; he simply offered counsel.' The question, therefore, naturally arises: Were the counsels followed? What results did they produce? And history is not slow to give the answer. The depravity of morals, the degradation of human nature, the corruption of mankind, in those pagan times, is without a parallel in the history of the world. This is proved by indisputable and unquestioned evidence from all sides. Fathers of the Church, like St. Augustine; pagan historians, like Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus; poets and satirists, like Horace and Juvenal—all have left us pictures of Greek and Roman life, dark with the iniquity of those days. The people were steeped in vice and crime. To use the expressive phrase of Balmez, there was not a veil for even the greatest crimes. Such impure divinities as Adonis and Priapus, such temples of lewdness as those of Venus in Babylon and Corinth, such lascivious games as the Lupercalia and the Florealia, such inhuman spectacles as the gladiatorial combats, in one of

which, according to Tacitus, ten thousand people were put to death, went hand in hand with the teachings of the Greek and Roman moralists. St. Augustine tells us that not the body only, but 'the mind itself, was drenched with iniquities.' Seneca asserts that *Omnia sceleribus ac vitiis plena sunt*. Juvenal tells us that, in spite of the teachings of the philosophers, the people had no higher ideals than *panem et Circenses*. Even Lecky, in his work on morals, is forced to admit that the moral doctrines of the philosophers were far superior to the practices of the people; that the people were in a high degree corrupt; and that the teachings of their moralists were powerless to effect a moral elevation. If these be the results which the pagan moralists could effect by means of their counsels, it might be as well to pause before exchanging our Christian for the Nicomachean ethics.

And, if we examine into the systems themselves of the pagan moralists, the prospect is not altogether encouraging. Nothing can be more degrading than the views which these moralists and philosophers take of human life and the dignity of man. Aristotle himself maintained in his ethics that utility and expediency are the measure of the means to be employed in the pursuit of happiness. He advocated the lawfulness of slavery, and held that no reasoning faculty existed in the soul of a slave. Plato, in his ideal state, would have women, like everything else, the common property of all. His praises of the god Eros was simply a deification of the most degrading as well as the most revolting of vices; and Aulus Gellius, according to St. Augustine, makes mention of even the most shameful amatory verses composed by no less a person than the renowned moralist—the divine Plato himself! Socrates, as is well known, gave lessons to abandoned women as to how they should ensnare their paramours; while Epictetus—who is one of Mr. Hague's ideals—allowed free scope to sexual intercourse. Such are, in brief, some specimens of purely secular ethics, from which all foreign notions of duty, obedience, conscience, and law are rigidly excluded. I shall not insult Mr. Hague by saying I hope they are to his liking.



It is not necessary, however, to go back to ancient paganism for the condemnation of secularized morality. One example from our neo-paganism—for which agnosticism is only another name—will be quite sufficient to show us what we may expect when all traces of duty and obligation are eliminated from our new science of ethics. The greatest moralist of agnosticism is pre-eminently George Eliot. She is the poet and high priestess of the new ethics. No Christian moralist has uttered more impassioned language on the subject of goodness, and none has given expression to more intense altruistic sentiments. She has held up some of the loftiest ideals to the gaze of mankind, and has preached, in striking and forcible language, high moral truths. Even ministers of the Gospel have for the while forgotten the pages of Holy Writ, and turned to hers instead for texts of highest morality. We all remember how soulfully she sang:—

Of those immortal dead who live again  
In lives made better by their presence.

And how she extolled that

. . . . . beauteous order that controls  
With growing sway the growing life of man.

The world listened entranced as she sang of ‘deeds of daring rectitude,’ and as she uttered her fine ‘scorn for miserable aims that end with self.’ It hung upon her fervent accents in which she prayed that she might

. . . . . be to other souls  
A cup of strength in some great agony.

Words could hardly portray more beautifully the ideal of a noble life than those in which she longed to ‘be the sweet presence of a good diffused.’ And yet when the world came to examine the sweet beauties of that life, as exemplified in the preacher, it found—as, perhaps, Carlyle would phrase it—that the morality was nothing but ‘ignominious ooze.’ With all her beautiful altruism, with all the exalted sentiment of her soulful song, with all her lofty moral precepts, the example which her life has left the world was that of a woman who, in open defiance of public morality,

in defiance of public opinion, and in defiance of public decency, gave herself up to the gratification of illicit love. The 'beauteous order' of domestic life and social purity she trampled beneath her feet. For 'deeds of daring rectitude'—of which she sang so loftily—she substituted in practice deeds of daring turpitude. Her fine 'scorn for miserable aims that end in self' was forgotten in the indulgence of her own fleshly inclinations. The 'cup of strength to other souls in some great agony,' which she proved to be, was that she became a barrier to the just claims of a lawful wife, whose place she brazenly usurped. And 'the sweet presence of a good diffused,' which she became, took the form of a moral plague-spot from contact with which, honest wives and mothers shrank in disgust and disdain.

All this is, of course, now forgotten. To genius, sooner or later, everything is condoned—and that George Eliot possessed genius of a high order no one in his senses will undertake to deny—but in expatiating on the beauties of agnosticism, and setting up an ideal of secularized morals for our admiration and example, it is well not to forget that the loftiest preacher of morals-divorced-from-religion, as well as the highest type of agnostic excellence, was one, about the most significant fact in whose life her biographer is discreetly silent; and of whom another writer ventures the somewhat curious statement, that her union with George Henry Lewes 'could not be legalized by either Church or State, but it was sanctioned by the approval of a large circle of personal friends.' It is, of course, somewhat impolite to now recall these ugly facts; but the interests of sound morality demand the unpleasant repetition.

Here then is your highest type of neo-paganism—not a mere ignorant and unlettered rustic, but one possessing all the culture of her school—preaching and poetizing about the beauty of the moral life, especially in its altruistic relations, yet disregarding vital moral principles, and even braving public opinion in order to live according to her own inclinations. What then is the value of your pagan morality when divorced from all ideas of duty, obligation and conscience? Much more of the same kind could be adduced in evidence, but for the sake of brevity let these suffice.

Having abolished all notions of duty and obedience from the science of ethics, the question naturally arises : How is the new moral code to obtain its sanction? And the answer, we are at once told, is that all sanctions are to be wholly abolished. The new ethics will have nought to do with compulsion ; they are to be purely optional. 'Ought,' we are told, is a term which 'from the ethical standpoint has no real meaning.' Again, we are informed that 'the moralist, if he is to remain true to his mission, must proceed by way of counsel and example. Prove to a man, if you will, that some actions are right, but leave him to perform them or not as he pleases, or you desert the region of ethics altogether.' 'Sweet reasonableness' must be the talisman of all your persuasion. And when the new moralist is confronted with the question : 'Why is good action to be pursued, and evil action to be avoided? he has no complete answer to the question . . . and he is apt to appear at a loss when too closely pressed.' Further, Mr. Hague tells us that, 'speaking from the strictly ethical standpoint, no complete answer can be given to the question : Why ought I to be moral? There is really no "ought" about the matter.' The answer is simply : 'I "ought" to be moral because morality is reasonable.' And if we still persistently and unreasonably further inquire 'Why reasonable action is alone to be pursued?' the new moralist has no alternative but to answer : 'If you wish to be unreasonable, remember you can only do so at the cost of doing violence to your own nature as man ; but, of course, if you are such a fool as to be unaffected by this consequence, and if the "good for man" has really no attractions for you, I am afraid there is no more to be said.'

Of course, Mr. Hague here forgets that in talking so magisterially he forgets entirely that he has not yet shown what he means by 'reasonable action,' inasmuch as he has not even pointed out what is to be the definite end of such action, and that unconsciously he feels justified in adopting this lofty strain about 'doing violence to your own nature as man' simply because he gets his true concept of the 'good for man' from religion. But he should



not forget that religion and duty being excluded altogether, and the 'good for man' being yet wholly undetermined, all his views regarding what is right or reasonable action can be nothing more than pure assumption. But let that pass—at least for the present.

What is worthy of notice here is the singular position of the neo-pagan morality. Wiser than an all-wise Being, the new moralist, knowing man's noble nature and his natural proneness to good, is perfectly satisfied that all that is necessary in order to induce him to practise virtue and shun vice is merely to point out to him the reasonableness of the one and the unreasonableness of the other, thus doing away at once with all pains and penalties, rewards and punishments; and such clumsy contrivances as laws, obligations, and duties.

Confidence in human goodness is surely to be commended, Optimism, however, can, on some points, be carried too far. Indeed, few things are more amusing than the way in which many well-meaning people go through life. They manage to close their eyes to the real world around them, and live in a fanciful dreamland of visionary perfection. They amuse themselves by spinning most beautiful theories of purest gossamer concerning imaginary Utopias which are utterly impossible of realization in this mundane sphere. They never take man as he is, but as they would have him be, which with them is equivalent to, as he must be. When they are brought face to face with the real state of things, they will admit that their views are mere theories, and that in the present state of human existence they are not apt to get them accomplished; yet they persist in dreaming them all the same.

Of course, if the business of life is to theorize or build air castles, or amuse ourselves with blowing soap-bubbles, which are beautiful while they last, there is no more to be said. A beautiful science of ethics, fully fashioned, so as to captivate the most æsthetic taste, may be all very well; but, if no one will fashion their lives according to its dictates, it will be about as useful as so much bottled moonshine. The world in which we live is, however, a practical one, and likes to mingle the *utile* with the *dulce*.

Indeed, Mr. Hague himself admits that the new ethics will not be a very powerful aid to practical morality. He candidly confesses that 'it is not too much to say that, were it not for the help of the theologian, the moralist's counsels would remain for ever ineffective with the great mass of mankind.' This single admission, of course, cancels his entire contention; but he has others of a similar nature.

He has told us that 'sweet reasonableness' is the true note of ethical action—the real incentive to morality from the neo-pagan point of view. But he takes pains to tell us later that 'poor, weak humanity, however, stands in need of motives more powerful than the gentle allurements of reasonableness, "sweet," indeed, but often powerless amid the clash and conflict of uncontrollable impulses.' And a little later he adds: 'To follow right for righteousness' sake were, indeed, true wisdom; but it is the wisdom of angels rather than of men.' Now, if our poor, weak humanity stands in need of more powerful motives than the gentle allurements of 'sweet reasonableness' to draw it to the practice of moral good, what useful purpose can the neo-pagan science of ethics serve, since the only motive to the practice of goodness which it urges is that of 'sweet reasonableness'? And if the 'following of right for righteousness' sake' be the wisdom of angels rather than of men, it is quite manifest that Mr. Hague, in planning his new code of ethics, must contemplate a new system of morals not for mortal man at all, but for the angelic choirs, since in that code he makes 'for the sake of right' the only motive to action—unless, indeed, he regards the disciples of negation, for whom the code is intended, as nothing short of 'angels' in disguise. He will tell us, of course, that he expects his ethical creed to be supplemented by religion, and that both will work in harmony. But as his new ethics can be intended only for two classes of men—those who cling to religion and those who reject it—it is quite manifest that in the case of the former it would be superfluous, while in the case of the latter it would be absolutely worthless, inasmuch as the agnostics reject with scorn the supplementary aids of religion which Mr. Hague suggests, and without which, he

tells us, 'poor, weak humanity' is 'powerless.' For it must not be forgotten that Mr. Hague's expulsion of religion is a quite sweeping and comprehensive process, and includes not only revealed but natural religion as well. He does not hesitate to tell us that the notion of a natural law seems to 'him' to be open to serious criticism from more than one side, and he is quite sure that it is, moreover, a notion 'which finds its true place not in a system of ethics, but in a system of natural theology.'

The new ethics seems to be blind to the fact that this exclusion of all that makes morality intelligible leaves the moralist on a boundless sea, without chart or compass to guide him, and that when he undertakes to instruct his disciples as to what constitutes morality, he is utterly unable to give anything like a conclusive demonstration. The moralist may insist that happiness is the end of man; but his disciple is apt to enquire: What kind of happiness? Happiness in a future life seems to be excluded from Mr. Hague's court; for it is the 'continuous spread of agnosticism' that renders 'the recognition of a non-religious ethic' so pressing, and agnosticism scouts all notion of a future existence. Hence our happiness—whatever it may be—must be confined to the present life.

But putting aside Mr. Spencer's notion of the highest happiness, viz., that of making ourselves miserable that others may have the happiness of relieving us, there are many other forms of pleasure—and the new school admits that happiness consists in pleasurable feeling—that do not outrage common sense to quite the same extent as Mr. Spencer's. Even moral distortions of evil have passed, and now pass, for happiness. We have already seen what different views of 'the sovereign good' have been maintained by philosophers in the past. The thief, the gambler, the libertine, the drunkard, has each his own view as to what constitutes happiness for him. At all times there have been those who were of Hamlet's opinion, that 'there's nothing, either good or bad, but thinking makes it so.'

As a matter of fact there is nothing more remarkable than the different views men hold regarding right and



wrong action outside the realm of Christian morals. The Egyptian practices lying and deception; and he is said to regard the practice as praiseworthy, even when the lying and deception are the end as well as when they are the means. The Turcoman will make pilgrimages to the tombs of noted robbers, for the purpose of making offerings there. The Fiji islander looks upon murder as highly honorable, and is not quite at his ease until he has performed at least one such noble deed. How is the new moralist to convince these that his views of right and wrong and not theirs are the correct ones? Each man will have his own standard of happiness and there will be as many standards of right and wrong, in other words, as many moral codes, as there are individuals.

Hence in addition to the difficulty of compelling men to live up to your moral code, you have the further fundamental difficulty of convincing them that your moral code is the right one. They may object to your views of happiness altogether; to your notions of right and wrong in consequence; and thus to your entire moral code; and you are powerless to demonstrate the truth of your teachings. It is not here a question 'of compelling the vulgar to strive' for the realization of their 'sovereign good.' It is a question of convincing them that they should adopt your opinion as to what that good is. And the difficulty will not be confined to the vulgar. It is quite as likely to be met with among the moral philosophers themselves.

We have seen how George Eliot's practical standard of ethics was placed in what the world regards as baseness. In the same way life itself is regarded as good, since without life there can be no happiness; yet some of the greatest moralists have held opposite views of the value of life. Cicero regarded death as terrible; Socrates looked upon it with indifference; and Cato coveted death. Hence the new moralist in proposing his views is apt to be informed that at most the view we take of ethics is a matter of taste. Indeed, in point of fact John Stuart Mill classed ethics not as a science, but as an art, and regarded morality as a purely æsthetic achievement. Mr. Hague sees this difficulty, but he endeavours to meet it by telling us that 'the ethical end imposes itself upon our

reason in a manner that admits no denial.' This, however, is a strange answer from one who has not ventured even to tell us what 'the ethical end' is, except in terms so vague and general as to be worth nothing. If 'the ethical end' imposes itself so undeniably upon our reason, why does not Mr. Hague boldly proclaim what it is? He must not forget that he is codifying morality for those who do not believe in a future life, and that he has boldly put natural law out of court altogether.

In spite of these facts, however, when he comes to prove his contention that 'the ethical end' imposes itself upon our reason in a manner that admits of no denial he is obliged to bring back both these discarded elements and appeal to them for support. Indeed without them it would be simply impossible for him to maintain that 'the ethical end' cannot be ignored by reason. Even with all the sanctions which religion has thrown around the moral Law, men have succeeded in blinding themselves to the true conception of morality. The couplet which tells us that

Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,  
As, to be hated, need but to be seen,

is excellent poetry, and even a very near approach to truth, in communities where the Christian idea of morals has taken root. But in communities where the primitive notions of duty as well as the original conceptions of a divine Law-giver are completely lost, we find strange travesties of moral good and evil. As St. Paul says, the original notion of right and wrong becomes quickly obscured when we lose sight of the true basis of morals.

Mr. Hague falls into the error of all those who in latter times have undertaken the task of secularizing morals. They view our full-orbed Christian morality as a whole, but close their eyes to the sun of Christian teaching which has given it warmth and life. They would build up a system of ethics without religion, without God, without the notions of law, obligation, conscience, duty, obedience. As well might they undertake to give us the world with its trees and flowers and fruits without the sunshine which gives them

life. Religion is the root, morality is the fruit, the flower if you will. As well hope to have the flower or the fruit without the plant as have morals thrive and flourish where the notions of God and religion are altogether obliterated. Fortunately for the world these notions cannot be wholly obliterated. Distorted reflections of the truth may indeed obtain, as among the Gentiles of old, of whom St. Paul speaks; but the notions of good and evil, though obscured, will still remain. Mr. Hague, like Bentham, and Mill, and Spencer, simply takes the world as Christianity has leavened it. They all forget that the present condition of morality is due to Christian teaching; and they foolishly imagine they can accomplish the same moral results with Christianity eliminated. They fondly but vainly imagine they can secure all the beauties of Christian morals without Christian teaching, without Christ, and without God.

This delusion has led Mr. Hague into many amusing inconsistencies and contradictions in the brief limits of his essay. For example, he sets out with the statement 'that religion arose, historically, quite independently of morality, and that, to a certain extent, the connection between them has always remained a precarious one'; and on page 217 he tells us, 'the ethical category is primary and fundamental, and in this sense it may be said that all true religion has its roots in ethical ground'; while yet again he has reversed the situation by telling us, on page 214, that:—

In the earliest types of religious thought, as in the latest and most developed, we meet with the concept of a Divine Will, conceived in a manner analogous to that of a human legislator or even a despot, in which all moral precepts have their roots, and from which they derive their constraining force.

This jumble of contradictions—in which religion and morality are first represented as independent of each other, next so closely related that religion has its roots in ethics, and lastly which tells us that all moral precepts have their roots in and derive their constraining force from religion—becomes doubly amusing, when we remember that these contradictions constitute a portion of the argument for the complete divorce of morals from religion.



Again Mr. Hague tells us (page 208), that, if he must speak his whole mind, he believes, that 'in the Nicomachean ethics of Aristotle is to be found the basis and substance of the only completely consistent and satisfactory body of ethical doctrine.' On the following page he informs us that he 'will assume that the doctrine of eudaemonism is well founded'; and he adds, 'I contend that on this assumption a complete and coherent system of ethics may be worked out.' Nevertheless a little further on (page 216), forgetful of all this, he writes:—'To be sure, I do not believe that there is any such thing possible as a complete system of ethics constructed dogmatically in advance.' And as though he feared he might miss the climax of absurdity in his contentions he adds:—'And so it is only by looking to concrete human experiences, by viewing real men in their various complex relations, individual, social, political, and most of all by living for ourselves the moral life, that we can determine the final truth in ethics, or can reach the full and adequate comprehension of the good for man.' And he quotes William James to the effect that there can be no final truth in Ethics any more than in physics, until the last man has had his experience and said his say. Which of these contradictory statements are we to take as the convictions of Mr. W. Vesey Hague, if he has any?

These, however, are merely one or two of the absurdities in which Mr. Hague's article abounds. We meet with them on almost every page. The entire article from beginning to end is a tissue of inconsistencies which show the confusion that reigns supreme—not in the world of ethics—but in Mr. Hague's hazy conception of the relation between religion and morals. It is difficult to be patient with the simpering diletantism of the shallow agnostic. With the Christian would-be-imitators of the agnostic, this diletantism becomes absolutely nauseating.

It is to be feared that there is no hope for the agnostics, about whose moral interests Mr. Hague is so intensely anxious that he would upset all Christian morality to cater to their whims. The remedy assuredly cannot lie in applying the ploughshares of devastation to the field of morals.

in order to cut out morality by the very roots—after the fashion of the agnostics themselves in the region of faith. Mr. Hague's energies would find far more useful employment in showing his agnostic friends the supreme absurdity of their irrational position. Let Mr. Hague think the matter over. And let us hope that when next he undertakes the task of 'setting down the results of some thinking on the subject' the absence of sanity, consistency, and Christianity from his contention, may not be quite so conspicuous as in the article I have just been considering.

SIMON FITZSIMONS.

## GOD: KNOWN OR UNKNOWN?

### I

IN the March number of the *Fortnightly Review*, in an article under the title 'The Unknown God?'—mark the note of interrogation—Sir Henry Thompson gives expression to some thoughts on religion, which, he tells us (page 413), have been taking shape within him for upwards of twenty years. One cannot but sympathize with an earnest man who has struggled so long in a tangle of religious opinion such as confuses modern thought. His labour, he goes on to say, has happily brought him its own reward, 'by conferring emancipation from the fetters of all the creeds, and unshakeable confidence in the Power, the Wisdom and the Beneficence which pervade and rule the Universe.' It is not too much to presume that his object in giving to the world a syllabus of the reasoning that helped to strike off these fetters, is to aid other prisoners in their efforts to attain the same happy freedom.

As Sir Henry's confidence in his new position—I dare not call it a creed—is unshakeable, it is not any part of my intention in writing this paper to submit considerations which he might have overlooked, so as possibly to make him doubt if it be real freedom which he enjoys. But as

some of us have not yet been able to emancipate ourselves, and—such being the habit of slaves—would like to look before taking such an important leap, we would beg Sir Henry to answer a few questions, so as to clear away certain suspicions, which, so strong is association, have somehow got fixedly rooted in our minds.

## II

It is pleasant, to begin with, to find oneself in agreement with Sir Henry as to the lines on which an enquiry of this kind should be conducted:—‘The one method alone that can throw light on the subject is a studious observation of the facts of nature and of the inferences which may be legitimately drawn from them’ (page 406). I do not know what phase of thought may predominate in some of the many sects whose ‘diametrically opposite claims’ Sir Henry has tested in the course of his investigations. I can only speak as a ‘devotee of that old Papal Church’ which he represents (page 413) as ‘denouncing the exercise of reason and inquiry in all matters connected with religion’; and as such I would ask him to consider whether this statement, viewed merely as one of fact, may not be just a little too strong. I am sure he will accept my word when I assure him that for more than thirty years I have been engaged in ‘reasoning and inquiry into matters connected with religion,’ having been commissioned and bound to do so by that same ‘old Papal Church.’ I know others who have been similarly engaged, under the same commission; nor do I see any prospect of bringing these investigations to an end. Moreover, any educated fellow-devotee with whom I have become acquainted, whether personally or through writings, maintained that it was only fools who submitted to the papal or any other authority, without having first satisfied themselves by a study of facts that the claims to which they yielded were so well founded as to necessitate submission.

This, however, is by the way. Sir Henry will be glad to hear—and will, I hope, accept my word for it—that the ‘devotees of the old Papal Church,’ at least, profess to believe only as they are compelled by facts.



There are facts, however, and facts: and it is here that the devotees aforesaid may not be able to see eye to eye with Sir Henry. From their point of view one fact is just as much a fact as another—supernatural fact is as good as natural—nor do they see any reason why they should confine their observations to ‘the facts of nature’ alone. Whatever order it belongs to, if it be a fact, it is not to be got over by any amount of *a priori* reasoning. The ‘devotees’ think, moreover, that it is not only by the telescope, or the microscope, or the balance, that facts can be ascertained, but by history as well; nor are they prepared to cast to the winds all the records of the race, except those which seem to tell only for one side. I regret to have to acknowledge a suspicion that, with all his devotion to fact, Sir Henry Thompson does not quite agree with us in this.

Take, for instance, the miracles which raise in the minds of Christians a suspicion, let us say, that, after all, some supernatural divine revelation may have taken place. The suspicion is entirely due to the historical evidence; so many men say they saw these miracles, or that they had it directly from those who saw. There was, for example, a celebrated religious teacher—a ‘devotee’ Sir Henry calls him also (page 397)—the facts of whose life fit in quite remarkably with predictions which were in existence, as cannot be denied, long before he was born. From his station in life he should have been an ignorant artisan; yet he founded the most harmonious and powerful social and religious organisation the world has yet known. His death was one of the most public facts ever witnessed; and yet he was afterwards seen alive. Of this last fact we have testimony so strong that it is almost ridiculous to conceive how his ideas should have spread, unless his friends were really convinced that they had seen him living after death.

It is all very well, as against this, to put in evidence the general principle that, as the operations of nature are uniform, such a fact cannot have occurred. The fact, if it be a fact, is worth a bushel of your principles; and the historical evidence for the fact is so strong as to make it impossible to put away the suspicion that Sir Henry may not be so free as he thinks. It is the truth that sets one free.

How does this evidence strike him? At the opening of the second part of his paper he claims to have 'demonstrated two important statements'—demonstrated them, of course, by the 'one method' already referred to. The second of these statements so demonstrated runs :—

The authenticity of the ancient records, existing in every part of the world, made at different periods of men's history, and regarded as supernaturally or 'divinely' revealed, . . . . has never been substantiated, and is in fact unsupported by evidence.

Will the reader believe that the man who claims to have demonstrated this statement—by a 'studious observation of facts,' too—has not made the slightest reference to any one of the facts that have been alleged as supporting the Christian revelation.

He has passed in brief review the nebular hypothesis, the progress made in astronomy, chemistry, physics, geology, biology, physiology, palæontology. He tells how people procured fire in olden times; and in this connection refers to the origin of the lucifer match in the following sentence, as remarkable for its matter as for its style :—

For ages past the universal mode for procuring fire during the absence of sunlight, has been that still practised no longer ago than 1833, viz., by striking a smart blow on a piece of steel held in the left hand with a sharp flint held in the right, from whence the sparks falling upon some tinder (charred linen), and contained in a tin box, the tinder became ignited, to which a sulphur-tipped match being applied a flame was produced sufficient to light a candle.—(Page 401, note).

Of course he does not fail to refer to evolution; the anthropoid ape is exhibited once more, and we are told how exactly he grew to be the civilised man we know.

Curiously, however, in the recital of these 'facts,' one notices such expressions as 'man probably at first used food' of a certain kind; 'probably excavated caverns, using perhaps for that purpose branches of trees,' of which 'he might construct rude huts'; and 'he would soon come to make' wooden spears. 'The process by which man acquired the first rudiments of speech must have been a very gradual one'; 'the rights of personal ownership must have been

recognised'; 'the builder of a hut would naturally be entitled to regard it as belonging to him'; 'the discovery of fire must have marked an epoch in history.' These are some of the 'facts' that go to prove that 'revelation has never been substantiated and is unsupported by evidence'—to prove it, too, it is well to remember, according to 'the one method that alone can throw light on the subject.'

Or is it that Sir Henry puts these things forward as 'inferences which may be legitimately drawn from' the facts of nature? If so, his method of demonstration is almost as old as the hills, nor was there ever a quack philosopher who had not inferences of the kind to support his theories.

### III

Before taking leave of this aspect of the question—the necessity of basing one's speculations on solid facts—I would like to ask Sir Henry Thompson what he means when he says that 'all knowledge is relative to the individual, and all the phenomena of Nature are known to us only as facts of consciousness' (page 404, note). Professor Huxley, indeed, said something similar, and the doctrine is recognised almost as an axiom in Agnostic philosophy: but what does it mean?

Take, for instance, the solar system. Sir Henry is convinced, as we all are now, that the sun is the centre, and that the stars are not set in a solid firmament revolving round the earth. This conviction, however, did not always prevail, as he is careful to insist: he finds in the error or ignorance of ancient times a conclusive proof that the writers of books recognised by Christians as sacred, did not receive any divine supernatural revelation. What, however, are the 'facts'—according to his own notion of facts? The only true facts, apparently, are those of consciousness: 'the phenomena of Nature'—such, for example, as the solar system—'are known to us only as facts of consciousness': and 'all knowledge'—even of the solar system—'is relative to the individual.'

So we are assured. But, then, why blame those early writers? Is it that they did not express what they felt



within themselves as 'facts of consciousness'? And if 'all knowledge is relative to the individual,' were they not individuals, with as good a right to their own relations and forms of thought as Sir Henry Thompson has to his?

If we are to enter at all on 'the one method alone that can throw light' on this or any other subject, the 'studious observance of facts,' let them by all means be real objective facts, not facts of consciousness; for no one ever lived that could not prove any proposition whatsoever, were he allowed to build his arguments on foundations of that kind.

#### IV

Let me not, however, be unjust to Sir Henry. Forgetful of his 'facts of consciousness' he does give us later on (page 410) a kind of negative objective fact, in proof of his assertion that revelation has never been substantiated. It is that 'the precious secret' of the power of anæsthetics was not revealed. 'How evident is it,' he cries out, in italics, 'that "Revelation" was no part of the plan.' Enough, surely, to shake the faith of all but the most confirmed 'devotee.'

If, however, he does not give us facts, he treats us to that other part of his method—'inferences': 'that all events must follow the laws of nature, which are immutable' (page 412); that as modern science has shown the astronomical notions of the writer of the first chapter of Genesis to be at fault, that document could not have formed part of any supernatural communication; and that as the revelations which so many suppose to have been made to Zoroaster, Gottama, and Mahomed, were not real, there can be no reason for believing in any such communication whatsoever. 'Facts,' indeed.

Sir Henry is an eminent surgeon, and, no doubt, esteems his profession, with the allied one of medicine; but of the quack surgeons and physicians that have been the name is legion; shall we therefore conclude that all surgeons are quacks? He believes, apparently, in the revelations made all through nature by 'the Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed'; and which 'will not ever remain wholly

unknown or unknowable'; and yet this great book has not been at all times rightly interpreted, and there still remain some errors to be shaken off. It would help his 'inferences' enormously if he could make it plain why ignorance and error should in one case be but the initial stage of the process through which we come to a knowledge of the revealed truth, whereas in another case they prove that no revelation could possibly have been made.

## V

Although Sir Henry has 'emancipated himself from the fetters of all the creeds,' he is not without an 'unshakeable confidence in the Power, the Wisdom, and the Beneficence which pervade and rule the Universe'; nor without 'belief,' either, 'that the Infinite and Eternal Energy will not ever remain wholly unknown and unknowable.' Nay, he professes to 'live a life of faith' in the 'Source of the Infinite and Eternal Energy.' No wonder, then, that he should proclaim himself a religious man; not, indeed, a 'devotee' of any form of 'creed,' which 'might suggest the validity of prayer to a Deity'; his religion is one whose 'public or private service can suitably consist only in adoration of the grandeur and of the beneficence which pervade the universe' (pages 412-414). Needless to say he does not sanction the use of the term 'God' to denote 'the Supreme Power and Wisdom,' because this and similar terms 'have become so completely identified by long association of ideas with schemes of theological doctrine based on alleged' theophanies. In fact, to think of the Supreme Power as 'God' is a form of idolatry, making It out to be so contemptible a thing as a 'Personality' (page 395).

Sir Henry must pardon us if we do not quite follow his reasoning in this connection. There is a Something—be sure to spell with a capital S—which as Infinite and Eternal Energy pervades and rules the universe. It is Infinite in Power and Knowledge; and is, moreover, Beneficent—on the whole. It does not appear to be quite Infinite in Beneficence, since there are boons which Infinite Power and Knowledge might have given—as for instance the

removal of all pain—and which It has not granted. Now you can call this Something a 'Source of Energy,' or even an 'Energy,' a 'Power,' an 'Intelligence'; you may speak of Its 'Will,' 'Beneficence,' 'Tendencies,' 'Dispositions,' 'Purposes'—applying these terms as we should to human beings, an analogy which must be permitted to man's limited means of expression.' You must not, however, call it a 'Being,' or a 'Person,' or 'God'—these terms are so anthropomorphic and lowering; and have been, moreover—as the others have not been—debased by long-continued evil associations.

Sir Henry, making allowance for 'man's limited means of expression,' permits the use of 'analogous'—what one might call 'morphic'—terms, whereby to denote the Supreme Energy. We must, however, choose only from the higher forms, such as 'Power' and 'Energy'; or if you do become 'anthropomorphic,' you must not make use of any word that has been current among the 'devotees' of the 'creeds'—Christians, for instance; but must be content with such as 'Infinite,' 'Eternal,' 'Intelligence,' 'Beneficence,' 'Purpose,' and 'Design.' The wretched Christians never thought of associating their superstitious theophanies with these. You are to cry shame on anyone who ventures to speak of God's 'right hand' or 'eye,' but may applaud when you hear the Infinite Source spoken of as a 'Power' or an 'Energy'—all such things being, of course, infinitely elevated over hands and eyes and other organs.

## VI

As for the Agnostic's claim to religious sentiment, what do we find? Sir Henry Thompson will not use the term 'God,' because it has been so long associated with superstition; but is not the same true of the term 'religion'? It was not Mr. Spencer or Professor Huxley that got this term adopted into human language; the word is so old that the question is mooted whether in one form or another it may not be as ancient as the race itself. Anyhow, it is very venerable, nor is anybody entitled to make use of it unless in the sense in which it has been used traditionally, and



in which it is still understood by the people at large. It is but a pretence to say that one is honest, or merciful, or law-abiding, or chaste, except we attach to these terms the conventional meaning which everybody will take up. The same, of course, applies to 'religion.'

Now, Sir Henry Thompson describes his religion as 'one in which a priestly hierarchy has no place, nor are there any specified formularies of worship' (page 409). I do not object to this, since it is universally understood that priests and hierarchies and specified formularies are not necessary for the performance of truly religious acts; and I allow that a Deist may be religious. But when Sir Henry goes on to justify his assertion, quoting Huxley to the effect that 'religion ought to mean simply reverence and love for the ethical ideal, and the desire to realise that ideal in life,' I say: the question is, not what religion ought to mean, but what it does mean; and I add that Professor Huxley's 'love for the ethical ideal' may be excellent morality, but it surely is not what men commonly understand by religion.

Religion, indeed, is reverence; but reverence connotes a person revered. We do not reverence the sun, although it is a great source of energy—spelling this time without capitals—and has done us a deal of good. We do not reverence ideals: we may love them, or hate them, or follow them; but we do not reverence them. We reverence a person who has worth. To reverence is to honour; and honour connotes recognition, not merely of worth of any kind, but of personal worth. The sun, as I have said, has worth, and it is well for us that it has; but we do not honour it, much less reverence or adore it.

For, religion is that peculiar kind of honour which is paid to worth which is recognised as Infinite. This is the traditional meaning of the word; and an Agnostic who does not recognise the Personality as well as the Infinity of the Source of Energy, however truthful, just, temperate, or prudent he may be, cannot, by the very nature of his system, make the least claim to be regarded as religious,—unless he wishes to gain respect by decking himself out in the clothes

of others. Think of bending down in adoration, not of One Who is grand and beneficent, but of 'the grandeur and beneficence which pervade the universe.'

## VII

Sir Henry Thompson's article suggests so many puzzles that it is impossible to commemorate all, and it is not easy to make a selection: I must content myself with the following, in addition to those already proposed.

The first puzzle is suggested by the title of the article, 'The Unknown God?' Think of it coming from one who, in the very article under that title, refuses to 'adopt, for the purposes of designating the Supreme Cause of all things, any of the brief words which have been in general use, as "Jehovah," "Theos," "Jove," or "God,"' (page 394). Surely Sir Henry either forgot the title of his paper when he came to that sentence, or else he forgot the sentence when he came to choose the title.

Then, it is an 'Unknown God'—with a note of interrogation. Sir Henry 'states his belief that the subject of his paper, "The Unknown God?" may be regarded as in progress of solution'—whatever that may mean—'by following the process suggested, and that the "Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed" will not ever remain wholly unknown or "unknowable," but may be still further elucidated.' The subject, therefore, must be wholly unknown, else how could it be supposed to *remain* ever so? Yet, if it is wholly unknown, how can it be *still further* elucidated? And is it not wonderful how much Sir Henry has contrived to learn about this wholly unknown Source of Energy—that it exists, has power, intelligence, will, beneficence, purpose, design, and so on. With this before you, tell me, is it known or unknown to Sir Henry? No wonder he had recourse to that note of interrogation.

In the next place I notice that he insists that the Source of Energy is Infinite in Knowledge and Power; but he does not tell us wherein this infinity is displayed. Not in creation, for there was no such thing—creation, in Mr. Spencer's words, is unthinkable. Things 'proceed

from the Eternal Energy,' indeed ; procession of one thing from another distinct thing being, of course, thinkable by the poorest mind.

What proceeds, however ? Something infinite ? But who has given proof that the universe is such ? It is very large, no doubt ; but between a large thing and an infinite there is a whole infinity of difference. If it should be only something finite that 'proceeds,' after all, where is the ground for regarding the source as infinite ?

My third puzzle is the assertion which Sir Henry repeats so often, that 'man acquired all his stores of natural knowledge—in the widest sense—solely by his own unaided efforts' (pages 399, 404, 405, 407). What ! absolutely without aid ? Where, then, is the 'Infinite Energy from which *all things* proceed' ? Is this knowledge not a thing ? Or does not it also come from the Source of Eternal Energy ?

Finally, Sir Henry, greatly troubled about the beneficence of the 'Source,' seeing that the world which proceeds from but is not created by It, is a weary world after all, satisfies himself, like Leibnitz, that with all its defects it is the best world possible. It has been so very perfect as an educational machine. Man, being left 'to fight his own way throughout'—'self-taught, not helped'—has become 'the efficient and highly endowed creature he is' ; such as, 'it is next to certain,' he could not be 'if the human race had at any time a revelation.' This, by the way, is one of Sir Henry's proofs—on his own new method of studious observance of facts.

Nay, but has man not received aid from the Source 'from which all things proceed' ? His education, therefore, has not been without help from the Master : no wonder that, 'efficient and highly endowed creature as he is,' he should be so feeble. Better, one would think, to have given him no help at all, or given all he stood in need of, even though it might be necessary to throw in revelation. And, indeed, when you come to think of it, what is the good of education except to form character ? And could not an Infinite and Eternal Energy, if it wished to be as beneficent as was



possible for it, do this of itself, without submitting poor man so often to the rod?

### VIII

It must be that, in my case, the evolutionary process has not been sufficiently advanced to allow me to regard all knowledge as relative to the individual, or to be satisfied that all the phenomena of nature are known to us only as facts of consciousness. For no other reason could I have failed to realize the force of Sir Henry Thompson's 'demonstration'—on the new positive method—that 'revelation is, in fact, unsupported by evidence;' and it must also be due to the same defect that I should hesitate about taking up the new 'religion,' even though I might have a chance of securing thereby 'complete liberty of thought and action.' There are some things one almost does not want to be free to do—to tamper with truth, or to bow down in adoration before mere energies and sources of energy. I do not want to become free to worship the sun, nor the ether—though that, perhaps, is the great storehouse and source of all material energies whatsoever. When I want to worship I will select as object the highest that I can find, not the lowest; and I will try to represent it to myself, if not adequately, yet at least with the highest conceptions of which I am capable, humbly confessing that when I have done my best it is but wretchedly insufficient. Bad as it may be, however, it shall be my best. Even when I think of the 'Infinite and Eternal Source from which all things proceed'—since to think at all, I must have recourse to analogy, and clothe my concepts in forms taken from material things—I will try to honour it by selecting the best robes at my disposal. Not as a man, therefore, shall I represent it; nor yet as a beast or a vegetable; still less as a mere energy or power; my very best and highest form of concept is that of a spiritual person; and it is under this image that I shall try to think of and worship the 'Source from which all things proceed.'

W. McDONALD, D.D.

# Notes and Queries

## LITURGY

### THE IRISH PRIVILEGE OF ANTICIPATION OF MATINS AND LAUDS IN CHORO

WE think it better to defer a complete reply to the learned article of the Very Rev. Sylvester Malone, V.G., on the above subject, in the last I. E. RECORD, until we have succeeded in discovering the Indult of Pius VI., or given up all hopes of discovering it. The search for the document has been going on. The archives of Armagh, Kilkenny and Dublin have been searched without success. It is unfortunate that only the first part of the '*Jus Pontificium de Propaganda Fide*' is published. This first part contains only the Acts of Popes; the second part is to contain the Acts of the Congregation itself, and it is more than probable that the Indult we are looking for is an Act of the Congregation. We have taken steps to have the Propaganda archives searched.

We wish to remove a misconception of our opinion under which Dr. Malone seems to labour. He speaks of the case in which the Office might be read 'by a secular with a companion,'<sup>1</sup> and again of a case in which a Jesuit 'was allowed to begin Matins at twelve on the previous day, even with a companion,' this privilege being given 'under the heading *in choro*.'<sup>2</sup>

We do not deny—and never did—that by virtue of the Indult of Pius VI. a Secular priest in Ireland may begin Matins at 2 p.m., not only with one, but with any number of companions, and that any number of Regulars, who are excused from attendance at the *community* recitation, may do the same. This method of saying the Office, by which a

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<sup>1</sup> Page 211.

<sup>2</sup> Page 219.

number *voluntarily* assemble to recite the Office, may come under the heading *in choro*, as contradistinguished from *individual* recitation; but it is not recitation *in choro*, as contradistinguished from the *private* recitation of the Office.

De Herdt speaks of this as the private recitation of the Office: 'In privata officii recitatione cum uno aut pluribus sociis.'<sup>1</sup> The choral recitation which we have been discussing is that of the Synodal Statutes of 1810: 'Pro officio publico, hoc est in choro'—the *community* recitation to which a Chapter or Regular Order is *obliged*.

We are indebted to our Rev. correspondent, 'D. A. D.,' who first opened this question, for reference to a Rescript which ought to throw a good deal of light on it. The Rescript is published in Colgan's *Diocese of Meath*,<sup>2</sup> and is contained in a letter from 'The Rev. J. Connolly to Dr. Plunket.' The letter is as follows:—

ROME,

ST. CLEMENT'S, July 6th, 1803.

RIGHT REV. AND DEAR SIR,

. . . The following is a true copy of the grant of the other petition I presented in your Lordship's name:—

Ex audientia SSmi. Dni. Nostri Domini Pii Divina Provida. P.P. VII. habita per me infrum S. Congnis. de Propaganda Fide Secretarium, die 30 Junii 1805. Sanctitas sua, justis ac rationalibus causis adducta benigne indulsit, ut a singulis e Clero tam Seculari quam Regulari Dioecesis Midensis in Hibernia quotidie recitari possit *privatim*<sup>3</sup> Matutinum cum Laudibus diei sequentis, statim elapsis duobis horis post meridiem. . . .

Datum Romae ex Oedibus dae. S. Congnis. die et anno, quibus supra. . . .

The Indult of Pius VI. must have been granted before August 28, 1799, on which date that Pope died. Dr. Plunket had been Bishop of Meath from 1779, and surely he must have known of the existence of that Indult. It is evident that he was not satisfied with the extent of the privilege granted, as being only '*pro sacerdotibus*,' and accordingly he applied to

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii., n. 389.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iii., p. 348.

<sup>3</sup> The italics are ours.



have it enlarged '*pro clero.*'<sup>1</sup> But, whatever may have been his reason for asking for a modification of the privilege, his petition was: '*Ut . . . quotidie recitari possit privatim,*' etc.; and this petition was granted. We think it utterly improbable that this petition would have been presented and granted in 1805, six years at least after the concession of the Indult of Pius VI., if the Indult of Pius VI. had granted the privilege for not only the *private*, but also for the *strictly choral* recitation of Matins at 2 p.m.

#### LICENTIA ORDINARII FOR BLESSING BEADS, &c.

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have heard it asserted frequently of late, and with a certain amount of assurance, that the '*licentia Ordinarii loci*' is *now* required, if not for the *valid*, at least for the *lawful*, exercise of any special '*faculty*' one may have direct from Rome or from the Superior-General of a religious Order, duly authorized to delegate such faculty. I should feel obliged if you would state in an early number of the I. E. RECORD whether any *direction* requiring such a condition has been issued from Rome within recent years. What makes me particularly sceptical on this matter is the fact that *I* have quite recently obtained '*faculties*' to enrol in the Confraternities of the *Brown* and *Blue* Scapulars, as well as in that of the Scapular of the Sacred Heart; to bless beads with what is known as the *Dominican blessing*; to bless Benedict medals, etc., and, strange, not a word about the Ordinary in any *pagella* forwarded me! Is it possible to fancy this would be so if any legislation had taken place or direction given requiring the '*licentia Ordinarii loci*'?

In reference to what, I think, used to be called the *Propaganda* blessing of religious objects, even by a sign of the cross '*nihil dicens*,' and the attaching to beads the Brigittine indulgence, I find in a '*direction*' issued by the Congregation of Indulgences on 14th June, 1901, that for the *valid* exercise of the faculty '*the priest must be approved of for hearing confessions of men at least.*' I should like to have your opinion as to whether this means '*approved of in one diocese*' or '*in each diocese*' where he wishes

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<sup>1</sup> We are authoritatively informed that, by a liberal interpretation, *clerus* includes, under the circumstances, not only priests, deacons, subdeacons, and regular clerics, but even non-tonsured regulars bound to the recitation of the Office.

to use the faculty *validly*? In my opinion it is sufficient to be approved of in one diocese—say Dublin—to exercise the faculty *validly*, say throughout Ireland. The Congregation leaves no room for doubting that for the *lawful* exercise of the faculty the 'licentia Ordinarii' is necessary everywhere one finds himself.

Awaiting light and direction, I beg to subscribe myself yours, etc.,

S.

I. We shall first deal with the faculty of attaching to beads, etc., the *Apostolic* Indulgences.

This subject was treated in the I. E. RECORD of October, 1898; but more light has been thrown on it since by a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, dated the 14th June, 1901, and published in the *Acta Sanctae Sedis* of September, 1901, p. 124:—

Ad 1<sup>um</sup> *detur instructio*.

#### INSTRUCTIO

1. Convenit ut qui facultatem benedicendi Coronas, Cruces, Rosaria, Numismata, etc., cum applicatione Indulgentiarum Apostolicarum et S. Birgittae obtinere cupit. . . .

2. Ut valide præfata facultas exerceatur opus erit, ut Sacerdos ad excipiendas Sacramentales Confessiones, saltem virorum, sit approbatus.

3. Ad eam facultatem licite exercendam requiritur consensus Ordinarii loci in quo quis ea uti velit, firmo manente quoad Regulares exemptos, decreto, hujus S. C. diei 8 Junii, 1888.<sup>1</sup> Hic autem consensus optandum ut sit expressus; sufficit tamen etiam tacitus vel implicitus, et in aliquo casu, quando practice aliter fieri nequeat, sufficit etiam consensus prudenter præsumptus.

Datum Romæ ex Secretario ejusdem S. Congregationis die 14 Junii, 1901.

From this decree it is plain—

(1.) That for validity nothing more is required than that a priest should have approbation for hearing confessions—at least those of men.

But must he be approved in each diocese in which he wishes to use the faculty validly, or will it suffice that he be approved in one? Our opinion agrees with that of our

<sup>1</sup> This is a mistake for 2 Januarii, 1888.

correspondent: it is sufficient that he be approved in one. It is evidently by design that the Sacred Congregation omits 'ab Ordinario loci in quo quis ea uti velit' in treating of the validity, whilst it inserts these words in treating of the lawfulness.

(2.) That for lawfulness the 'Consensus Ordinarii' is required.

(3.) That the Ordinary is the 'Ordinarius loci in quo quis ea uti velit.'

(4.) That 'Regulares exempti' enjoy the privileges granted by the decree of 2nd January, 1888.<sup>1</sup> This privilege is that, if the faculty be exercised within the precincts of their monastery, convent, or houses of residence, it is sufficient for them to get the 'licentia superioris vera jurisdictione pollentis in suo Ordine, uti Abbas, Provincialis, vel Generalis totius Ordinis.' The consent of the Ordinary of the diocese is required only when the faculty is exercised outside the convent.

(5.) That, though the express consent is desirable, it is sufficient to have the tacit or implied consent, or even the prudently presumed consent, when no other can be obtained. For instance, 'it may be safely regarded that the bishop, in granting the other faculties for a mission or retreat, *ipso facto* (though implicitly) also accords this consent to exercise the above Papal Faculty.'<sup>2</sup>

II. We shall now consider other faculties that 'one may have direct from Rome or from the Superior-General of a religious Order.'

We are not aware that any direction has been issued on this question of the 'licentia Ordinarii,' in connection with these faculties, within recent years. The direction of the 5th of February, 1841, stills holds good:—

2º Utrum qui obtinet diversas facultates ab Apostolica Sede, scilicet altaris privilegiati personalis, erigendi stationes Viæ Crucis, benedicendi cruces, numismata, etc., debeat exhibere dictas

<sup>1</sup> See I. E. RECORD, Jan., 1899, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Oct., 1898, p. 372.



facultates Ordinario, etiamsi nulla mentio facta sit in concessionum Rescriptis.

Sac. Congregatio die 5 Februarii, 1841, respondit . . . .

Ad 2<sup>m</sup>: Affirmative quoad Viae Crucis erectionem: Negative relate ad alias facultates, nisi aliter disponatur in obtentis concessionibus.

The 'consensus Ordinarii' is certainly not required for the valid exercise of these faculties, whether mention be made of it in the Rescripts of Concession or not. This is deduced, in the case in which mention is made, from the parity of the faculty for the *Apostolic Indulgences*. There is an *a fortiori* case, if there be no mention of it. Even the exception made in the above response, in the case of the erection of the Stations of the Cross, does not affect the validity:—

Si l'on n'omettait que cette exhibition du pouvoir, l'érection du Chemin de la Croix ne serait pas nulle pour cela, puisque les decrets cités ne le disent pas.<sup>1</sup>

'Exhibere facultates Ordinario' and 'Episcopi assensum petere seu habere' have the same meaning.<sup>2</sup>

The 'consensus Ordinarii' is required for the lawful exercise of these faculties, if mention be made of it in the Rescripts of Concession; otherwise it is not required, except in the single case of the erection of the Stations of the Cross.

Beringer, relying, as we presume, on the decree quoted above, says of the Carmelite faculties: 'Ceux qui ont obtenu ces pouvoirs n'ont pas besoin, pour en faire usage, de la permission épiscopale.'<sup>3</sup> The same holds for faculties got from the Superior-General of any religious Order, duly authorized to delegate such faculties.

It may be objected that in the decree of February 5, 1841, there is mention only of faculties 'ab Apostolica Sede.' But those granted by the Superiors-General of any religious Orders are 'ab Apostolica Sede'; they could come from no other source.

<sup>1</sup> Beringer, vol. i., p. 272, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Vermeersch, *Praelect Can.*, T. 1, p. 328, n. 525, ad 3.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. ii., p. 201, note 3.

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**THE LAST GOSPEL IN VOTIVE MASS OF HOLY GHOST  
DURING LENT**

REV. DEAR SIR,—This is the 6th day of March, and according to the *Ordo* I have an option between the ferial Mass and the votive Mass of the Blessed Sacrament, but I prefer to take up the Votive Mass of the Holy Ghost because a friend requested me, at my convenience, to offer up that Mass for his intention.

I was perplexed as to what the Last Gospel should have been ; because I knew, if I had taken the Votive Mass of the Blessed Sacrament, it should have been the Gospel of the ferial Mass ; and because I saw in the *Ordo* under the Votive Mass of the Holy Ghost, page xxvi., ‘In fine semper dicitur evangelium. In principio.’

Kindly direct me that I may not be perplexed again.

SACERDOS.

The Gospel ‘In Principio,’ etc., is the last Gospel for all Votive Masses that are strictly so called, *i.e.*, that are not in accordance with the Office.<sup>1</sup> The six Masses granted 5th July, 1883, and corresponding to the six Votive Offices, are plainly not Votive Masses strictly so called, if the Votive Offices be said : they are treated in every respect as ordinary semi-doubles, and, therefore, have as last Gospel the Gospel of the Feria.<sup>2</sup>

P. O’LEARY.

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<sup>1</sup> Gen. Miss. xii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Rub. Miss. *ante* Miss. Vot. per an. See also I. E. RECORD of May, 1884.

## CORRESPONDENCE

## TRINITY COLLEGE AND THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,  
DUBLIN, 18th March, 1902.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—My paper on ‘Trinity College and the University of Dublin,’ published in the March number of the I. E. RECORD, dealt chiefly with two statements made by a member of the Irish Bar,—one, indeed, of his Majesty’s Counsel,—in reference to a certain judgment of the present Master of the Rolls.

The Master of the Rolls was alleged to have judicially decided,—in a judgment which, it was furthermore alleged, was public property, and could be referred to by any person,—that between Trinity College and the University of Dublin there is no distinction whatever; that the University is the College; that the College is the University; and that neither differs from the other in any particular.

In the course of my paper I had occasion to state that,—notwithstanding the assurance thus given to the public as to the judgment referred to being ‘public property,’—it was only by having a transcript of the judgment made from a volume which was not to be found except in the Library of Trinity College, that I was able to obtain a copy of it at all.

If the need for showing up the inaccuracy of the statement, unaccountably made on such authority, as to the purport of the Master of the Rolls’ judgment in the case in question, had arisen only a few weeks later than it did, I could, as it now appears, have obtained a copy of the judgment without any difficulty. Within the last fortnight, a volume, printed at the University Press, containing a report of it, has been published.

The title of the volume is *Chartæ et Statuta Collegii Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis Reginæ Elizabethæ, juxta Dublin. Vol. II. Dublinii: Sumptibus Academicis, 1898.*

The title-page, it will be observed, bears the date, 1898. The



volume was edited by the late Dr. G. F. Shaw, S.F.T.C.D., and it has a preface signed by him. It evidently was printed in 1898, but for private use only. It has now, for the first time, been given to the public.

I may add that, as I am having my two papers, recently published in the I. E. RECORD, printed for publication in a pamphlet, I have thought it useful to publish with them *in extenso* the judgment of the Master of the Rolls, which,—whilst it is totally irrelevant to the matter in connection with which it has been very improperly dragged into public controversy,—is, in reference to the matter with which it really dealt, a judgment of very much more than common interest.

The forthcoming publication of it will enable those who are any longer interested in the recent controversy, to have at hand for reference, within the covers of the same pamphlet, every statement that I have made upon the subject, and—together with my statements—the report of the judgment by reference to which the accuracy of those statements will be found to be fully sustained.—I remain, Rev. and Dear Sir, your faithful servant,

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH,  
*Archbishop of Dublin.*

#### TRINITY COLLEGE AND THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN

51, LOWER BAGGOT-STREET,

*March 14, 1902.*

REV. DEAR SIR,—Some time ago in a newspaper discussion of the Irish University Question, I stated that apart from Trinity College, there does not exist legally, constitutionally, or, in fact, any such entity as a University of Dublin.

This assertion having been controverted in the I. E. RECORD of February, I pointed out in a letter to the *Freeman's Journal* of February 8, that the identity of the University of Dublin with Trinity had been decided by a Court of Justice on the 2nd June, 1888, in the case of the 'Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity College v. The Chancellor, Doctors, and Masters of the University of Dublin.' In my letter I quoted portions of the

judgment which declare this identity in the most unmistakeable terms. The greater part of the judgment is in fact an elaborate argument to demonstrate that identity. It shows that the phrases 'Trinity College, Dublin,' 'University of Dublin,' and 'University of Trinity College, Dublin,' are used interchangeably in Acts of Parliament, and in the Charters and Regulations. And that 'at the time of the Act of Settlement the Corporation of the College was the Corporation of the University. There was no other Corporation but that of the College, which, in the words of the Letters Patent of James I., was declared, and was held to be a University. 'Sit et habeatur Universitas.'

The Master of the Rolls closed the first part of his judgment with these emphatic words—'It cannot therefore admit of doubt that prior to the Letters Patent of Queen Victoria a gift to the Corporation of the University of Dublin would have meant a gift to Trinity College, Dublin, and could have meant nothing else.'

In the second part he proceeds to examine whether the Letters Patent of Queen Victoria made any change, by incorporating a University of Dublin, and he decides that they did nothing of the kind: that they merely incorporated a Senate with very limited powers. Accordingly he held that as 'it was to Trinity College and its University of Dublin, inseparably and undistinguishably blended with it, that the testator owed his training and his degree, and as he had in his will used the terms University and College as loosely as the Legislature had used them, it was evident that the body referred to was Trinity College.

The letter in which I referred to this judgment as establishing in law the identity of Trinity College and the University of Dublin was criticised in the last number of the I. E. RECORD, and it was declared that I had not accurately interpreted the meaning and scope of the judgment. In the absence of a full copy of the judgment any discussion of it in your pages could not be satisfactory. I beg to enclose a copy herewith for insertion in the I. E. RECORD. It is very clear and intelligible, and I am satisfied to leave it to the interpretation of your readers.

In the first seven<sup>1</sup> pages the purport of the pleadings, and their legal meaning and effect are set forth.

The important part of the judgment begins on page seven,<sup>2</sup> with the words:—'The principal question for decision therefore is,

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<sup>1</sup> Five pages in I. E. RECORD.

<sup>2</sup> Page 361 in I. E. RECORD.

What is the body which the testator designates as the Corporation of the University of Dublin ?'

Independently of this temporary controversy this judgment has a permanent interest, for the light it throws on the relation of Trinity College to 'its University of Dublin.' I fancy, therefore, your readers will deem it of sufficient value to warrant its being submitted to them in its entirety.

As my previous quotations will, on re-examination, be found to be perfectly accurate, I leave the question of the withdrawal of certain comments which you have published to your own sense of fairness and good taste.

I shall only add what I have often stated, that speaking as a Catholic layman, I believe the proper solution of the Irish University Question is that in which Irish Catholics will have an independent University of their own.—Yours, etc.,

M. DRUMMOND, K.C.

[We are happy to gratify Mr. Drummond's desire to the extent of publishing in our present issue the decision of the Master of the Rolls which he has been good enough to send us. Beyond this we fear that it is not possible for us to meet his wishes. Nor can we admit that Mr. Drummond had any strict right to expect us to insert this document. When he stated some time ago that the decision was public property and within the reach of anyone who wished to examine it, his statement was not strictly accurate. If it were made now it would be quite correct; for only a few days ago a volume was published containing the Statutes, Decrees, and Legal Decisions that refer to Trinity College and the University of Dublin<sup>1</sup> from the year 1846 to the year 1896. In this volume the decision of the Master of the Rolls is to be found at page 507. We might, therefore, consider ourselves dispensed from encumbering our own pages with the decision, and we might refer those of our readers who had any doubt as to its meaning

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<sup>1</sup> *Chartæ et Statuta Collegii Sacrosanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis Reginæ Elizabethæ juxta Dublin.* Vol. ii. Dublinii: Weldrick, MDCCCXCVIII. Although dated 1898 the volume was issued only in March, 1902.



to the volume we have mentioned. We prefer, however, not to give any one an excuse for charging us with injustice or partiality.

We think, at the same time, that if Mr. Drummond imagines the minds of our readers will be so confused by the legal technicalities and phraseology of this document, as not to be able to spell their way through its meaning, he has made a rather serious mistake. It is plain to any one that what the Master of the Rolls has decided is something entirely different from what Mr. Drummond contends he has decided. It is quite clear that the Plaintiffs are not the University of Dublin, nor do they claim to be. It is likewise clear that the Defendants are not the University of Dublin, but the incorporated Senate of the University. But where does it appear that the College and the University are identical? What evidently has led to so much confusion is the fact that in giving his decision on a totally different issue from that which Mr. Drummond thinks was involved in the case, and in reviewing the facts and arguments that led up to his judgment, the Master of the Rolls made certain statements and observations from which Mr. Drummond seems to us to have drawn an illogical conclusion.

Everyone knows that the connection between the University of Dublin and Trinity College was at all times, and is now exceedingly close. It could not have been otherwise seeing that there was but one College in the University. There was a period, as the Master of the Rolls has clearly shown, when the distinction between the two was scarcely perceptible. The framers of the Charter of James I. 'considered Trinity College and the University of Dublin as so inseparably connected that their titles are used throughout as synonymous terms.' Of course they were inseparably connected and they are inseparably connected now. What wonder that their titles should have been used as synonymous terms when there was but one College in the University? The very same Charter says that Trinity College was founded '*ad exemplum academiarum nostrarum Oxoniensis et Cantabrigiensis.*' The Master of the Rolls

does not think 'that the reference to them (Oxford and Cambridge) indicates an intention that Trinity College and the University of Dublin should be separate bodies.' They need not, of course, be separate bodies while there is only one College in the University. But what is to prevent the same body from acting in two different capacities? And while they need not be separate bodies where has the Master of the Rolls decided that they must be identical or that there was anything to prevent them from *becoming* separate? Both phrases, Trinity College, Dublin, and the University of Dublin, were used interchangeably as well in Acts of Parliament as in the Charters and Regulations. What wonder, seeing that the connection between the two was so intimate and that there was no necessity of any kind to draw the distinction? At this period, when the College and the University were so closely blended as to be indistinguishable the Master of the Rolls does not anywhere state that they were identical.

The Letters Patent of Queen Victoria in 1857 bring out the latent distinction between the two that was there from the beginning in a manner that leaves not a shadow of doubt as to its existence now and at all times. The testator had left the College and the University long before this distinction was made clear. It was to Trinity College he owed his training and his degree, both of which he received at a time when the College was inseparably and indistinguishably blended with the University. Therefore, according to the judge, the intention of the testator was to leave his money to the College and not to the University or its Senate, as there was nothing to show that he was aware of the circumstances which had brought out into the light of day the fundamental distinction between the two and left them no longer inseparably and indistinguishably blended.

Mr. Drummond leaves to our sense of fairness and good taste whether we ought not now to withdraw the charges of 'inaccurate quotation' that have been made against him in our pages. Mr. Drummond knows perfectly well that whatever charges were made against him in our pages were made,

much against his will, we are quite sure, by one to whom as a Catholic layman Mr. Drummond owes a little deference and respect. Yet nobody asks him for an apology. Nobody, as far as we remember, has accused him of 'inaccurate quotation.' Attention has merely been called in our pages to the evidently inaccurate and incorrect interpretation that he has given of a legal decision. We do not see how that can be withdrawn by us or by anyone. He has committed himself and his reputation as a lawyer to the statement that in the lawsuit in question Trinity College claimed the money 'as being the University of Dublin.' He has added, moreover, that 'the pleadings in the case' clearly prove what he thus unequivocally asserts. Now it has been clearly shown that the 'pleadings in the case' prove no such thing. It has been clearly shown that no such position was taken up by Trinity College in the dispute. It has been clearly shown that no such case as he has represented was ever submitted for decision to the Master of the Rolls. And it has been clearly shown that no such decision as he insists upon was ever given by the Master of the Rolls or by any body else. How then can he expect us or others to withdraw the charge of 'inaccuracy' that has been made against him? What is charged is certainly not that Mr. Drummond wilfully misrepresented the facts. Nothing of the kind has even been suggested. What has been said, and what we fear must stand, is that his statements were 'out of joint with fact'; that he has been wrong in his interpretation of the decision; that he has discovered in 'the pleadings in the case' things that are not there at all; and that he has confounded things that are quite distinct from one another. All that may happen to a very good and honourable man; and we do not say that it is entirely Mr. Drummond's fault if it has happened to him. But we really cannot see how we are called upon to apologize for it.

It is pleasant to turn from these contentious matters to the last sentence in Mr. Drummond's letter, in which he declares, 'as a Catholic layman, that the proper solution of the University question is that in which Irish Catholics will have an independent University of their own.' That is



certainly very satisfactory ; for it shows that Mr. Drummond at all events does not regard the brand of denominationalism as a brand of shame and of inferiority. We are aware, however, that Mr. Drummond does not think we are yet ripe for a Catholic University pure and simple, and that in his opinion we might wait with advantage for some decades until we have well trained men to put into it as teachers. Now there are two advantages to be gained from a Catholic University—the Catholic advantage and the intellectual one. As regards the Catholic element we were probably much better fitted for a Catholic University in Dr. Newman's time than we are now, and we are certainly much better fitted now than we can hope to be after twenty or thirty more years of compromise, of programmes imposed by a half-Protestant Senate, of mere grinding for degrees and of mixed examination boards. As for the intellectual advantage, we may, indeed, hope, from an extension of the present system and more money, for a considerable increase in the number of graduates ; but what hope is there of a better quality of education ? What advance in intellectual progress has been made during the past twenty-five years to justify a prolongation of the experiment ? The condition of the country is the most eloquent reply. The fault is, of course, entirely in the system, and no better results could be expected from it than have been obtained.

We must not be understood to say that we would not accept any solution which would give us a College in either of the existing Universities that would be thoroughly national and representative, that would have practical autonomy, a separate corporate existence, the power of appointing its own professors and arranging its own programme, and have the same powers in regard to degrees as Trinity College, and be adequately endowed. We may have our own opinion as to the University in which such a College would be the more secure, enjoy the greater liberty, maintain the higher standard of education, give the more valuable degree, and win the larger share of the confidence and generosity of the public. But we reject nothing. We merely hold ourselves

at liberty to judge of any scheme that is proposed upon its merits, adopting at the same time the words of the statement made by the Catholic Hierarchy in 1896, "with a sincere desire to remove rather than to aggravate difficulties.'

Our claim, of course, is for equality. We leave to others to say what instalment of their rights they would think it worth their while either to accept or to reject.—  
ED. I. E. RECORD.]

### CANDLES FOR THE ALTAR

3, EUSTACE-STREET, DUBLIN,

*February 24th, 1902.*

REV. DEAR SIR,—We have read with great interest your articles in the recent numbers of the I. E. RECORD apropos of the quantity of beeswax that candles for the altar should contain.

We are only too anxious to comply with the requirements of mother Church in all things ecclesiastical, and if you would kindly give us some standard which is considered by competent authority to be the correct amount that should be used in the composition of beeswax candles we should be very pleased to have our beeswax candles composed with that standard.

The quality of beeswax candles is purely a question of price, and manufacturers would be, and are, only too glad to supply the pure article where their customers are prepared to pay the price, which is very little more than they have to pay for the inferior article.

Traders throughout the country are the principal cause of the deterioration in the quality of the beeswax candle in their anxiety to buy cheaply, and our travellers almost daily meet with the remarks of the traders to the effect that *they* 'don't care what the candles are made of provided they have the word "wax" stamped on the end.'

In this, as in most other cases, the best criterion that the pure article is being supplied is the price paid, and to our certain

knowledge candles are being sold at such a price as to preclude the possibility of even a *decent* quantity of beeswax being included in their composition.—Yours faithfully,

HAYES & FINCH.

[We could not undertake to fix a standard. We must await an instruction from the Sacred Congregation of Rites. For the present, we must adopt the principle : ‘Sinere res vadere ut vadunt.’—P. O’LEARY.]



## DOCUMENTS

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN v. THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL  
AND OTHERS

JUDGMENT OF THE RIGHT HON. THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS,  
DECIDING THAT A REQUEST TO 'THE CORPORATION OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN' VESTED IN TRINITY COLLEGE

(June 2, 1888)

This case comes before the Court on a motion by the plaintiffs on admissions in the pleadings. The plaintiffs are the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, and the defendants are the Attorney-General, the Chancellor, Doctors, and Masters of the University of Dublin, and the trustees and executors of the will of the late Richard Tuohill Reid, barrister-at-law, formerly of Killarney, in the County of Kerry, and afterwards of Bombay, in the East Indies.

The will of Mr. Reid is set out *in extenso* in the plaintiffs' statement of claim, except that in the will the testator describes himself as LL.D., without stating, however, of what university. The will bears date the 22nd of September, 1881. It commences by appointing the defendants, Sir George Christopher Molesworth Birdwood, Knight, M.D., of the India Office, and James Cornelius O'Dowd, Deputy Judge Advocate-General, and Barrister-at-Law, of No. 35, Great George's-street, Westminster, his executors.

The statement of claim alleges that the testator died on the 11th day of February, 1883, at Rome, without having revoked or altered his Will, which was duly proved in the Probate Division of Her Majesty's High Court of Justice in England by the defendants George Christopher Molesworth Birdwood and James Cornelius O'Dowd on the 25th day of April, 1883. The testator had no assets in Ireland.

Hannah Reid, the sister of the testator in his will mentioned, died before him, on the 9th day of February, 1883. Her life estate, therefore, never came into existence. The ready money and cash at the testator's bankers were sufficient for payment of his debts, funeral and testamentary expenses, and the other expenses connected with the administration of the estate.

The bequest in the will contained of all the testator's shares or stock in the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, and in the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway Company, is, for the sake of convenience, referred to as the second bequest, and the bequest of all the testator's funds in Three per Cent. Consolidated Bank Annuities is referred to as the third bequest.

The testator was, at the time of his death, possessed of the sums of £2,800 Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company Guaranteed £5 per cent. Stock and £1,904 Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway Company Stock; which sums became vested in his executors, as trustees of his will, for the purposes of the second bequest; and he also died possessed of the sum of £6,089 13s. 4d. Consolidated £3 per Cent. Bank Annuities, transferrable at the Bank of England, which became vested for the purposes of the third bequest.

As to the second bequest, the plaintiffs say that there is no such body, strictly speaking, as the Board of the University. The defendants, the Senate of the University have been incorporated by Letters Patent, dated the 24th July, 1857, under the title of the Chancellor, Doctors, and Masters of the University of Dublin, and as such Corporation are, by the said Letters Patent, empowered to hold and acquire such property, real and personal, as may be given or bequeathed to them. Up to the present the defendants have not acquired, nor do they now hold, any property.

As to the third bequest, the plaintiffs say 'that Trinity College, Dublin, is the only College in the University and is incorporated by the Letters Patent or Charter of the 34th year of Queen Elizabeth, which was confirmed by the Letters Patent, or Charter of the 13th Charles I., under the name of the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars, of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin, who are the plaintiffs in this action. The Provost and Senior Fellows of the said College are by the said Charter and Statutes of the College constituted the Governing Body of the College, and are known as the Board of Trinity College, Dublin. There is no other body called or known as the Board either in the College or University.' That statement must be taken as uncontradicted.

The defendants, the executors, having been informed of the facts aforesaid, were advised that they could not safely give effect to the second and third bequests without the protection of the Court, and accordingly they lodged in the Chancery Division of

the High Court of Justice in England, to the following credit:—  
'In the matter of the trusts of the bequest by the will of the late Richard Tuohill Reid, in favour of the Corporation of the University of Dublin, in trust to found a Professorship of Penal Legislation'—the said sum of £1,904, Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway Company Stock, and the sum of £2,300, Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company Guaranteed £5 per cent. Stock, part of the said sum of £2,800 like stock; and £339 8s. 6d. cash, representing the said second bequest, and the dividends that had accrued in respect thereof up to the 1st July, 1884, less by a sum of £702 16s. paid by the same defendants in respect of duty on the capital of the second bequest; and £26 2s. for duty on the income thereof, and £27 10s. being a moiety of the costs of and incident to the lodgment in Court.

The defendants, the executors, also lodged in the Chancery Division of the said High Court of Justice in England, to the following credit:—'In the matter of the trusts of the bequest by the will of the late Richard Tuohill Reid, in favour of the Corporation of the University of Dublin, in trust to found in Trinity College, Dublin, additional Sizarships, Exhibitions, and for other purposes'—the sum of £5,463 17s. 11d. Consolidated £3 per Cent. Bank Annuities part of the said sum of £6,089 13s. 4d. like annuities, and £217 4s. 8d. cash, representing the third bequest, and the dividends that had accrued in respect thereof, up to the 5th July, 1884, less by a sum of £616 11s. 6d. paid by the same defendants in respect of legacy duty on the capital of the third bequest; and £16 9s. for duty on the income thereof, and £27 10s. being the remaining moiety of the costs hereinbefore mentioned.

The result of this proceeding was the payment of 10 per cent. legacy duty for both the second and third bequests, from which duty they would probably have been free if lodged in this Court, inasmuch as the law in England is different from that in this country. Here no duty is payable on bequests for purposes merely charitable in Ireland.

The statement of claim then states that the testator, who was born in the County of Kerry, was educated in Trinity College, Dublin, where he took the degree of Master of Arts. He was afterwards called to the Irish Bar, and went to Bombay in the year 1853, after which period he never returned to Ireland.

The statement of claim then avers that all the endowments estates and property by which the University of Dublin is



sustained, including all endowments for special purposes, are vested in the plaintiffs, and managed by the Board of Trinity College. The appointment and election of the Professors in the University was also vested in the said Board up to the time when the Council was constituted by Letters Patent of the 4th day of November, 1874. By these Letters Patent the nomination to all professorships with certain specified exceptions, is now vested in the Council, subject to the approval of the Board; and since the constitution of the Council any proposed alterations in the rules and regulations respecting any studies, lectures, or examinations (not connected with the Divinity School), and also any proposed alterations in the rules and regulations respecting the qualifications, duties, and tenure of office of any professor (not connected with the Divinity School), require the approval both of the Board and of the Council. No new professorship can now be created or founded by the Board without the consent of the Council.

The Council consists of the Provost, or in his absence the Vice-Provost, of Trinity College, and sixteen other members elected out of the members of the Senate of the University.

The Board of Trinity College elect to all the existing sizarships after the usual examinations of candidates.

The statement of claim then states that the plaintiffs are desirous that a scheme or schemes may be settled and approved by the Court for the regulation and management of the said charitable bequests respectively, and for the application of the income of the said stocks and securities, pursuant to the trusts by the said Will declared with respect to the same respectively, and that the plaintiffs may be at liberty to apply in the Chancery Division in the High Court of Justice in England for the transfer to the credit of this action of the several securities and moneys standing to the credits respectively hereinbefore mentioned.

The plaintiffs claim :—

1. That the trusts of the Will of the testator Richard Tuohill Reid, with respect to the second and third bequests respectively, may be carried into execution under the direction of the Court.

2. That the plaintiffs may be at liberty to apply in the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice in England in the said matter, under the Trustee Relief Act, for the transfer and payment into this Court, to the credit of this action, of the several securities and moneys which now are, or shall at any time hereafter be, standing to the said credits hereinbefore mentioned.

3. That a scheme or schemes may be approved by the Court, directing the regulation and management of the said charitable bequests respectively, and the application of the income of the said stocks and securities, pursuant to the trusts of the said will, declared with respect to the same respectively.

4. That for the purposes aforesaid all necessary accounts may be taken, inquiries made, and directions given, and

Such further relief as the case may require.

The Chancellor, Doctors, and Masters of the University of Dublin have filed a statement of defence, by which they admit the making of the will as set forth in the statement of claim, and the statements of fact and the documents in the statement of claim mentioned, and submit that they are the body designated as the Corporation of the University of Dublin in the will ; and that the stocks and funds which are in the statement of claim designated as the 2nd and 3rd legacy bequests respectively should be transferred and paid to them for the purposes of the will ; and state that they are desirous that a scheme or schemes directing the regulation and management of the said charitable bequests respectively, and the application of the income of the same may be settled and approved of by the Court as in the statement of claim is prayed.

The Attorney-General has delivered a statement of defence in which he states in substance that he has no knowledge of the several matters in dispute, but submits that the legacies are good charitable bequests.

The principal question for decision therefore is, What is the body which the testator designates as 'The Corporation of the University of Dublin' ?

Trinity College, Dublin, was founded by Queen Elizabeth by a Charter dated A.D. 1592, in the 34th year of her reign. That Charter is of great importance in determining the constitution of Trinity College, and of the University of Dublin.

That Charter recites :—

'Cum dilectus subditus noster Henricus Ussher Archidiaconus Dubliniensis nobis humiliter supplicavit, nomine civitatis Dubliniensis, pro eo quod nullum Collegium pro Scholaribus in bonis literis et artibus erudiendis infra regnum nostrum Hiberniæ adhuc existit ; ut unum Collegium *matrem Universitatem* juxta civitatem

Dubliniensem ad meliorem educationem institutionem, et instructionem Scholarium et studentium in regno nostro praedicto erigere, fundare, et stabilire dignaremur'; and goes on to provide:—'quod de caetero sit, et erit, unum Collegium *mater Universitatis* in quodam loco vocato Allhallowes juxta Dublin praedictum, pro educatione, institutione, et instructione juvenum, et studentum in artibus et facultatibus, perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturum, et quod erit, et vocabitur COLLEGIUM SANCTAE ET INDIVIDUAE TRINITATIS JUXTA DUBLIN A SERENISSIMA REGINA ELIZABETH FUNDATUM. Ac illud Collegium de uno Praeposito et de tribus Sociis nomine plurium, et tribus Scholaribus nomine plurium, in perpetuum continuaturum erigimus, ordinamus, creamus, fundamus, et stabilimus firmiter per praesentes.'

Then, after nominating the first Provost, the Fellows, and Scholars, the Charter proceeds to incorporate them:—

'Per nomen PRAEPOSITI, SOCIORUM, ET SCHOLARIUM COLLEGII SANCTAE TRINITATIS ELIZABETHAE REGINAE JUXTA DUBLIN.'

Then follow directions as to the election in future of the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars who are empowered to acquire and hold manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments for the maintenance of the College, and to sue and be sued by their corporate name; and the Charter continues in these most important words:—

'Et cum gradus quosdam in artibus et facultatibus constitui literis fuisse adumento compertum sit, ordinamus per praesentes, ut studiosi in hoc Collegio sanctae et individuae Trinitatis Elizabethae Reginae juxta Dublin, libertatem et facultatem habeant. gradus tum Baccalaureatus, Magisterii, et Doctoratus, juxta tempus idoneum in omnibus artibus et facultatibus obtinendi.'

The 'tempus idoneum' here probably refers to the period at which the first Undergraduates would be ready to receive degrees. The Charter proceeds:—

'Hoc semper iterum proviso, ut cum hujus Collegii Socii septem integros annos post gradum Magisterii ibi assumptum adimpleverint, tum è Sociorum numero amoveantur, ut alii in eorum locum suffecti, pro hujus Regni et Ecclesiae beneficio, emolumentum habeant; et ut INTRA SE pro hujusmodi gradibus assequendis habeant libertatem, omnia acta, et scholastica exercitia adimplendi, quemadmodum Praeposito, et majori parti Sociorum visum fuerit, ac ut omnes personas pro hujusmodi rebus melius promovendis eligere, creare, nominare, et ordinare possint, sive sit Procancellarius, Procurator, aut Procuratores, (nam Cancellarii



dignitatem honoratissimo et fidelissimo Consiliario, nostro, Guilelmo, Cecillio, Domino Baroni de Burghley, totius Angliae Thesaurario, delegatam approbamus), et ut posthac idoneam hujusmodi personam, cum defuerit, pro hujus Collegii Cancellario Praepositus, et major pars Sociorum eligant, ordinamus.'

This Charter was granted in 1592, and no other Charter or Letters Patent were granted during Elizabeth's reign. In 1613 further Letters Patent were granted by King James I. An interval of twenty-one years therefore had elapsed between them and the Charter of Elizabeth; and that Degrees must during that interval have been conferred on Students of the College appears to me to be beyond doubt. Therefore it must have been considered that the Charter of Elizabeth, *proprio vigore*, conferred upon the College power to grant degrees. Some body, duly authorized by the Crown, must have conferred them: since the granting of degrees is a Branch of the Royal prerogative, the Crown being the fountain of honour. The Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Proctors, were not incorporated; the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars were: and it follows that they must have conferred the degrees in the interval between the Charter of Elizabeth and that of James I., though, no doubt, in this the College acted through the Vice-Chancellor.

The Charter of James, after reciting the Charter of Elizabeth, proceeds:—

'CUMQUE DICTUM COLLEGIUM SIT ET HABEATUR UNIVERSITAS, AC HABEAT GAUDEAT, ET UTATUR OMNIBUS ET SINGULIS LIBERTATIBUS, PRIVILEGIIS, ET IMMUNITATIBUS AD UNIVERSITATEM SIVE ACADEMIAM PERTINENTIBUS SIVE SPECTANTIBUS . . . idcirco operae pretium et necessarium videtur, quod DICTUM COLLEGIUM ET UNIVERSITAS habeant plenam et absolutam potestatem duos Burgenses de seipsis eligendi, eosque mittendi ad supremam illam curiam Parliamenti in hoc regno nostro Hiberniae, de tempore in tempus, tenendi: in qua quidem curia hujusmodi Burgenses sic electi et missi, juxta formam universitatis Oxoniensis et Cantabrigiensis in Anglia usitatam, notum faciant verum statum dicti Collegi ac universitatis ibidem, ita ut nullum statutum aut actus generalis dicto Collegio ac universitati privatim, sine justa ac debita notitia et informatione in ea parte habita, praejudicet aut noceat SCIATIS quod nos, de gratia nostra speciali, . . . Voluimus et concessimus, ac per praesentes pro nobis haeredibus, et successoribus nostris, voluimus et consedimus, praefatis Praeposito, Sociis, et Scholaribus dicti Collegii, et successoribus suis, necnon ordinamus et stabilimus per praesentes, perpetuis futuris

temporibus quod sint et erunt in dicto Collegio ac universitate juxta Dublin duo Burgenses Parliamenti nostri, haeredum, et successorum nostrorum.'

The words just quoted, such as 'Cumque dictum Collegium sit et habeatur universitas,' 'et utatur omnibus et singulis libertatibus privilegiis et immunitatibus ad universitatem pertinentibus,' 'Collegii et universitatis praedictae,' 'quod dictum collegium et universitas habeant'; again, the same words, 'dicti Collegii ac universitatis,' 'dicto Collegio ac universitate juxta Dublin,' show that the framers of the Charter considered Trinity College and the University of Dublin as so inseparably connected that their titles are used throughout as synonymous terms. To whom is the power of electing two members given? 'Praefatis Praeposito, Sociis et Scholaribus dicti Collegii.'

The Charter recites that Trinity College was founded by Queen Elizabeth, 'ad exemplum academiarum nostrarum Oxoniensis et Cantabrigiensis.' Oxford and Cambridge are, no doubt, in some respect analogous Universities. But they are essentially different in this, that they each contain several Colleges; and I do not think that the reference to them in this Charter indicates an intention that Trinity College and the University of Dublin should be separate bodies.

The next Charter is that of 13 Charles I., which bears date in 1637. It recites the Charter of Elizabeth, and states that by it she granted 'quod deinceps esset unum Collegium mater Universitatis, in quodam loco vocato Allhallowes juxta Dublin.' It then recites the incorporation of the College; its power to acquire and hold lands for the maintenance of the College; its capacity of suing and being sued in actions, real, personal, and mixed; of having a common seal; the power of the Provost and majority of the Fellows to make laws, statutes, and ordinances for the government of the College; and that 'eadem nuper regina per easdam literas suas patentes ordinaverit, ut studiosi in dicto Collegio libertatem et facultatem haberent gradus tum Baccalaureatus, Magisterii et Doctoratus, juxta tempus idoneum, in omnibus artibus et facultatibus obtinendi; et ut intra se, pro hujusmodi gradibus assequendis haberent libertatem omnia acta et scholastica exercitia adimplendi, quemadmodum Praeposito, et majori parti Sociorum visum foret.' The Charter confirms the Charter of Elizabeth in respect of its above recited provisions, and provides, with the consent of the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars, that

Fellows should not be removed at the end of seven years, as provided by the Charter of Elizabeth: recalls the power of the Provost and Fellows to make statutes and ordinances, and reserves that power to the Crown; repeals those already made, and substitutes an amended code.

In further Letters Patent of the same year (13 Charles I.) I find this recital after referring to the great advantage of schools and universities in England:—‘*Quod et reipsa fecit regina Elizabetha celebris memoriae Collegium Sanctae Trinitatis juxta urbem Dublinensem extruendo; quod etiam annuis redditibus dotavit et ACADEMIAE PRIVILEGIIS ORNAVIT.*’

The Letters Patent then proceed to establish certain laws for the government of the College. The Provost and seven senior Fellows are to form a Board. The Board are to have the government of the College, the election of the Fellows, officials etc., and the conferring of degrees ‘*GRADUUMQUE COLLATIONES DEFINIANT, ET CONCLUDANT.*’ A more clear assertion that the College had the right of conferring degrees it is not easy to imagine.

The next Letters Patent which I have to refer to are those of the 34 George III. (A.D. 1794). They are addressed to the Provost and senior Fellows, and relate to the admission of Roman Catholic students to degrees and announce: . . . ‘*quod omnibus subditis nostris, qui religionem Pontificiam sive Romano-Catholicam profitentur, liceat et deinceps licebit in dictum Collegium admitti, atque gradus in dicta academia obtinere, praestitis prius omnibus exercitiis per leges et consuetudines academiae requisitis, aliquo statuto dicti Collegii, aut statuto, regula aut consuetudine quacunque dictae academiae in contrarium non obstante.*’

Now, pausing here, if nothing else had happened, what was the position of the University of Dublin? There was no separate incorporation of it. If there had been it must have been by Royal Charter by virtue of the prerogative of the Crown. There was no express creation of it apart from the College. The College had the power of electing the Chancellor and the other officers, and of ‘defining and determining’ the conferring of degrees. The College was supreme; and the University was a branch or department of it, if indeed the College itself was not more accurately the University. That it was so considered by the framers of the Charter of James I. appears from the expressions: ‘*sit et habeatur universitas,*’ ‘*academiae privilegiis ornavit,*’ and



from the power of the College to confer degrees 'intra se.' It cannot therefore admit of doubt that prior to the Letters Patent of Queen Victoria a gift to the 'Corporation of the University of Dublin' would have meant a gift to Trinity College, Dublin, and could have meant nothing else.

Both phrases, Trinity College, Dublin, and University of Dublin, are used interchangeably, as well in Acts of Parliament as in the Charters and Regulations. The Fourth Article of the Act of Union of Great Britain and Ireland, 40 Geo. III. c. 38, is, 'that four lords spiritual, by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal elected for life by the peers of Ireland shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland, in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom; and one hundred commoners (two for each county in Ireland, two for the City of Dublin, two for the City of Cork, *one for the University of Trinity College*, and one for each of the most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs) be the number to sit and vote, on the part of Ireland, in the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.'

By the Reform Act of 1832, 2 & 3 William IV. c. 88, section 11, it is (no doubt) enacted that 'the city of Limerick, the city of Waterford, the borough of Belfast, and *the University of Dublin* shall each respectively return one member to serve in such future Parliament, in addition to the member which each of the said places is now by law entitled to return.' But by sect. 70 it is provided 'that in addition to the persons now qualified to vote at the election of a member to serve in Parliament *for the University of Dublin*, every person being of the age of twenty-one years, who has obtained, or hereafter shall obtain, the degree of Master of Arts, or any higher degree, &c., *or a Scholarship or Fellowship in the said University*, shall be entitled to vote for the election of a member or members to serve in any future Parliament for the said University,' &c. By the University of Dublin in this context Trinity College must also be meant, since Scholarships and Fellowships belong to the College, and not to the University proper.

The Act of Settlement, too, speaks of the lands of the University, meaning obviously the lands of Trinity College, Dublin. The corporation of the College was at that time the corporation of the University. There was no other corporation but that of the College, which, in the words of the Letters Patent of James I., was declared, and was held to be, a University 'sit et habeatur universitas.'

There is nothing in this view, I think, opposed to the opinion of the late Mr. Blackburne, Vice-Chancellor of the University. He said :—

‘ It is now, for any practical purpose, not necessary to inquire whether the University was a corporate body before the late Charter. But I may observe that through the agency of the Chancellor, or the Vice-Chancellor, and other proper officers, for whose perpetual appointment the Crown made ample provision, the power to grant degrees was insured to continue for all time. So, and in like manner, the succession of members of the Senate was to be for ever supplied out of the members of another body expressly incorporated.’

Mr. Blackburne thus gives no positive opinion on the question. Nor is the view I have expressed opposed, in my opinion, to the fundamental idea of College and University. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are in some respects anomalous bodies, differing in constitution from nearly all, if not all, other ancient Universities.

In *The Attorney-General v. Lady Downing and others* (Wilmot's Ca. and Op. 14), Lord Chief Justice Wilmot says :—

‘ And, indeed, I think Universities and Colleges are within the proper and genuine sense and meaning of the words “ Schools of learning.” The places where the public exercises are performed are called the schools. An University is a great school, incorporated to instruct, by their Professors and regular exercises, all who come to study there, and by degrees to give their students rank and credit in the republic of letters, and which are qualifications for lucrative offices and employments in life. It is a public school of divinity, physic, law, and all arts and sciences. And colleges are schools of learning, furnishing scholars for the universal school, which is a combination of all those schools ; and in any other view than as schools of learning they are as useless to society as monasteries ; and, therefore, I think they are not only within the equity of the Act, but within the words of it. And I consider this devise as made for the further augmenting of the University : and for that reason the University, in its corporate capacity, is very properly made a relator in this information being materially and essentially interested in the benefaction. For though the University is not a corporation of Colleges, but of matriculated members, and all colleges are separate corporations, yet these colleges attract and furnish the members to be matriculated, and every new college enlarges the universal school, and by increasing the number of scholars adds weight, dignity and strength to the University.’

Generally speaking, a University and College are one body. The Universities of Bologna and Paris are both teaching Universities, and Trinity College in this respect appears to have resembled them.

We now come to the Letters Patent of the Queen (21 Vict., July 24th, 1857). In them we find the following recitals :—

‘Whereas we are informed that the Senate or congregation of the University of Dublin, consisting of the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor, Doctors in the several faculties and Masters of Arts in the said University, has heretofore for the last two hundred years and upwards been governed by certain rules or statutes entitled “*Regulae seu Consuetudines Universitatis Dubliniensis pro solemniori graduum collatione.*” And whereas our right trusty and right entirely beloved Counsellor, John George Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, Chancellor of the said University; our right trusty and well-beloved Counsellor, Francis Blackburne, Doctor of Laws, Vice-Chancellor of the said University; and our trusty and well-beloved Provost and Senior Fellows of the College of the Holy and undivided Trinity, near Dublin, have humbly represented unto us that the said rules or statutes have, by lapse of time, become in many respects obsolete and unsuited to the present state of the said University and College, and doubts have been raised as to whether the Provost and Senior Fellows of the said College have power to alter and amend the same; and the said Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Provost and Senior Fellows have therefore humbly supplicated us to remove the said doubts, and to grant unto the Provost and Senior Fellows of the said College, and also unto the Senate or Congregation of the said University, such further powers as will enable them to revise, alter, or repeal the said rules and usages relating to the conferring of degrees by the said University, and to enact other rules or regulations for the same purpose, to be binding and obligatory on all members of the University.’

Then the granting part of the Letters Patent is as follows :—

‘We are graciously pleased to accede to their request. Know ye, therefore, that we, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, by and with the advice and consent of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and counsellor, George William Frederick Earl of Carlisle, our Lieutenant-General, and General Governor of Ireland, do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, enact and confirm to the Provost and Senior Fellows of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity aforesaid, and unto the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor, Doctors and Masters of



the said University, all such powers, rights, and privileges, as by the Charters and Statutes of our royal predecessors to the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity aforesaid, or to the University of Dublin aforesaid, have heretofore been given, granted or by usage and prescription possessed, without any alteration or diminution whatever as herein provided.

‘And it is our will and pleasure that the Provost and Senior Fellows of our said College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity shall have power, if they shall think fit, to alter, amend and repeal all laws, rules or bye-laws heretofore existing, for the more solemn conferring of degrees by the Senate of the University aforesaid and to make, enact, and enforce, from time to time, such additional laws, rules, and bye-laws, to alter or vary the same for the like purpose as to them shall seem fit. Provided always that no such new laws, rules, or bye-laws, or emendations or alterations of such existing laws, rules, or bye-laws, shall be of force or binding upon the said University until they shall have received the sanction of the Senate of the same in congregation lawfully assembled.’

No law is to be proposed except by the Board. Then, the constitution, powers, and privileges of the Senate are defined and determined, and to carry out the objects in view the Senate is incorporated in these words :—

‘And our will and pleasure further is, that the *Senate* of the said University shall be, and continue to be, a body corporate, and have a common seal to do all such acts as may be lawful for them to do (in conformity with the laws and statutes of the realm, and with the Charter and Statutes of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, and with the Statutes, Laws and Bye-Laws made or to be made in pursuance of these our Royal Letters) under the name, style and title of the Chancellor, Doctors, and Masters of the University of Dublin.

‘It shall be further lawful for the said Chancellor, Doctors, and Masters to apply the lands which may or shall belong to the said University Senate for the promotion of useful learning in the said University, subject to such regulations as the Provost and Senior Fellows of our said College shall approve of or subscribe.

‘And it shall be lawful for the said Chancellor, Doctors, and Masters of the said University, in their corporate capacity as aforesaid, to have, hold, acquire and receive such lands, manors, tenements or other property, real or personal, as may from the date of these presents be given or bequeathed unto them, by any person whatsoever, for the encouragement of learning in the said

University. Provided also that such gift or bequest does not impose any condition, or obligation inconsistent with the Statutes of the University in force at the time of such gift or bequest, or inconsistent with the Charters and Statutes of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, near Dublin.'

It is on these Letters Patent and the incorporation therein contained of the Chancellor, Doctors, and Masters, that the claim of the Senate, who are the defendants, depends. In my opinion, that is not the incorporation of the University of Dublin, but of its Senate merely.

By another Charter of the same reign another University, the Queen's University, has been incorporated. The second Charter of the Queen's University (I have not the first one at hand) is in these words :—

'We do will, order, . . . and found a University, which shall be one body politic and corporate by the name of the Queen's University in Ireland.' . . . 'And we do further will and order that the said body politic shall consist of a Chancellor, Senators, Secretary, Professors, Graduates, and Students.'

Thus we find a Charter of the same reign, dated a few years after the Charter incorporating the Senate, by which a University was incorporated, consisting of a Chancellor, Senators, a Secretary, Graduates, and Students, and in it the persons precisely defined and described of which the University is to consist. This is not an accidental circumstance. The advisers of Queen Victoria knew how to incorporate a University when they meant to do so.

There is, however, another body, viz., the Council, which was established by Letters Patent of the 38 Vict. (November 4, 1874), and to which it is said the will of Mr. Reid refers when he speaks of the 'Board.' I need not allude in detail to its constitution, suffice it to say, it is nowhere called the Board in any official instrument. The contest here is between the College and the Senate.

There are, therefore, two bodies in existence, to either of which the designation of corporation of the University of Dublin may refer, and to one or other of which it must refer: not with strict accuracy in either case, perhaps, but sufficiently clearly to enable a gift to take effect in favour of whichever is in fact meant. If the gift had been to the 'Senate' or to the Chancellors, Doctors, and Masters, there would have been no question, since whatever

belief one might have had of the intention of the testator, the body would have been unmistakably defined.

There is, of course, no reported case in point: *Mostyn v. Mostyn*, 5 H.L.C., 155; *Stringer v. Gardiner*, 27 Beav. 35, 4 De Gex and J. 468, are cases of gifts to known individuals where there is some inaccuracy in the name and the description connected with it. Nor have *Ellis v. Houstoun*, 10 Ch. Div. 236, or *Holmes v. Custance*, 12 Ves. 279, any intimate bearing upon it.

*Kilvert's Trusts*, L. R. Ch. 171, comes perhaps nearer to the present case than any of those which were cited. In that case a testatrix by a will made in 1868 gave a legacy to the 'treasurer for the time being of the fund for the relief of the widows and orphans of the clergy of the diocese of Worcester, to be applied by him in the benefit of the charity.' Two societies made a claim—one had been founded in 1777 for the relief of the widows and orphans of the clergy of the diocese, at which time the diocese comprised only the Archdeaconry of Worcester. In 1837 the Archdeaconry of Coventry was added to the diocese, and in 1848 the Worcester Society altered its title so as to show that its operations were restricted to the Archdeaconry of Worcester. The other Society had been founded in 1877 for the relief of widows and orphans of clergy in the Archdeaconry of Coventry. The father of the testatrix had been a subscriber to the Worcester Society till his death in 1817. His widow had continued the subscription till her death in 1860, and the testatrix had continued it from that time at an increased rate; but it did not appear that the testatrix or any of her family had subscribed to the Coventry Society; it was held by Vice-Chancellor Malins that the gift was to be treated as a gift to an object, not to a particular society, but must be apportioned between the two societies. But the Court of Appeal held that the gift was a gift to a particular society, with a slight inaccuracy of description, and that the Worcester Society was solely entitled. Lord Justice James said:—

'Parol evidence is admissible to show which of the two was meant. Evidence has always been admitted to show which of two societies the testator knew, and to which of them he subscribed. Such evidence is admissible to remove an ambiguity, if there has been sufficient ground laid to raise an ambiguity, and I am assuming against the appellant that the Coventry Society have raised an ambiguity. The fund must, in my opinion, be paid to the treasurer of the Worcester Society.'

Lord Justice Mellish: 'I am of the same opinion. The



language of the bequest shows that the testatrix had some particular society in her mind, and the question is, what society? There is no difference between the course to be adopted here and in any other case of finding who answers the description given in a will of a legatee. If there was no society answering the description sufficiently to enable it to claim the legacy, it might be that the Court would carry the gift into effect as a gift for the relief of the widows and orphans of the clergy of the diocese. Here, however, I think it clear that the appellants come near enough to the description to be entitled to the legacy, if there was no other society to compete with them. There is a description of the society by its old name; that name has been changed, but that object is precisely the same as at first, and the old name is wholly inapplicable to it. Then, assuming another society to come near enough to the description to have ground for a claim, parol evidence is admissible to remove the ambiguity, and the evidence given is decisive.'

This, in short, is a case of latent ambiguity, and in such cases the rule is (when the fact of ambiguity is shown) first to see whether the other words of the will afford grounds sufficient to enable us to decide between the two conflicting bodies, and if not, then to admit extrinsic evidence.

The extrinsic evidence in the case, or rather the extrinsic facts admitted without proof, are all the one way.

The testator had left the College and University long before the Senate was incorporated or the Council heard of. It was to Trinity College. and its University of Dublin inseparably and undistinguishably blended with it, that he owed his training and his degree.

But in the words of the will itself are to be found indications which leave to my mind no doubt as to what his intention was. He uses the words University and College as loosely as the Legislature and the Crown use them. First he bequeaths all the books which he may die possessed of 'to the Librarian for the time being of the University of Dublin.' There is no Librarian of the University of Dublin or of the Senate of the University of Dublin. There is a Librarian of Trinity College, Dublin.

Secondly, the testator bequeaths his shares or stock in the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Co., &c., to his trustees for the purpose of paying same to the Corporation of the University of Dublin, to endow in the said University a Professorship of Penal Legislation, provided that it shall be lawful for the *Board* of the

University to assign any other duties which they may consider proper to be performed by said Professors so as to make the study of Penal Legislation a regular branch of instruction in the Law School of the University. And I empower the said Board to award prizes annually for proficiency in the said branch of legal science, &c. The word Board has a well-defined meaning in Trinity College. It means the Provost and Senior Fellows. It was contended by Mr. Twigg, on behalf of the defendants, that the word is synonymous with Council. In my opinion the testator did not mean to designate a body which was not constituted till long after his connexion with Trinity College ceased, and his use of the words 'Board of the University' affords a key to what he meant by the Corporation of the University of Dublin.

Thirdly, the testator bequeaths his three Per Cent. Consolidated Bank Annuities to the Corporation of the University of Dublin, 'to found in Trinity College, Dublin, additional Sizarships, or Exhibitions in the nature of Sizarships, not to exceed five in number, open only to students of limited means, natives of the County of Kerry, who, having failed to obtain the ordinary Sizarship of the College, may be deemed to have shown sufficient merit: such Exhibitions to be held on conditions similar in all respects to those upon which ordinary Sizarships are held in the said College, and not to preclude such Exhibitioners from obtaining any other Exhibitions or Prizes to which an ordinary Sizar would be eligible; and the Board of the said University shall determine the annual stipend to be allowed to each such Exhibitioner, or the privileges in lieu of such stipend, in such a way as to place him with respect to exemption from fees, free commons, and free rooms, on a footing similar to that of ordinary Sizars.' What Board? Plainly the Board of the same Body—the same Corporation to which he made the bequest, 'and I empower the said Board to apply the residue of such income (if any) in such manner as they may think best calculated to encourage superior education in the said County, as, for instance, by assigning from time to time stipends, to such schoolmasters as may distinguish themselves in preparing students for the said University, such stipends to be given on condition that such master or masters shall undertake to prepare, free of expense, as day scholars, a certain number of boys of limited means for the Sizarship Examinations of the University, or in such other way

as to the said Board may seem most effectual and expedient for the promotion of superior education in the said County.' There are no Sizarships in the University; they are in the College. There are no such Examinations as Sizarship Examinations of the University. They are held in and by Trinity College. In my opinion, treating the question as one of intention, the testator has clearly shown on the face of the will itself that what he meant by the Corporation of the University of Dublin was the Corporation of Trinity College. I am bound to give effect to that intention unless it is encountered by some rule of law. I have already shown at, I fear, too great length, that the phrase 'Corporation of the University of Dublin' has no such defined meaning as in a case like the present, excluding all inquiry as to particular intention; and I have therefore no hesitation in pronouncing a decree for the plaintiffs.

**INSTRUCTION TO GERMAN CHAPTERS FROM PAPAL SECRETARY OF STATE REGARDING THE ELECTION OF BISHOPS**

**E SECRETARIA STATUS**

**INSTRUCTIO PRO CAPITULIS GERMANIAE QUIBUS COMPETIT ELECTIO  
EPISCOPORUM, CIRCA MODUM HOC MUNUS PERAGENDI**

ILLME. AC RME. DOMINE,

Ad notitiam Sanctae Sedis pervenit, in electionibus Episcoporum, quae, in plerisque Germaniae partibus, speciali iuris ordinatione, Capitulis commissae sunt, quandoque occurrere tum libertati Ecclesiae et Apostolicae Sedis dignitati, tum pactis cum loci Principe initis minus consentanea. Quum vero, ad religionis incrementa, ad regni et sacerdotii concordiam, utiliore episcopalis muneris procuracionem, summopere intersit distinctius declarare, quae sint, hac in re, Capituli iura atque officia; Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII., pro Apostolica Sua sollicitudine et paterna charitate, universis et singulis earundem diocesium Ordinariis ea quae sequuntur exponi iussit, cum ipsis Capitulis communicanda atque ab omnibus diligenter servanda et custodienda, ita ut, deinceps, quavis ambiguitate sublata, amotisque iis, qui forte irrepserunt abusibus, Ecclesiae libertas, pactorum fides et Sedis Apostolicae dignitas sartae tectaeque maneant.

Illud est in primis animadvertendum, Constitutiones Apostolicas



‘De salute animarum,’<sup>1</sup> ‘Impensa Romanorum Pontificum,’<sup>2</sup> ‘Ad Dominici gregis,’<sup>3</sup> Litterasque in forma Brevis ‘Quoad de fidelium’<sup>4</sup> et ‘Resacra,’<sup>5</sup> ad normam conventionum cum Principibus initarum, a Romanis Pontificibus sa. me. Pio VII., et Leone XII. editas, Capitulis Metropolitanis et Cathedralibus Germaniae facultatem et officium attribuere, libere prorsus atque ad sacrorum Canonum praescriptum Archiepiscopos et Episcopos eligendi. Capitula nimirum id habent operis ac muneris, ut eiusmodi electionum libertatem, ab Apostolica Sede in tuto positam et a civili Regimine, initis respective pactis, admissam neque directe, neque indirecte, violari unquam sinant aut imminui.

Porro constans doctrina, a qua se recedere nec velle nec posse Sancta Sedes aperte semper declaravit, acatholicae potestatis interventum, hac in re, non admittit nisi negativum et qui libertatem canonicae electionis incolumem relinquat. Quam libertatem laederet profecto aut minueret positivus concursus vel influxus potestatis ipsius, sicut et illimitatum excludendi ius in negotio electionis Pastorum, quos ‘Spiritus Sanctus posuit regere Ecclesiam Dei.’

Iam vero negativus interventus, Principi vel Regimini acatholico permissus, eo demum spectat, ut personae minus illi gratae non eligantur: unde Capituli partium est illos tantum adsciscere, quos, ante solemnem electionis actum, inter alias dotes, ad Ecclesiam instruendam, tuendam et pacifice gubernandam requisitas, prudentiae laude, publicae quietis ac fidelitatis studio praestare, ideoque Principi non esse minus gratos constet.

Meminerint insuper electores ac serio perpendant, quam grave et magni momenti sit illorum munus; nihilque aliud ob oculos suos ponant, quam animarum salutem et Ecclesiae emolumenta, ut, omni deposito humano respectu, illi uni suffragium conferant, quem caeteris aptiorem et digniorem reputaverint.

Qui vero nonnisi digniores et Ecclesiae magis utiles promovendi sunt, tenentur electores candidatorum catalogo eos tantum inscribere, quos indicent omnibus qualitatibus ad Ecclesiam sancte sapienterque regendam necessariis reapse pollere. Si enim alios, de caetero bene meritos, sed ob proveciorem aetatem, vel

<sup>1</sup> Pro Regno Borussiae, 16 Iulii 1821.

<sup>2</sup> Pro Regno Hannoverae, 21 Martii 1824.

<sup>3</sup> Pro ecclesiastica provincia Rheni Superioris, 10 April 1827.

<sup>4</sup> Ad Capitula Regni Borussiae, 16 Iulii 1821.

<sup>5</sup> Ad Capitula provinciae Rheni Superioris, 28 Maii 1827.

adversam valetudinem, aut aliam ob causam, muneri impares, candidatis accenserent, Canonici periculo sese committerent ipsos demum inhabiles eligendi, cum summo Ecclesiae detrimento.

De Commissarii civilis interventu in electionibus, nihil iuris Gubernio attribuunt vel recognoscunt apostolicae Sedis acta et documenta, quae huc spectant. Quod si eiusmodi interventum plenae libertati electionum vel Ecclesiae dignitati quomodo-cumque officere contingat, Capitula id ferre nec possent nec deberent.

Speciatim, admittere nequit Apostolica Sedes, ut Canonici, dum electionem peractam Commissario significant, approbationem seu ratihabitionem quodammodo expostulent aut exquirere videantur civilis potestatis. Nec permitti potest, ut adstanti populo statim notificetur electio, velut completa et perfecta. Sed comitiorum exitus ita publicandus erit, ut simul declaretur capitularem actum suos canonicos effectus non sortiri, nisi quum a Summo Pontifice fuerit confirmatus. Proinde solemnitas et publica gratiarum actio, pro electione facta omnino differenda est, usque dum Apostolicae confirmationis certum habeatur nuncium.

Mandat denique Sanctitas Sua, ut harum litterarum exemplar in tabulario cuiusque Capituli diligenter asservetur, itemque praecipit, ut sede episcopali vacante, antequam de electione peragenda Canonici capitulariter pertractent, haec mea epistola simulque Breve ' Quod de fidelium ' vel ' Re sacra ' (pro diversitate loci) religiose et ad integrum perlegantur.

Haec omnia Beatissimus Pater praedictis Germaniae Capitulis per Episcopos singulos significari iussit: eaque Sanctitati Suae de Capitularium integritate, prudentia ac fide est opinio, ut ipsos apprime mandata eiusmodi servaturos, commissoque munere naviter perfuncturos esse minime dubitet.

Erit igitur Amplitudinis Tuae, Summi Pontificis nomine hac de re certiores facere Capitulares tuae iurisdictioni subiectos; dum sincerae aestimationis meae Tibi sensus ex animo profiteor.

Tuae Amplitudini

Romae, e Secretaria Status, die 20 Iulii 1900.  
addictissimus

M. Card. RAMPOLLA.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT IN GREEK.

By H. B. Swete. Cambridge University Press, 1900.

THIS is an admirable work, worthy both of the author's high reputation and of the great University to which he belongs. As a guide to the nature and history of the Greek versions, the Septuagint especially, it is far superior to many introductions that need not be mentioned. Not only are all the newest and best sources of information drawn upon here, but a vast amount of erudition is given to the world for the first time. This, indeed, was to be expected from a scholar of Dr. Swete's attainments.

The work before us may best be described as 'Prolegomena' to his critical edition of the Septuagint (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1895-1899). In his opening chapter he gives a detailed and most interesting narrative of the origin of this version. The story of Aristeas is discussed, and put aside. As the learned author says, page 19: 'Everything points to the conclusion that the version arose out of the needs of the Alexandrian Jews. Whilst in Palestine the Aramaic-speaking Jews were content with the interpretation of the *Methurgeman*, at Alexandria the Hebrew lesson was gladly exchanged for a lesson read from a Greek translation, and the work of the interpreter was limited to exegesis.' Where there is abundance of what is good, it is hard to make a selection, but we may say that a section that will be found to possess a special value is Part I., ch. v., which describes the uncial and the cursive MSS. of the Septuagint. Part II., ch. ii., also cannot fail to be of great use to the student, containing, as it does, an elaborate table (accompanied by explanations) of the chief instances of 'difference of sequence' in the Hebrew and Greek Bibles respectively. This is followed by a division entitled 'Differences of Subject-matter.' In the succeeding chapter, 'Books not included in the Hebrew Canon,' occurs one of the few blemishes to be found in the work. While treating of 2 Machabees, Dr. Swete says it is an 'inaccurate, and to some extent mythical panegyric of the patriotic revolt,' page 278. That an average non-Catholic should be under the erroneous impression that 2 Machabees was a merely human production, and of



the kind just alleged, might cause no surprise, but that a scholar of Dr. Swete's fame should express himself in this way is contrary to all our cherished anticipations. In several places of his book he shows implicitly respect and kindly feeling for the Catholic Church, and he knows that the Catholic Church venerates 2 Machabees as divine. The deuterо-canonіcity of the book is evidence only of either local or temporary doubts which in no way affected the belief of the universal and perpetual Church. Her Tridentine canon is the one that she received from the Apostles, and held through all the intervening ages. Even from lists of the sacred books in MSS., Fathers, and Synods, which Dr. Swete gives (pages 201-214), it is plain that 2 Machabees was regarded as inspired. Such is the power of the tradition, which Luther dared to oppose, that to the present day schismatical bodies in the East, though separated for centuries from the unity of the Church, retain the book. See Vigouroux, *Dict. de la Bible*, s. v. 'Canon,' or any similar work. On page 15, Dr. Swete speaks of 'the confessedly fictitious correspondence between Philadelphus and the Palestinian Jews in 2 and 3 Machabees.' The latter is one of the apocryphal books, with which we have nothing to do: we can only say that so far as we are aware, 2 Machabees contains no correspondence whatever between Philadelphus and the Palestine Jews, but if it did the correspondence could not be fictitious. With regard to the remark made on pages 251, 252, viz.:—'Ps. xiii. (xiv.) 3 a. c. This, the only long interpolation in the Greek Psalter, is found, upon examination, to be made up of Pss. v. 10b., cxxxix. (cxl.) 4b., ix. (x.) 17a., Isa. lix. 7, 8, Ps. xxxv. (xxxvi.) 1a., all taken from the LXX version with slight variations. That it never formed part of the Hebrew Psalm may be safely affirmed, yet it is quoted continuously in Rom. iii. 13, 18, where it follows without break upon an abridgment of Ps. xiii. (xiv.) 1, 3'; we may say that it was from the Epistle (in which St. Paul had quoted continuously all these texts) that the combination was inserted into the Septuagint Psalm. St. Jerome explains the matter to his disciple, St. Eustochius, thus:—'Non tam Apostolum de Ps. 13 sumsisse id quod in hebraico non habetur, quam eos qui artem contexendarum inter se Scripturarum Apostoli nesciebant, quaesisse aptum locum, ubi assumptum ab eo ponerent testimonium, quod absque auctoritate in Scriptura positum non putabant.' (In Isa. xvi., Prooem.). Nothing better in brief compass could be desired on 'The Greek of the Septuagint,' than

Part II., ch. iv. (pages 289-314), and the same must be said of ch. v., 'The Septuagint as a Version.' Among the contents of Part III., we would direct especial attention to ch. ii., 'Quotations from the Septuagint in the New Testament.' The student of the Gospels and Epistles will do well to keep this list open on his desk, and the student of the Old Testament will derive considerable help from the chapter on 'The Greek Versions as a help to Biblical Study.'

In a short notice such as this it is impossible to point out all the excellencies of this *Introduction*, but the scope of these observations will be attained, if it has shown that Dr. Swete's book is indispensable to those who take up the study of the Septuagint. The Appendix, which contains a critical edition of the letter of Aristeas, with an introduction by H. St. G. Thackeray, will be welcome to all professors in our seminaries.

R. W.

THE HISTORY OF CONFESSION TO A.D. 1215. By C. M. Roberts  
Cambridge University Press, 1901.

THIS little book contains evidence of wide reading. The author has brought together many passages from Scripture, the Fathers, the Councils, and the Penitentials. But his inference from these texts is erroneous; nor, indeed, is this to be wondered at, for, to understand the meaning and drift of some of them, an acquaintance with the technicalities of theology is required. The formulas of the Catholic Church, the witness to tradition found enshrined in the pages of her Doctors and Fathers, can be interpreted only by those who know the *mens et praxis Ecclesiae*. Above all, where there is question of a sacrament of the Church, an Anglican is almost sure to make mistakes. This is the reason why the author has failed to see the meaning of other passages. Nevertheless, though his book is so faulty, it is consoling to find an Anglican writing on a subject about which, until recently, the body to which he belongs knew next to nothing. His thesis which was that of the Reformers, is that until the thirteenth century sacramental confession, or confession made to a priest duly empowered to forgive sin, was not obligatory. He imagines that the confession 'made to God,' to use the expression of some of the Fathers, differs from the confession made to God's priests, of which they so often speak. He imagines also that confession in private to a priest for the purpose of obtaining absolution was

purely voluntary, and that non-sacramental confession in public was what was ordinarily taught and practised. His error arises partly, as we have seen, from a misconception of the passages he quotes, and partly from his not mentioning and discussing some most relevant passages. For instance, St. John xx. 23, where our Lord says that He sends His Apostles (*all of them priests*), as He Himself had been sent, and gives them the power of forgiving sin. And the correlative obligation of confessing to the priests of the Church is taught in St. James v. 14-16, to which he makes no allusion. Specific confession of sin is necessary, else the grant of judicial power to the Apostles and their successors in the priesthood would be nugatory. Another passage which must refer to sacramental confession has not been noticed by the author. It occurs in the Διαδαχη των Αποστολων xiv. 1. Κατα κυριακην δε κυριον συναχθεντες κλασατε αρτον και Ευχαριστησατε, προεξομολογησαντες τα παραπτωματα υμων, οπως καθαρα η υσια υμων η. Again, he fails to see that Origen, whom he quotes on page 33, is not speaking of 'voluntary confession before the Church,' and apparently, he is not aware that Origen (Hom. 2 in Lev. n. 4) explains St. James v. 16, of sacramental confession, and speaks too of the sinner not being ashamed to own his sin to the priest of God, and of thus obtaining pardon. The author does not mention Origen's first Homily on Psalm xxxvii., so we will give the words: 'Et ille quidem Christus αρχιατρος, qui posset curare omnem languorem et omnem infirmitatem, discipuli vero ejus, Petrus vel Paulus, sed et prophetæ, medici sunt, et hi omnes qui post Apostolos in ecclesia positi sunt quibusque curandorum vulnerum disciplina commissæ est, quos voluit Deus in ecclesia sua esse medicos animarum.' So too, though he quotes some words of St. Cyprian, he does not give this important passage:— 'Confiteantur singuli, quaeso, fratres, delictum suum, dum adhuc qui deliquit in seculo est, dum admitti ejus confessio potest, dum satisfactio et remissio facta per sacerdotes apud Deum grata est.' Nor does he tell his readers about these words of St. Hilary though he speaks of the saint on page 68: 'Ceterum extra veniam est, qui peccatum cognovit, nec cognitum confitetur' (in Psalm cxxxv. 3), and 'Confitendum enim crimen est, ut obtineatur et venia' (in Psalm cxviii.).

Nowhere will Mr. Roberts find it stated that the voluntary non-sacramental avowal of sin, to which he would fain refer many sayings of the Fathers, is stated to be capable of remitting guilt,



and to be necessary for salvation. As he mentions with approval, near the end of his work (page 114), the erroneous opinion of Gratian and of Peter Lombard about 'confession made to God,' perhaps we cannot conclude this short notice more suitably than by quoting the words of the Church's greatest theologian, St. Thomas of Aquin: '*Quod ponitur hic pro opinione, heresis est. . . . In talibus, antequam determinetur per ecclesiam, quod ex eis sequitur aliquid contrarium fidei, non judicatur heresis esse, sed nunc post determinationem ecclesiae sub Innocentio III. factam, heresis reputanda est.*'

R. W.

IRISH GRAMMAR. By the Christian Brothers. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

THIS Grammar does much to smooth the path of learners of Irish. It is concise, clear, and simple, yet exhaustive in its treatment of the various grammatical rules. A valuable feature is its wealth of illustration, each section being copiously illustrated by examples, all drawn from living phrases current among native Irish speakers. It thus fulfils the purpose of a phrase-book as well as of a grammar, and affords the diligent student copious materials for familiar Irish conversation. It is based throughout on the modern usage, and rightly discards all grammatical forms which, though found in books and commonly inserted in other grammars, are no longer heard in the popular speech in any part of Ireland. We note with pleasure that the recognised standard of spelling is adhered to, for we know that the eccentric and widely different systems of spelling followed by some 'modern' Irish writers have been a fruitful source of discouragement to many unfortunate beginners.

The author departs, in some instances, from the teaching and phraseology of the older school of Irish grammarians, and in most of these departures, as, for example, in his treatment of the verbal noun, and the dependent form of verbs, is, we think, fully justified in the light of recent investigations. The new theory regarding what is called here the 'indefinite' form of the verb, as distinct from the passive, is, however, more doubtful. We are astonished at the novel doctrine laid down regarding the possessive pronouns, *mo, oo, a*, etc. The author states (page 74) that the term 'possessive pronouns' is 'incorrectly' applied to these words. His argument is singular: 'The possessives in Irish can never stand

alone, hence they are not pronouns.' The same reasoning would exclude the corresponding English forms, *my, thy, her, our*, etc., from the category of pronouns. It is obvious, of course, that in Irish, as in English, these forms are used instead of the genitive case of the nouns to which they refer, and are, therefore, rightly called *pronouns*. The name of 'possessive pronouns' is given to the corresponding forms by grammarians in all languages, so far as we know.

We hope this book will have the large circulation which it deserves. The Christian Brothers, by producing it, have established an additional claim to the gratitude of Irishmen.

J. M.

**A MANUAL OF ASCETICAL THEOLOGY.** By the Rev. Arthur Devine, Passionist. London: R. & T. Washbourne, 4, Paternoster-row. New York: Benziger Brothers. Price, 7s. 6d., nett.

THE alternative title, namely, 'The Supernatural Life of the Soul on Earth and in Heaven' would, in our opinion, be more appropriate, and better adapted to give a clue to the contents of Father Devine's latest contribution to the Theological Literature of the day than the name under which it is introduced to the public. Briefly, Mystical Theology may be described as the practical science of the Higher Spiritual Life. Now, in the book before us, there is, it appears to us, a little too much of the speculative and too little of the practical to satisfy this definition. To quarrel, however, over a mere title, its aptness or the reverse, is ungenerous in a critic, especially when passing from the title-page to consider and analyze the six hundred neatly printed pages of carefully-chosen and well-written matter that compose the volume, he finds less to find fault with and more to admire. For we can truly say that the present work is destined to enhance the already well-established reputation of its author for ripe scholarship and sound theological knowledge.

The aim of the writer as revealed to us by a perusal of the book is to give an exposition, simple yet intelligent, of the fundamental principles of sacred science that lie at the very root of the Spiritual Life, to explain the lines along which that life is nourished and strengthened, and to indicate the nature of its final and complete consummation. The work is, accordingly, divided into three parts. The first treats of the beginnings of the

Supernatural Life, the sources from which it is derived and the processes of its development, and here we are at once initiated into the mysteries of Grace, its nature, kinds and effects. From this we pass to the virtues by an easy and natural transition. Their functions and offices are clearly indicated, and their classification is accomplished in a manner that lacks nothing in clearness and adequateness. In the course of this section our author discusses, in a learned way, questions about the states of nature, the total and adequate cause of supernatural acts, the relations between charity and sanctifying grace and the indwelling of God in the souls of the just, which if not altogether devoid of interest for the mystic in search of the Higher Life will assuredly not fail to stimulate the curiosity of the student eager to gather information on the debateable points of Scholastic Theology.

In the second part of the work the author treats of the increase of the Supernatural Life, and here he has many beautiful things to say, and he says them well. The doctrine of merit is fully and exhaustively discussed, and the Sacraments, as means of increasing the supernatural within us, are adequately dealt with. We admired especially the chapters dealing with the Blessed Eucharist, and of these we would emphasize in a marked way that one in which are explained the effects of this most august Sacrament. The third part is conversant with the soul in the enjoyment of its last end, and here we are again presented with many interesting problems discussed by the Scholastics about the Beatitude of the Just, nature of the Beatific Vision, qualities of the Glorified Body, and the meaning of seeing God 'face to face.'

For this brief and inadequate *resumé* of the contents of Father Devine's book it will be seen that the volume bristles with delightful discussions on many matters freely debated by theologians. Let us assure our readers that everything touched upon is handled with deftness and dexterity. The issues are plainly put, and in arguing his case the author holds no brief for any school, but is concerned solely with the merits of each particular question. Every opinion advanced, if not the commonly received one, has at any rate the guarantee of respectable authority, quotations at great length being introduced at intervals to drive home an argument. Some of these, however, are very long, and in view of the easy and pleasing style which our author commands we would prefer in many instances to see the pith and marrow of an external statement given in his own free and forcible manner.

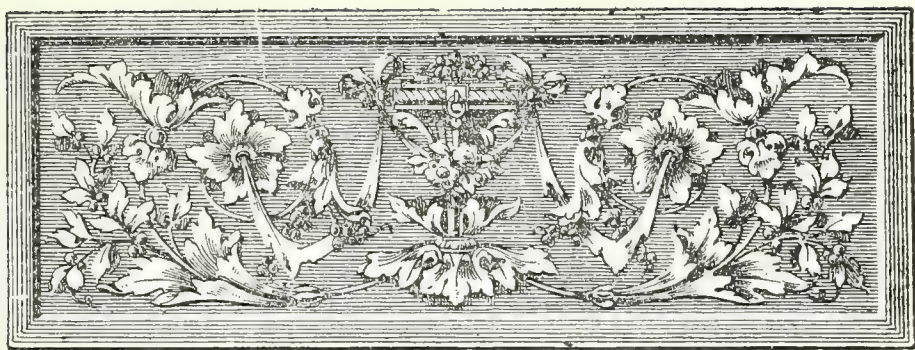
P. M.



THE LAST SUPPER. A Poem. By Rev. M. A. Murphy, C.C.,  
Freshford, Kilkenny. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 1902.

WE offer our sincere congratulations to Father Murphy on having produced at this very appropriate season a poem well worthy in its tender devotion, its pure and dignified verse, its elevated style, of the most sacred theme with which it deals. It required some courage to make the attempt in the rhyming pentameters of Pope and Goldsmith; but Father Murphy has shown how suitably all measures can be utilised for sacred purposes. Although St. Thomas was anything but a professional poet, yet it seems to us quite certain that no poet has ever expressed so aptly in verse as he has done the doctrine of the Church on the subject with which Father Murphy deals. Father Murphy, however, has been, in our opinion, exceedingly happy in his choice of words. And even though some of the expressions might be improved, there is nothing in the whole poem that gives the reader the least shock, or seems out of harmony with the subject or the spirit in which it should be approached. Father Murphy has dealt mainly with the historical aspect of the great event, and has gone through all the scenes and motives with the greatest care; but his lines on the Eucharist itself at the end are particularly sweet and well turned. It is long since we have read any verses composed by a priest that have given us so much pleasure.

J. F. H.



## IRELAND AND AMERICA

NOTES OF A MISSION TOUR IN THE STATES

### II

**I**N the February number of the I. E. RECORD I set down the defections from the Church in America during the last half-century as reaching the enormous figure of 10,000,000. Since uttering this opinion, I have received several friendly remonstrances, intimating, all of them, that I had taken too gloomy a view of the subject, and that I had over-stated a case which was surely bad enough without any exaggeration.

I need hardly say that nothing could give me greater pleasure than to find that these objections had something solid to rest on. In all that has been said or written to me, however, I cannot see any good reason for altering the estimate I have given. It can hardly be necessary to repeat, that I can form but a mere opinion in the matter, and that it would be extremely presumptuous on my part to hazard anything like a dogmatic statement on a subject which is necessarily intricate and obscure. Americans who make a special study of their religious statistics very often differ *toto coelo* in their estimates both of the actual number of Catholics in the country and of those who have been lost to the Church during the period referred to. Lamentably large as my estimate has been, some American Catholics have gone so far

as to double it, fixing the loss to the Church at 20,000,000. At the Catholic Congress held in Chicago in 1893 (in connection with the 'World's Parliament of Religions') this was mentioned as a 'conservative estimate.' Mr. M. T. Elder, of New Orleans, was very outspoken on the subject, as well as on the condition of Catholicity generally in the States. Some of his remarks deserve to be quoted if only for the flavour and vigour of their characteristic American phraseology.

When I see [said he] how largely Catholicity is represented among our hoodlum element I feel in no spread-eagle mood. When I note how few Catholics are engaged in honestly tilling the soil, and how many Catholics are engaged in the liquor traffic. I cannot talk buncombe to anybody. When I reflect that out of the 70,000,000 of this nation, we number only 9,000,000, and that out of that 9,000,000 so large a proportion is made up of poor factory hands, poor mill and shop and mine and railroad employées, poor Government clerks, I still fail to find material for buncombe or spread-eagle or taffy-giving.

On the other hand, Dr. Gilmary Shea, a most conscientious and painstaking writer, would seem to reckon our losses for the last eighty years at only about 4,000,000.

No doubt in making calculations one is strongly, though, of course, unwittingly, biassed by one's surroundings. One priest will take a very roseate view of the Church in America, both actual and prospective, while another will tell you unhesitatingly that the present condition of Catholicity in the States is bad and the outlook a hundred times worse. Not unnaturally they argue from the particular to the general, and each one looks on his own parish as the entire country in miniature. And if priests and laymen who are Americans, and who live in America, take such widely divergent views on the religious condition and the religious statistics of the country, a foreigner would be guilty of gross impertinence if he were to write as one having special or exclusive information. He can only form his opinion honestly from what he has seen and heard and read, and then allow it to be taken for what it is worth. Accepting even the most favourable view of the matter, there is unfortunately no room for doubting that millions have been lost



to the Church in America, a very large proportion of these millions being of Irish birth or blood.

Naturally we look for the causes of these alarming apostacies; and the inquiry, if we make it, will give us a further insight into the religious condition of America, and especially of Ireland in America. Here is a Church as perfectly organized as any in the world; fully equipped in every way for its warfare against error and sin; its universities, colleges, seminaries, orphanages, charitable homes, parochial schools, all in flourishing condition; its Press well and ably conducted; its religious associations numerous and active; its convents and monasteries all centres of light and piety; its twelve thousand priests pious, learned, exemplary, zealous; its one hundred archbishops and bishops, standing as faithful sentinels on the watch towers—ever ready to warn their flocks of the approach of the enemy, and to impede and bar his progress. How is it, that with great and powerful agencies like these, the outflow from the Church is so large and so continuous?

The causes are manifold and are not far to seek. We have but to open our eyes to see them. First of all I would point out that the moral atmosphere of the country seems to be charged with influences that are anti-Catholic and un-Christian. Worldliness, mammonism, naturalism, materialism seem to be among the chief elements that enter into the life of the people. Many are uncompromising infidels, and are proud to proclaim it. The late Colonel Ingersoll, charlatan though he was, had his hundreds of thousands of blatant atheistic followers scattered all over the States. In some of the large cities he was often able to address an audience of three or four thousand men, who were always ready to applaud his coarse blasphemies with enthusiasm, and to re-echo his ribaldries within the circles of their own influence.

The majority of Americans do not formally reject the Christian revelation; they regard it rather with a sort of mild approval. If their religion is Christianity, it is a Christianity very much diluted with scepticism; or it might be more accurately described as a Deism slightly tinged

with the teachings of the Gospel. The truth is, they trouble themselves very little about dogmas, or about the claims of the various sects in the country. They make up their minds that a man's religion is of little more account than the colour of his neck-tie or the cut of his frock coat. If they go to a place of worship on the Sunday it is usually to hear a smart discourse on some burning question of the hour, or on the depravity of some public man; or to enjoy the epigrams of some fashionable preacher, whose theological doctrine is as vague and vapid as his eloquence is pointed and sparkling. 'Never mind priests and churches,' they say; 'take no heed of the threats and promises of the preacher and the theologian; laugh alike at their blazing hell-fire and their psalm-singing paradise. Be a good citizen; a faithful husband, an affectionate father, a loyal friend, and then God will never trouble to inquire into your religious opinions.'

I do not know whether the independence and self-reliance engendered by republican institutions lead to freedom of thought in matters religious, but the American does seem to think that he ought to be quite as unfettered in theology as in politics; and that he has as much right to choose his religion as he has to vote for his favourite politician.

We, Americans [you are told], are not to be 'bluffed' into any form of religion, and we are not to be caught by any of the venerable but incredible stories of your Scriptures. We are a smart people, sir. We test and we sift all things. We know what is false and we reject it: we cling to the true. We can tell at a glance the real coin of historic and religious truth, while we can just as easily detect the counterfeit that so often passes current in its stead. No, don't you try to make our countrymen believe what is unbelievable.

Yet, curious psychological fact, these very Americans, so smart and sharp and wide-awake and hard-headed and incredulous, often prove themselves the simplest and the most guileless people in the world in matters which are outside the range of revealed truth or of Church authority. America is pre-eminently the country of cheats and charlatans. They flourish there as they do nowhere else. During my stay in Boston the city was thrown into

unwonted excitement by a mountebank who had just founded a new religion called 'The Holy Ghost and Us.' (He might have spared himself the trouble, as there were already about four hundred new religions in the country.) He spoke every evening to the third Person of the Blessed Trinity as to an intimate friend. He proclaimed that whatever he asked, be it a piano or an arm chair or a phonograph or a Bible, the Holy Ghost was sure to hand it down 'right away.' If we may credit the Boston newspapers of the day this man was one of the most marvellous personalities of the century, and one of the most successful. The *élite* of the city, we were told, became his ardent disciples, and at the night services held in a theatre ladies smothered him with showers of dollars and gold pieces and pearls and diamonds. As this happened two years ago, the new religion no doubt is now dead and forgotten. While we were giving a Mission in the same sanctimonious city, a 'reverend' faith-healer was arrested by the police for swindling. His tactics were simplicity itself. If you suffered from consumption or cancer or a broken leg or a broken heart, you had simply to write to him, telling him the nature of your complaint, promising never to consult a doctor, and—enclosing one dollar. The moment you received his formal acknowledgment you were healed! At the time of his arrest this modern thaumaturgus was in the receipt of two thousand dollars a week. He complained piteously to the Irish policeman who took him into custody that he was in very bad health, and that imprisonment would certainly be his death, receiving the characteristic reply that he had only to write himself a letter and that he would be all right on the instant. An adventurer of a different character plied a very brief but successful trade while I was in Brooklyn. He had discovered a marvellous way of investing money, and offered 10 per cent. per week to his clients. Will it be believed that streams of gold flowed into his coffers at once, and that when he decamped with 90 per cent. of his receipts he was richer by some hundreds of thousands of dollars?

Yet it is the dupes of glaring frauds like these who will loftily inform you that the Christianity, whose historic



evidences and moral and doctrinal beauties captivated the intellects of such men as St. Augustin, St. Thomas of Aquin, Bossuet, Newton, Pascal or Newman, does not come up to the level of their requirements and does not satisfy their critical acumen.

A man may, by taking certain poisons in very minute quantities, succeed by-and-bye in drinking with impunity a dose which would be fatal to another. The Irish exile leaves his native shores full of faith in the word of God and in the teachings of His Church. As soon would he doubt that the sun shines in the firmament as question the truth of a single article of his religion. He first tastes poison in swallowing a large and deadly potion. He had never in his life heard a word uttered against the fundamental truths of Christianity, and he finds himself suddenly thrust in amongst a multitude of men who believe in nothing. They are men too, perhaps, who are his superiors in point of intelligence and education, and who are irreproachable in the matter of some of the coarser vices, such as drunkenness. These men assail his faith from every point; they laugh at him or express a supercilious pity for the fools who, like him, believe as eternal truths the fables which have so ably been held up to scorn by Robert Ingersoll and others. What is he to do? How is he to answer? Of course he learned his catechism in Ireland and understands all that the catechism teaches, but he is utterly unequipped for polemics of this sort. He could knock a man down that insulted his faith, but he is not fit to enter into the arena of argument with the trained athletes of atheism or agnosticism. He is beaten again and again in the wordy strife, and is driven from the field amid the jeers of the enemy. But the foundation of doubt has been laid within his soul. He has taken his first draught of poison. By-and-bye it will do its deadly work.

Indifferentism, too, is a great irreligious force in America, and one with which the Irish immigrant is very soon called on to do battle. The indifferentist is a more insidious, a more covert, and in this way a more dangerous foe than the open atheist. He fights religion behind a mask of religion.

He expresses very kindly his approval of Christianity, but his uncompromising hatred for all Christian sects or churches in particular, especially for the one Church which professes to have authority from God to enlighten men's minds and to curb the unruly desires of their hearts. 'Be anything you like,' he says, 'but a bigot, and a bigot is a man who has more faith in his own church than in any other. Above all things let us insist in this free country on complete religious freedom'—which in his mouth means complete freedom from religion.

It is easy to see how, in a country so very generally in the grasp of atheism and heresy, the Catholic runs a grave risk of being swept by the forces around him into the vortex of unbelief, or into a religious indifferentism which is little better than downright infidelity.

With the loss of faith disappears the purity of morals. Infidelity and immorality act and re-act one upon the other. It is not always easy to know which is the cause and which the effect. Sometimes infidelity leads to immorality, but very generally the case is reversed. What is a more effective sedative for an alarmed and troublesome conscience than to believe that neither here nor beyond the grave is there a Justice to punish the wicked and reward the good?

I do not know whether America is better or worse in morals than certain countries of the Old World. Unfortunately, vice is a plant that is indigenous to every soil, and it is not always easy to tell where it strikes its roots deepest or spreads its branches widest. I will only state what is the general feeling in the country itself, and it is that the widespread immorality of American cities is something horrible. The casual observer does not see much to offend the eye. Outside of the slums and dens of infamy which are haunted only by the lowest and most abandoned of the criminal classes, everything seems decent and orderly. In the public streets of New York or Boston or Chicago, you meet with no such disgusting evidences of profligacy as you see in some of the best streets of London, and alas! sometimes in some of the best streets of Dublin,

too. In the state of Massachusetts, and, I believe, throughout New England generally, some of the old Puritan laws are still in full force and activity. The slightest familiarity amongst the sexes, for instance, is punished most rigorously, not by fine, but by imprisonment; and when I was in Boston a great, but unavailing outcry was raised in the Press because two school children, as they were called, had been sentenced to a month's imprisonment for having kissed each other playfully in the public street. In the same State, seduction, concubinage, drunkenness, and other irregularities are punished by long terms of imprisonment or penal servitude. The Sabbath must be observed with even more pharisaical strictness than it is, or rather has been, in Scotland; and woe to you if you sit down even in your own house to have a quiet game of chess or cards or billiards with the members of your own family. The prying policeman will hale you before a judge, and will have you punished as a law breaker and branded as a criminal.

Yet, these towns and cities, externally so decorous, are but 'whited sepulchres, which, indeed, appear beautiful outward, but within are full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness.'

What is most lamentable in this is the precocious depravity of the young. Doctors and others conversant with the subject, will tell you that it is only too common to find lads of fifteen or sixteen years of age who have been initiated into some of the worst mysteries of iniquity. We hear much of the glorious independence of the American girl who needs no chaperon, who is able to take care of herself, and who scorns the platitudes of Mrs. Grundy. If mothers in Ireland knew what this 'independence' means for their daughters how their hearts would ache, and how they would curse the causes, whether political or economic, that drove their innocent girls from under their roof.

I do not care to say more on this very delicate and unpleasant subject. My only reason for referring to it, is to point out that it is one of the causes of the defection of



Catholics from the Church. They know that it is useless to be Catholics in name if they are open rebels to the Church and her doctrines. They know that to be Catholics they must go to confession, and they know that confession necessarily means the fixed determination to lead a good, clean, Christian life. This resolution they are not prepared to take; and to go on satisfying the lower instincts of their nature, they end by giving up their faith and ceasing to profess any sort of religious belief. Why should they not live like all those around them? They are but eddies in the stream, and how can they struggle against the current that bears them on?

Political corruption, too, plays a not insignificant part in the spiritual ruin of Catholics in the States. Fortunately or unfortunately, Irishmen are born politicians. In American cities they are far and away the sharpest and the ablest political organizers to be found. The mere Yankee is but a babe in their hands. Say what you will about Tammany Hall, for instance—and Tammany Hall, I think, is not half as black as it is painted—there is no doubt in the world that it has been, and still is, in spite of a recent check, the most perfect and the most powerful political association in the country.

But I fear that it would be very difficult to reconcile American politics, such as we find them, with the principles and practices of Catholics. It would not be true to say that every city politician in America is a knave, but one might safely assert that every knave is anxious to have something to say to city politics. In America politics are a game; the rules are loose and the stakes are high. Every situation has its price. Without money you can no more become a street scavenger in Chicago than you can become a senator at Washington. In proportion, of course, to the emoluments of the office is the amount of money that you must hand over either to an individual or to the particular party that has favoured you. The bribe is called by other names, but a bribe it continues to be all the same. In New York and other places the Irish are adepts in carrying out these 'duties' of citizenship, and the native Americans hate our

countrymen only because they are unable to cope with their tactics. The institutions and customs of the country give occasion, if not encouragement, to this system of bribery. A Republican becomes mayor of a city, and he proceeds forthwith to clear all his political opponents out of their various offices. In a year or two a Democrat takes his place, and a similar process is repeated. At every election dollars are flying about thick as leaves in autumn, most of them falling to the share of the most dishonest and corrupt. If the confessional stands in the way of these practices, then the confessional must be set aside, and the Catholic who deliberately sets aside the confessional has taken one great and dangerous step towards the complete abandonment of his faith.

In my former paper, I mentioned incidentally that the Irishman falls very easily and speedily under the spell of American manners and habits. He goes out to America as to an El Dorado in every sense of the word. Not only is America a country teeming with wealth and pulsating with industrial activity, but it is, moreover, the land of the free, where no government will dare oppose the will of the people, and where landlord tyranny exists only as a bad dream. Whatever he sees in the great Republic he is ready to admire, and whatever he admires he is eager to imitate. One of his terrors is to be taken as a green stranger from beyond the Atlantic, and one of his ambitions is to be undistinguishable from the native population. I have met young men who had not been a year in America, and but for an occasional sweet note of their South of Ireland Doric I should have taken them to be typical Americans. Their gait, their manner, their physical appearance, their language, their gestures, their up-to-date American words and phrases—all showed how swiftly they had been absorbed by the population around them. It is like the limpid streams that rush down our Kerry hills only to be lost in the bitter waters of the ocean. As was remarked some time ago by a smart Dublin weekly review, the gastric juices of Uncle Sam are very powerful, and much as he swallows he is able to digest all. Every year some half-million of Europeans are swept

into his Gargantuan stomach, but he assimilates them all and transmutes them into a new ethnic product which is neither Irish, nor German, nor English, nor French, but purely and simply American. There are exceptions. Some do escape this Americanizing process. Even in the heart of New York I met some Scottish Highlanders, as they loved to call themselves, who, though natives of Nova Scotia or Prince Edward Island, were just as Scottish as if they had always trod their ancestral heath. They knew hardly a word of English, but that did not seem to disconcert them in the least, or to interfere with them in their daily avocations.

The French Canadians, too, have a most decided objection to be Americanized. They are a people within a people. They live their own lives and pursue their own ideals. They have their own language as it was spoken in the court of Louis le Grand, and they cling to it loyally and fondly. Wherever they are in any considerable numbers, they form a little Canada, living in the same locality, working in the same mills or factories, having their own churches, their own priests, their own schools; and not a word of English is spoken in church or school or home. I noticed this especially in Lowell, Mass., where I spent some considerable time. There are Canadian 'stores' in Lowell where the shop assistants will condescend to answer a question in English, never giving utterance in that tongue to what is not commercially necessary. Some tradesmen go so far even as to make an attempt at translating into English the French wording of their projecting sign boards. The effort is not always a brilliant success, and I remember being struck especially with an advertisement board which showed on one side the words, '*C. Mangin, Réparateur des tuyaux,*' and on the other, the laconic, if misleading, translation: '*C. Mangin, a Piper.*' In this city of Lowell, you can see at a glance the contrast between the Canadians and the Irish. There are about twenty-five thousand of each race in the city, the Irish mostly of American birth. They are all Catholics, and nearly all good practical Catholics, too. The Canadians live in a section of the city which is appropriately called *Little Canada*; the Irish have no



special quarters of their own. The Canadians preserve intact their national individuality, the Irish are identified with the Americans. The Canadians are Republicans in politics, while the Irish are almost invariably Democrats. The Irish look down on the Canadians as poor, spiritless creatures, who know nothing of the dignity or the rights of labour, and who are always ready to turn every strike to advantage by doing the blackleg or the Chinaman. The Canadians retort that the Irish are a factious, blustering, discontented race, who cannot appreciate the advantage of a fair day's wages with continuous work. The Canadians have their eyes for ever turned beyond the waves of the St. Laurence, and dream of the day when they shall be able to return to their beloved Canada with sufficient money to purchase and to stock a farm; the Irish hardly ever think of settling down in Ireland. The Irish and the Canadians of Lowell seem, indeed, to agree only upon one point, and that is their dislike of the Anglo-Saxon. For Canadian loyalty to Great Britain, as far as I could discover, both in the States and in Canada, exists only in the imagination of the self-complacent Englishman. The Canadian hates equally the Englishman and his language.

As I have intimated, ignorance of English seems in no way to interfere with the Canadian's industrial or commercial pursuits, while the use of his own language exclusively is a grand safeguard both of his faith and of his patriotism. If Irish emigrants had only the common bond of their own beautiful tongue, they would be at once more Irish and more Catholic than they are. But I must not make an incursion into the kingdom of the Gaelic League; and as a set off to some of these language remarks, I may mention that in another city of Massachusetts (Salem), I learned that as late as the eighteenth century out of twenty women who were burned alive for witchcraft, there were three Irish ladies, the only evidence against whom was that they spoke in a tongue which they could have learned only from Satan! The knowledge of Irish had its occasional drawbacks in times gone by. At the present

time I am quite satisfied that were the Irish in America to imitate the Canadians and others and speak only in the tongue of their fathers, they would not be a whit less prosperous in their temporal affairs, while they would gain immensely from a religious and moral point of view.

I might add from an Irish national point of view. We are inclined to boast sometimes of the Greater Ireland beyond the seas and of our ten or twenty million brethren who live and flourish under the folds of the Stars and Stripes. I fear that there is a considerable amount of delusion in the pride and hope that we love to centre in American Ireland. In the great body of the Irish born in America you will find very little Irish feeling or sentiment. Ireland is for them little more than a geographical sign. They know nothing of her history or of her ancient glories. They have heard of her only in connection with oppression and poverty and famine and begging. They regard her as the Cinderella of the nations, as condemned for ever to helpless misery and slavery. You meet O'Briens, O'Connors, O'Flahertys, O'Rorkes, who would feel it an insult to be called Irish. You will find a number of still more recreant Irishmen who try to hide every trace of their nationality under the veil of an American name and who drop their O's and their Mac's as light-heartedly as our friends across the Channel drop their h's. Thus it is not unusual to find that Joseph O'Reilly becomes Ebenezer Riley, that Andrew Power develops into Aaron Powell and that James O'Keeffe blossoms into Job Quaiffe.

I saw evidences in various ways of this lack of Irish sentiment amongst the Irish-Americans. I was present at concerts organized and conducted exclusively by Irish-American Catholics, and there was not a song or a tune to bring back the memory of the old country. Worse still, at some entertainments held in Catholic assembly rooms, I saw specimens of the stage Irishman that were fit to grace the boards of the low London music hall. I saw some monster processions passing through the streets of Chicago and Boston, in which there were some thirty or forty military and other bands, some of them bands of Irish

regiments, and these bands regaled us with the music of every country but Ireland. As far as I could see the Ancient Order of Hibernians—much patronized by bishops and priests—and certain purely political associations which regard the overthrow of England as a necessary step to the relief of Ireland, seem to have a monopoly of Irish patriotism amongst the American-born Irish. The great body of the Irish in America entertain for their mother country at most but a feeling of Platonic benevolence. They all hate England to their hearts' core but that does not in all cases imply a passionate love for Ireland. Since the failure of Stephens, and still more since the downfall of Parnell and the consequent split of Irish Nationalists, they seem to have lost all practical interest in the old country. They are Americans and Americans without any hyphenic qualification. The man who first saw the light of day in a poor-house or a prison does not care to be reminded of his birthplace. I am afraid it is the feeling of the majority of the American Irish.

This attitude is, I think, rather encouraged than opposed by the clergy generally. 'We want no Irish here,' said a most estimable priest to me, himself the son of Irish parents, 'nor Dutchmen, nor Italians, nor Poles, nor Frenchmen. We want Americans and Americans only. It is the first civic duty of every immigrant to our shores to become an American.' I have heard some Irish-born priests express the same conviction in language much more emphatic and rather less flattering to Ireland. Now with all respect for those who hold such opinions, I differ from them entirely as far as Irish immigrants are concerned—and I deal in these papers only with Irish immigrants. The Irishman who has no love for his country has very little for his Church. Get an Irishman to deny his country to-day and he will deny his faith to-morrow. In his mind Ireland and Catholicity have always been in some way identified. To despise one is to undervalue the other. I have noticed the fact repeatedly not only in America, but in England and Scotland. Whenever I heard an Irishman making little of his own country, and apologising as it were for his birthplace ;



or whenever I saw him spelling his name Morphy instead of Murphy or Daniel instead of O'Donnell I always concluded that if he was a bad Irishman he was a worse Catholic; and I do not know that I was ever mistaken. I dissent with some diffidence on this point from most of my clerical brethren in America, but I believe that those who best understand the genius and character of our people will say that my disagreement is not without a good and solid foundation.

No doubt the Irish immigrant must be thoroughly American in the sense of being thoroughly loyal to his adopted country, and of being always ready, as he always has been, to discharge all the duties of American citizenship, even, if necessary, to the shedding of his blood on the battle-field. But loyalty to the new country need not quench his love for the old. The two virtues can very well live in harmony together and I can see no likelihood of their ever coming into conflict. Might one take a broader and a higher view of the situation (some no doubt will call it a mere flight of foolish fancy) and think what the United States would be to-day, if the Irishman from the beginning had undertaken to mould the American character instead of passively receiving its impress? There is no doubt that the race of the original colonial settlers is fast dying out and that before very long the Yankee will become as rare as the Red Indian, on the banks of the Hudson. Who more fitted to take his place than the Irish Celt who, unlike the Anglo-American, seems destined to enjoy the freshness and vigour of perpetual youth? If the Irish immigrant had only retained his home virtues and his spiritual and religious ideals, and combined with these virtues and ideals the energy, the activity, the enterprise, the industry, the grit, the progressiveness of the American, then you would have an America that would indeed be the world's glory, and an Ireland beyond the seas not only in name but in deed. Is this a mere echo of a fond dream, or may we reckon it amongst the might-have-beens of the recent past or amongst the possibilities of the not distant future?

[To be continued.]

M. F. SHINNORS, O.M.I.

## ST. ASSICUS

FIRST BISHOP AND PATRON OF THE DIOCESE OF ELPHIN

SCARCE any vestige of any ancient building can now be traced in Elphin or its immediate neighbourhood. The Protestant Church authorities, who so long held absolute sway there, seem to have effectively removed them all. The arx or dun of the noble druid Ono has long since been levelled to the ground. It has been stated that Ono's fort stood where the pound is at present, and that this was also the site of the College of St. Assicus, because the castle of Elphin stood there, and the field lying to the east is called the *Castle garden* in all the leases granted by the Protestant bishops who held it. But this was the site of the residence of some of the Protestant bishops. It was erected by bishop King (1611-38). The castle was delivered into the hands of of the Lord-President of Connaught in 1645 by the Protestant bishop Tilson, who retired to England. His son became Governor of Elphin, and declared for the Parliament. This building, and not Ono's fort or castle, seems to have given its name to Castle-street and Castle Gardens. In my opinion, Ono's residence and the monastery and college of St. Assicus stood in Abbey Cartron, separated from the pound only by the roadway, and may have given name to that small town-land of about thirty acres, even before the Franciscans came to Elphin; and the Franciscan monastery afterwards stood on the site of the college of St. Assicus, in Abbey Cartron.<sup>1</sup> O'Donovan, in his letters from Elphin, during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1837, writes: An Inquisition 27th Elizabeth, finds that the Abbey of Elphin belonged to the Order of St. Dominic, with a church cloister, and dormitory, with the half cartron of land adjacent thereto. This is the land now called Abbey Cartron.

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<sup>1</sup> By advice of the Saint (Patrick) Assicus introduced here a celebrated college of monks and presided over them. In process of time this became a parish church, and was dedicated to the original founder. About the year 1450, Cornelius, then bishop of the see, with the consent of the canons and inhabitants, granted this church to the Conventual Franciscan Friars, Coenobium Sti Patricii.—Archdall's *Monasticon*, pp. 609, 610; *Tr. Th.* pp. 89 139.

Archdall and O'Donovan, I believe, are in error when they state that the Dominicans ever had an abbey or cloister in Elphin. Burke, in the *Hibernia Dominicana*, makes no mention of any Dominican foundation in Elphin. The appendix to Fr. Malone's *History of the Church of Ireland* seems to give a full list of monasteries and religious houses from the arrival of the English to the end of the fifteenth century. There is no mention of any Dominican convent in Elphin. D'Alton's *Annals of Boyle* treat of many inquisitions of that date: there is no record of a Dominican Abbey at Elphin. The learned Dr. Boethius Egan, who was bishop of Elphin in the time of Colgan, and whose approbation and signature are prefixed to the autograph of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, in his very full *relatio* written in 1637, gives no Dominican house as having ever been in Elphin. 'Sequitur hic,' he writes, 'completus numerus prioratuum et conventuum, necnon religiosarum mulierum locorum in hac dioecesi situatorum.' He then enumerates Dorean (Derrane), Cluaintuskert, Kilmore, Inchmacrinen, etc., and continues: 'Ordinis S.P. Dominici quinque sunt Prioratus; scilicet, Prioratus de Roscommon, Prioratus de Tuillsge [Tulsk, Prioratus de Chinseamhuile (Cloonshanville), Prioratus de Balliniduin [Ballindoon], et Prioratus de Sligo. Unicus Conventus ord. Seraphici P.N. Francisci, situatus in civitate Elphinen., estque de Observantia. Omnia praedicta loca, laus Deo, hoc tempore possidentur a Protestantibus, imo et a temporibus ferme regis Henrici VIII.'<sup>1</sup> There is no local tradition in Elphin that a

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<sup>1</sup> *Spicilegium Ossoriense*. Colgan says, *Trias Thaumaturga, Septima Vita Patricii*, pars. ii., p. 176, note 75: 'Ailfin is to this day an episcopal See of ample extent in Connaught, of which Boethius Egan of our Order of Friars Minor of the Stricter Observance, a man venerable for his merits, is at this day bishop.' And again, p. 564: 'In catalago Ecclesiarum dioecesis Ailfinensis transmisso mihi a Reverendissimo Alfinen. Episcopo, fratri Boetio Aegano, viro plane non tantum de Ordine nostro Seraphico, ex quo ad id munus assumptus est, sed et de tota patria bene merito, reperio S. Brigidam in singulis harum, Ecclesiarum tanquam loci Patronam coli.'

Kilneagoone, in O'Flanagan's country, which O'Donovan, *Four Masters*, vol. iii., p. 448, following the Inquisition of Elizabeth, as quoted by Archdall, p. 610, says belonged to the Dominican Abbey of Elphin, belonged, I have little doubt, to the Franciscan Abbey.



Dominican Convent was ever there. Archdall<sup>1</sup> states that the possessions of the Dominicans were granted to Terence O'Beirne, the same person to whom D'Alton says the possessions of the Franciscans were given. I conclude, therefore, that in the Inquisition quoted by Archdall, a mistake has somehow been made, and Dominic substituted for Francis.

In the Renahan MSS.,<sup>2</sup> in Maynooth College Library, I find the following reference to the foundation of the Franciscans at Elphin: William O'Reilly, the deposed Provincial of the Franciscans, now Vicar of the Observants, petitioned for, and obtained, on the 23rd of April, 1450, license from Nicholas V. to erect a convent for Observants in the province of Tuam; either in Killala, Achonry, or Elphin, in neither of which was there any house of the Order. But, says Wadding, 'it does not appear where it was built. I know there was a convent in Elphin, from the ruins of which the Protestant bishop erected a profane or private house; but I find no more about it.' On the 16th of October, 1453, the same William O'Reilly, reinstated as Provincial, obtained leave from Nicholas V. to establish a convent of Observants in the city of Elphin. The Bull, *Sacrae religionis*, states that Cornelius, bishop of Elphin, lately gave for this purpose the parish church of St. Patrick, with the consent of his Chapter and of the perpetual Vicar and of the citizens, who also gave certain lands held of the bishop, free from all rent and incumbrance, to be converted to the use of a Convent of Minors to be established. The Bull allows O'Reilly, whom it regularly styles Provincial of Ireland, to erect three or four other convents in the province of Tuam, in such places as he should find convenient. The Bull is directed to the bishop of Clonfert (the bishop of Elphin being at the Curia; for the Bull says: *Nuper venerat frater noster Cornelius Egan*). Ware writes:<sup>3</sup> Cornelius, bishop of Elphin, built a monastery for the Minorities at Elphin about 1450, in the place where before stood the parish church of St. Patrick. We have seen that

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<sup>1</sup> *Monasticon Hibernicon*, p. 610.

<sup>2</sup> Renahan MSS., p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Ware, *Bishops*, p. 9.

the site of the original church built by St. Patrick and over which he placed St. Assicus, and which became the cathedral church of the diocese of Elphin, was that of the present Protestant church of Elphin, the title of which now is : *Ecclesia Catholica Beatae Virginis Mariae*.<sup>1</sup> It was a place of great importance after the union of the minor sees of Roscommon, Ardcardne, Drumcliff, and other bishoprics of less note with it, which must have taken place in the twelfth century.

Ware<sup>2</sup> also states that by these unions the see of Elphin was at last esteemed one of the richest of all Ireland, and had about seventy-nine parish churches under it.<sup>3</sup> The Four Masters describe the church as the Great Church in 1235, and speak of the Bishop's Court at Elphin in 1258. It had its dean and chapter at this time, as we learn from the mandate of Innocent IV., dated Lyons, July 3, 1245, to the Archbishop of Tuam, notifying him that the Pope had annulled the election of the provost of Roscommon to the see of Elphin, and ordering him to appoint Archdeacon John, postulated by Malachy, dean, John and Clare, archdeacons, and Gilbert, treasurer, and to consecrate same.<sup>4</sup>

The question arises: Was it the church erected by St. Patrick, the Great Church, Teampuill-Phadruig, afterwards St. Mary's Church, the cathedral that bishop Cornelius Egan delivered to the Franciscan Friars? It is evident that the church given to the Friars was not the Cathedral of St. Patrick, but the Abbey, as D'Alton calls it. The ruins of the ancient College of St. Assicus, in Abbey Cartron, thus became the Franciscan Convent of Elphin, and was dedicated to the original founder, St. Patrick.<sup>5</sup> We find in the Four Masters

<sup>1</sup> In the Elphin *Taxation* of Boniface VIII. (which does not contain the revenue of bishop or chapter), the first item is 'St. Mary of Elphin,' valued at 10s. 8d.; the third, 'the church of St. Patrick of Elphin,' valued at 8s. 8d. (*Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, 1302-7, p. 223.)

<sup>2</sup> *Bishops*, Elphin, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9. The *Taxation* had 89 churches (one was illegible to the Rolls' editors). The statement in reference to wealth, it has to be admitted, is not borne out by the return: 'sum total of taxation of diocese of Elphin, 69l. 7s. 4d.' (p. 225.)

<sup>4</sup> Theiner, *Monumenta*, etc., p. 44.

<sup>5</sup> *Vide ante*, p. 400.

the entries: 1463, Gilchrist Mac Edigan [Egan] Vicar of St. Patrick's Church at Elphin, and a canon chorister died. 1488, Cathal Mac Edigan [Egan], Vicar of St. Patrick's Church, and a canon chorister in Elphin, died. In the Annals of Duald Mac Firbis, at 1461, we have Muirgeas [Maurice], William O'Flanagan's son, priest of Shankill, and the chiefe of the quire in Elphin, quievit and the said kill or church was burnt in harvest following.

Therefore, after the transfer, the Cathedral of St. Patrick remained in the possession of the Bishop and his chapter. Father Hugh Ward, writing in 1630, says: XXI. Elphin. In the reign of Elizabeth, in 1563, the Protestant bishop of that see drove out the Friars and did not leave a stone of the convent standing; with the materials building a residence for himself. Wadding also, as we have seen, says<sup>1</sup> that the Protestant bishop erected a private or profane house for himself from the ruins of the Franciscan convent of Elphin. This was certainly not on the site of the ancient Church of St. Patrick. It is not by any means clear who the Protestant bishop was who drove out the Franciscans. I am inclined to think that Ward has made a mistake in the date.<sup>2</sup> Canon Mannion, parish priest of Elphin, has now in his possession an ancient chalice with the inscription: Orate pro anima Aeneae Conry sacerdotis qui me fieri fecit ad usum Conventus Sti. Francisci de Elfin. Anno Dni. 1670—from which it appears that, as in Boyle the Cistercians, so in Elphin the Franciscans, long kept watch and ward over the site of their abbey, hoping in vain for better times. The Conrys or O'Mulconrys, of Cloonahee, near Elphin, were the hereditary Ollavs of Sil-Murray, or the Connaught O'Conors and their co-relatives. In the church built on the site presented by Ono, was preserved from the time of St. Patrick the chief relic of Connaught, namely, the Buacach-Patraig, Patrick's cap or mitre. In the *Annals of the Four Masters*, anno 1406, it is recorded that in a battle fought in that year at Geashill, King's County, this

<sup>1</sup> Wad., tom. xii. 187. Reg. 589.

<sup>2</sup> Lynch says in his MS. Hist.: The first attempt at introducing a Protestant prelate into the (Elphin) see was made in 1583, when the Lord Deputy chose a certain McKeever to fill the see.



relic was taken from the English. 'Besides the loss of their men,' says MacGeoghegan's translation of the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, 'they also lost one of the relics of St. Patrick, which before remained at Elfyn, until it was lost by them that day, which was computed to be the chiefest relicke of all Connaught.' Ware says:—

Elphin, or as others write it Elfyn, is situated on a rising ground in a pleasant and fertile soil. St. Patrick built the Cathedral Church there about the middle of the fifth century, near a little river flowing from two fountains, and set Asic, a monk, over it, who was a great admirer of penance and austerity; and by him consecrated bishop, who afterwards filled it with monks. He died in Rath-cung in Tirconnell, where he was also buried. Some say that this Assic (the correct form) was a most excellent goldsmith, and by his art beautified the Cathedral with six pieces of very curious workmanship.<sup>1</sup>

The *little river* of Ware and the *spring* of the *Tripartite* and O'Flaherty, are the present stream from St. Patrick's Well; and the two fountains were no more than two fissures in the *Ail* out of which two tiny streams flowed separately for a short distance, when they united. This is the case to the present time. The water flowing from the spot where the *Ail* stood is conveyed in two covered drains as far as the water-shed. The original fissures in the rock did not contain much water at any time; and, as described by a nonogenarian who had drawn water from it, the *ail* was a large rock considerably raised over the surface of the surrounding earth, and in its centre or between its shafts, were the fissures or crannies from which sprang the *clear* water that produced the rivulet. This celebrated rock, which, together with the crystal stream that flowed from it, has given a name to the most ancient diocese of Connaught, was shattered to pieces by the application of blasting powder, by Rev. William Smith, Protestant Vicar-General of Elphin, between the years 1820 and 1830. Owing to this vandalism, there is now no trace of the *Ail-finn* or Rock of the Clear Spring. It is a mistake to say that, when it was broken, the *Ail* stood several perches

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<sup>1</sup> Ware, *Bishops*, Elphin, p. 9.

from the present St. Patrick's Well at Elphin. It stood close beside the well. I have seen the roots or the part of the rock beneath the surface of the earth which had been dug to erect a new fountain over the well. I have also seen portion of a stone crucifix, dug up at the same time, which once had stood over the Holy Well of St. Patrick and St. Assicus (and had doubtless been also shattered by the men of England), now in possession of the Very Rev. Canon Mannion, parish priest of Elphin. O'Flaherty, in his *Ogygia*,<sup>1</sup> says that a person predicted the falling of this stone on a certain day, and that it fell on that day [Wednesday], 9th of October, 1675. But there were two remarkable stones in Elphin, one over St. Patrick's Well, and the other in the middle of the town. Near Elphin is the townland of Lahausk, *i.e.* Leacht h As[i]c; flag-stone of Assic. The tradition is that the place was so called, because St. Assicus, in the course of his missionary labours, broke his leg on a flag there.

It remains to deal with the attempt to identify Assicus or Assic with Tassach, who administered the viaticum to St. Patrick. The accessible authorities for Tassach are :

(1.) Irish Hymn of Fiac on St. Patrick :—

Tassach remained with him (Patrick),  
When he gave Communion to him :  
He said that soon Patrick would go (die),—  
The word of Tassach was not false.

Tassach is glossed: 'namely, wright of Patrick . . . Raholp, by Downpatrick, to the east, is his church.'<sup>2</sup>

(2.) The Calendar of Aengus :—

April the 14th :  
The royal-bishop Tassach  
Gave, when he came [to visit the dying Saint],  
The body of Christ, the King truly strong,  
With [*i.e.*, in] Communion to Patrick.

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<sup>1</sup> Lapis hic, ut obiter adnotem, nostris his diebus anno nimirum reparatae salutis humanae 1675, nono die Octobris in terram prostratus decedit ; et quod magis admirandum est, non defuit, qui eodem die, ac hora qua corrui, ruiturum praedixit, testesque statae horae praemonitos ad prospiciendum oculis collabentem adscivit. *Ogygia*, Pars iii. cap. lxxix., pp. 375, 376. There is no tradition in Elphin regarding this marvellous story.

<sup>2</sup> Stokes, p. 410 (text) ; p. 424 (gloss).

The fourth line of the quatrain is glossed—*i.e.*, it is the body of Christ that was Communion for him.<sup>1</sup> The gloss adds :—Tassach is venerated in Raholp in Lecale, in Ulster ; *i.e.*, wright and bishop of Patrick was Tassach, and this is the feast of his death.

(3.) The imperfect *Martyrology of Tallaght*, a copy of the short recension of the so-called *Hieronyman Martyrology*, with native saints added to each day (*Book of Leinster*, page 358 fg.), XVIII. Kal. Mai.; the first Irish name is Sancti Tassagi.

(4.) The List of Irish saints who were bishops, in the *Book Leinster*, page 365 : Nomina episcoporum Hibernensium incipiunt : the sixth name is Tassach.

(5.) The Drummond Kalendar : XVIII. Kal. Mai : Apud Hiberniam, Sanctus Episcopus et Confessor Tassach hoc die ad Christum migravit.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Todd<sup>3</sup> thought that Assicus was identical with Tassach, who administered the Viaticum to St. Patrick. That is, he took Tassach to be equivalent to Da(th) Assac[h], the *da* or *do* (*thy*) being the prefix of affection applied to saints. Whether Tassach, the saint's name, like Tassach, the name of king Laeghaire's father-in-law,<sup>4</sup> was composed of the inseparable particle *do* and Assach is beside the present purpose. But that *do*, *thy*, was a factor is disproved, in the first place, by the historical fact that this adjective of reverential affection applied to names of saints is of post-Patrician origin ; secondly, by phonology, for Assic with *t* for *do* (*da*) before the vowel would be Tassic ; Assach, with the same, Tassach. Here consequently we find two radical differences : (1) the final *i* and *a* ; (2) *c* *hard* (=k) and guttural *ch* : as, for instance, in Patraic and Muiredach. Accordingly, the *Tripartite* and *Book of Armagh* distinguish Assicus and Tassach most clearly.

The earliest instance of the confusion is perhaps in a

<sup>1</sup> *Lebar Breac*, lithographed edition, page 85.

<sup>2</sup> Stokes's *Tripartite*.

<sup>3</sup> *The Book of Obits and Martyrology of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Christ Church, Dublin*, edited by J. J. Crosthwaite, A.M., and Rev. James Henthorne Todd, D.D. Introduction, page xiii.

<sup>4</sup> *Tripartite*, p. 506, Stokes's edition.



synopsis inserted in the Third Part of the *Tripartite*, as follows: *Na cerda oc denam nammias ocus na menistreach ocus na cailech n-altora* i.e. Tassach ocus Essu ocus Bite. The artizans a-making the patens and the service-sets<sup>1</sup> and the altar-chalices, namely, Tassach and Essu and Bite. But the value of this may be readily estimated from the fact that the writer was so ignorant as to distinguish *menstir* (= paten and chalice) from paten and chalice. From this the error passed into other Patrician memoranda. Thus, a List of St. Patrick's Household added to the *Tripartite* in one of the two known MSS. (and copied, minus the final clause, of which anon, into the *Books of Leinster*,<sup>2</sup> and *Lecan*,<sup>3</sup> and *Lebar Breac*,<sup>4</sup>) has *A tri cerdi: Essu ocus Bite ocus Tassach*—His three wrights: Essu and Bite and Tassach. A document so circumstantial and so widely diffused demands a brief examination, which is all the more necessary, as the Rolls' editor has annotated it only to the extent of a date that is erroneous by no less than eighteen years. Omitting the names of the persons, we have (in the original order): bishop, priest, brehon [a bishop], champion, psalm-singer, *chamberlain*, *bell-ringer*, cook, brewer [a priest], chaplain, two *waiters* [priests], charioteer, fire-woodman [a priest], cowherd, three smiths, three wrights and three embroidresses,—in all, sixteen offices, with four-and-twenty officials.

Passing over the dubious functionaries, whose names we give in italics (Stokes' translations of Colgan's Latin random renderings), a Catalogue that assigns a judge (brehon) to the National Apostle is palpably of a piece with the famous Patrician *Commission of Nine* for the reform of the Brehon Laws,—a myth that (to show our progress in historical

<sup>1</sup> Stokes, p. 250. Dr. MacCarthy has shown (*Transactions R.I.A.*, 1889, pp. 185, 194) that *menstir*, translated by Stokes credence-tables, is = *ministerium*, service-set, i.e., chalice and paten, and that the true reading is *Na cerda oc denum na menistrech: idon, nammias ocus na cailech n-altora*—the artizans a-making the service-sets; namely, the patens and the chalices of the altar.

<sup>2</sup> Lithographed edition, p. 353d; given in Stokes's ed. of the *Tripartite*, p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> O'Donovan: *IV. MM.*, vol. i, at A.D. 448.

<sup>4</sup> Lith. ed., p. 220b; in Stokes's ed., p. 574.

criticism), notwithstanding Lanigan's scathing exposure,<sup>1</sup> is still believed amongst us. The fraud is not far to seek in its origin. It was suggested, as appears from the diagram and description of Tara banquetting hall, given in the *Book of Leinster*,<sup>2</sup> and reproduced in Petrie's *History and Antiquities of Tara Hill*,<sup>3</sup> by the domestic arrangements of the native regal establishments. Why should the spiritual ruler lack the suitable counterpart of what befitted the temporal?

The unerring test of Chronology reveals the post-Patrician date of the patchwork. The *cook* is Aithgein of Bodoney<sup>4</sup> (in Strabane barony, co. Tyrone). Now, according to a perfectly reliable authority, the *Genealogies of [Irish] Saints*,<sup>5</sup> Aihgein, was sixth in descent from Colla the Stammerer (one of the three Collas who razed Emania, or Navan Fort, near Armagh city, about A.D. 350). Applying the rule of thirty years to a generation, we thus find the patron of Bodoney flourished in the second quarter of the sixth century, whilst St. Patrick, as we know, died in the last decade of the fifth, a difference of some five and twenty years! In its original form, accordingly, the Catalogue cannot date much higher than A.D. 530.

The motive is revealed in the closing paragraph. 'And those are the complement legally entitled<sup>6</sup> to be in the retinue (literally, *unity*) of Joseph, and that is the complement legally entitled to be at the table of the king of Cashel, down from the time of Felim, son of Criffan, king of [Desmond and Thomond] the two provinces of Munster, and so on.' The *complement* in question was the suite allowed to the Primate, when going by permission of the king, on provincial circuit, to enforce the *Law of Patrick*, that is, to exact cess in money and kind. According to the

<sup>1</sup> *E. H. I.*, vol. i., p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> *Lith. ed.*, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Page 197.

<sup>4</sup> *Both-domnaig, tugurium-dominici* (i.e. *ecclesiae*: for the authorities, see *Annals of Ulster*, ed. MacCarthy, vol. iii., pp. 486-7).

<sup>5</sup> *Book of Leinster*, p. 347f; *Book of Ballymote*, pp. 216f, 217a.

<sup>6</sup> *Dlegar*. See under *Dligid* in Atkinson's recently issued *Index to the Brehon Laws*.

*Book of the Angel*, fabricated before 808,<sup>1</sup> the number was to be fifty, exclusive of those who followed from other reasons; including such persons, one hundred!

Fifteen years later, A.D. 823, the *Law* was promulgated in Munster by the above-named Felim (820-847),—the event alluded to in the text. Among the *insignia* of St. Patrick carried around on such visitations was the *Book of Armagh*. The interesting query immediately suggests itself: Did Primate Artri (823-833), in accordance with the angelic ordinance recorded therein, obtain bed and board for fifty of an entourage and fifty others? 'Nothing of the kind,' declares in effect our redactor, who writes during the primacy of Joseph (927-936),<sup>2</sup> 'then, as now, the unattached were excluded to a man; the quota entertained amounted, all told, to no more than five-and-twenty.' And, albeit not entered in the *Book of Armagh* (the *maor*, or custodian, took ample precaution as to that), the drastic limitation obtained equal, perhaps indeed wider, circulation as an Appendix to the other and better known Patrician document in the native tongue, the *Tripartite Life*. Widely as they diverge, the two enactments are at one in their unique presentment of national character: public hospitality, they will have us believe, was meted out by rigid rule to churchmen in Christian Ireland! *Arcades ambo*: the Momonian falsary fitly pairs off with his congener, the Ultonian.

The origin of the mistake is quite obvious. The compiler or compilers of the List lived when *do*, thy, was being prefixed to saints' names, and consequently took Tassach to be T'Assach = T'Assic.

Two instances remain, in which the patron of Raholp is confounded with the first bishop of Elphin,—the glosses already given on the hymn of Fiac and on the

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<sup>1</sup> This is the date of the transcription of the *Book of Armagh*, in which the pretended revelation to St. Patrick is contained. See the whole text and the first published translation of the (Latin) original by Dr. MacCarthy in Father Coleman's edition of Stuart's *Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh* (Dublin, 1900), pp. 449-454.

<sup>2</sup> According to Stokes, he 'flourished A.D. 945'! (p. 267). For similar instances of his historical lore, see the *Introduction* to the *Annals of Ulster*, pp. xcix.-c.



Calendar of Aengus. The first is of the eleventh century ; the second, of the fifteenth. In the present case, they are accordingly devoid of importance.

Colgan observed<sup>1</sup> that the Natalis of Assicus, under that name, cannot be found in the Irish martyrologies, although the name is thus written in the *Acts of St. Patrick* ; and, to account for this omission, supposed that he was identical with Assanus, whose feast occurs on the 27th of April, according to the *Martyrology of Donegal*. Yet, in the *Martyrology of Tallaght*, which he had under his hand, it is the second name given under April the 26th, disguised as *Isaac*, which Dr. Matthew Kelly,<sup>2</sup> of Maynooth (clarum et venerabile nomen), all but succeeded in rightly amending. His reading is 'Assach' ; the true lection is As[s]ic. The transposition of the vowels (*cf.* Falertus for Felartus),<sup>3</sup> and the error of a day may be attributed to the fact that the compiler belonged to south-east Leinster. As to the omission from the (metrical) *Calendar of Aengus* (end of eighth, and beginning of ninth, century), the only other ancient martyrology which Colgan possessed, suffice it to say that the bard preferred to commemorate foreign saints. For instance, at April 26th, the *Tallaght Martyrology* has six Irish names ; the *Calendar* selects the first saint of the day, the martyr Grillus. At April 27th, the former gives four natives ; the latter, the first foreign name, Alexander, abbot of Rome.<sup>4</sup>

The investigation of the most reliable authorities regarding St. Assicus, first bishop and patron of Elphin, affords

<sup>1</sup> *Tria. Taumaturg.*, Vita Sexta S. Patricii, n. 122, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of Irish Saints*, etc., by the Rev. Matthew Kelly, D.D., of Maynooth (Dublin, 1857), p. 2,—a little work worth its weight in gold. It is a transcript of the native names in the *Tallaght Martyrology*, made whilst the MS. (the *Book of Leinster*) contained all but the final folio.

The collation of what is extant was entrusted by De Rossi to his fellow-editor, Duchesne, for the edition of the Hieronyman Martyrology in the November *Acta Sanctorum*. The latter, however, contented himself with requesting the reader to blame *him* for neglecting to undertake the labour of a few days !

It is grateful to me to record that Dr. Kelly of Maynooth has shown us the way to the identification of Assicus in the Martyrologies.

<sup>3</sup> See I. E. RECORD, April, 1902, p. 300.

<sup>4</sup> Stokes's ed., p. 70.

fresh proof that the closer the study of our ancient and authentic documents, the more evident becomes the truth of the popular traditions respecting the lives of our native saints.<sup>1</sup>

J. J. KELLY.

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<sup>1</sup> I have to express my grateful acknowledgment to Rev. B. Mac Carthy, D.D., for his verifications of native references. By this distinguished Irish scholar the equation Isaac (in the *Martyrology of Tallaght*) = As[s]ic had been independently discovered, when he found that the first partial elucidation of the name of the patron of Elphin belongs to Dr. Kelly of Maynooth.

I hope Dr. Mac Carthy may be prevailed upon to give us an edition of the *Tripartite*; restoring the text, pointing out the additions and dates of same, and supplying notes on persons, places, and illustrative matter. He has shown that he possesses a thorough and scholarly knowledge of the ancient *Patrician Documents*, and it would be of great advantage to our Irish Church, in view of the labours of Protestant writers on these records, to have a thoroughly reliable edition of the *Tripartite* from a competent Catholic scholar. In the absence of such editions of the original materials, it is vain to hope for real progress in our Ecclesiastical History.

I have pleasure in also thanking the Very Rev. Canon Mannion, P.P., for local information and valuable references regarding Elphin.

## FÉNELON—II

LOUIS XIV., after a stormy youth, came in early middle life under the influence of Madame de Maintenon. This remarkable woman, who throughout her long career preserved a spotless reputation, first became known to him as the governess of his natural children. During his visits to them he gradually came to recognise her devotedness to her young charges, and her prudence and good sense. In her company he found rest from the cares of court and the quarrels of his mistresses. She was, indeed, a beauty herself, but of the reserved and stately type, and she was his senior by three years. Even the poor injured Queen, far from being jealous of the new favourite, was grateful for her good offices. ‘Providence,’ she said, ‘has raised up Mme. de Maintenon to bring my husband back to me.’ And certainly she succeeded in winning Louis to a more regular life. When the Queen died suddenly in 1683, Mme. de Maintenon’s position became still more important. A year later the King secretly married her, and henceforth, though never acknowledged as Queen, she reigned over France. Among her little circle of pious courtiers were the Duke and Duchess of Beauvillier, already known to us, and these took care to introduce their friend, the Abbé de Fénelon, to the great lady.

Fénelon was at this time in the very prime of life. It would have been hard to find a more brilliant specimen of abbé-courtier of the best type—polished, scholarly, and devout. He had already become known as a spiritual director of persons in high station, for which function his knowledge of the world, as well as his sincere piety, admirably fitted him. Those who entrusted their consciences to his keeping found him kind and sympathetic, and were all the more captivated, especially the lady penitents, because his spirituality was high-flown and his



method autocratic. Mentor in *Télémaque* gives us some notion of his system. As long as the young hero is submissive to the counsels of his preceptor, all goes well; when he acts of himself or in opposition he comes to grief. Mme. de Maintenon never chose Fénelon for her confessor: perhaps she thought him too clever and too masterful. But she had a high opinion of his judgment, and constantly consulted him about her own spiritual affairs and about her darling foundation, the School of Saint-Cyr. 'Read M. de Fénelon's exhortations of surrender to the will of God and willing acceptance of all sorts of duties,' she wrote soon after making his acquaintance, 'I have never seen anything more tender, more sterling, more free; his spirit of devotion is, indeed, the right one.' We have still a number of his spiritual letters to her, containing much sound advice as to her conduct in her difficult station. Among these is one in answer to her request that he would tell her her faults. We priests know well how delicate a task it is to comply with such a request: it is much to the credit of both that Fénelon wrote plainly to the inquiring lady.

The Convent of Saint-Cyr was a community of ladies devoted to the education of young girls, daughters of the poorer nobility.' As the scheme was based upon Fénelon's *Education des Filles*, it was but natural that the Foundress should frequently consult him in the management of it.

Submit yourself simply to the Abbé de Fénelon and Mgr. de Chartres [she says to one of her future nuns (1691)]. I always give in to the opinion of those two saints. Accustom yourself to live by their rule; but do not spread the abbé's maxims among such as have no taste for them. . . . As for Mme. Guyon, you extol her excessively; we must be satisfied with keeping her to ourselves. It would not do for her, any more than for me, to direct our ladies. It would expose her to fresh persecution.

The lady here mentioned played such an important part in Fénelon's subsequent career that a short account of her must now be given.

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<sup>1</sup> There is a delightful account of it given in Horace Walpole's letter to George Montagu, September 17, 1769.

Jeanne Marie de la Mothe was born in 1648. She wished to become a nun, but was married, when only fifteen years of age, to Jacques Guyon, a man of great wealth, much her senior. At twenty-eight she was left a widow, and was henceforth able to lead her own life. From infancy she had always been in weak health; she was of a nervous hysterical temperament, extremely sensitive, always feeling the victim of persecution. Amidst her physical sufferings and domestic worries she found consolation in prayer. But hers was not ordinary prayer. It was a sort of ecstasy in which her soul abandoned itself to God, without any word or act on her part—completely passive under His divine influence. This, to her mind, was the true state of perfection: it included all, or rather superseded all, the virtues, making us indifferent to heaven or hell. This happy state she must communicate to others. It is described at length in her book: *Moyen Court et très Facile de faire Oraison*. Being young and attractive, rich and clever, she speedily made disciples. At first she fixed on Geneva as the scene of her labours. There was in that city a convent of the *Nouvelles Catholiques*, an institution already known to us in connection with Fénelon. A certain Père Lacombe, a Barnabite, was completely won over by her at this time, and accompanied her in her many wanderings. At Geneva, Turin, Grenoble, Marseilles, Alessandria, Genoa, and Vercelli, the pair were received with enthusiasm. But in each place a reaction soon set in: the ecclesiastical authorities found it necessary to interfere and put a stop to her extraordinary opinions and practices. When Lacombe was summoned to Paris, his patroness followed him. The two were charged with heresy: Lacombe was imprisoned for life at Lourdes, and Mme. Guyon was shut up in a convent (1688). It might be thought that her career was now at an end. However, a saintly lady, Mme. de Miramion, interested herself in the case, and brought it under the notice of Mme. de Maintenon, who procured the release of the unhappy *détenue*. Immediately after regaining her freedom she resumed the propagation of her views. A friend who had known her from childhood, the Duchess de

Béthune, took her up once more and introduced her to Fénelon and Mme. de Maintenon.

Fénelon must often have heard of Mme. Guyon at the Paris convent of the *Nouvelles Catholiques*, but he does not seem to have seen her until after her release. She herself tells the story of their first meeting. It was at the Duchess de Béthune's country villa. The two travelled back to Paris together, in company with a maid of the duchess. 'At once,' says Mme. Guyon in her ecstatic style, 'I was forcibly and sweetly taken up [*occupée*] with him. It seemed to me that our Lord joined him with me very closely and more than He had done in the case of anyone else.' Fénelon, however, does not appear to have been equally impressed.

I felt [she goes on to say], that this first interview did not satisfy him : he did not relish me. As for me I felt a something which urged me on to pour out my heart into his, but I found no response on his part. . . . I was in pain for eight whole days : after that I found myself united to him without any obstacle.

We should like to have Fénelon's account of this episode, but his letters to her have been destroyed. Five or six years later he wrote : 'It is true that I have seen her at Mme. de Charost's, and once or twice besides in good society, and that I was impressed by her, but I have given her no introductions.'

Let us go to the château of Marly-le-roi one day in the autumn of the year 1690. In Mme. de Maintenon's own private salon a small group of devotees is assembled. The Duke and Duchess of Chevreuse are there, and the Duke and Duchess of Beauvillier ; and the Duchess of Béthune has come, bringing with her Mme. Guyon, who looks charming in her nun-like costume. Their talk is very different from that in vogue at other salons of the day. How well his Majesty was looking on his name-day ! Why do not those poor Protestants come over at once and not force him to be severe with them ? How can they resist the eloquence of the good Père Bourdaloue ? Those wicked Jansenists are the ones who should be most severely punished. 'Ah !' breaks in Mme. Guyon, 'if they only



knew the true method of prayer !' And then she discourses sweetly on the Spouse in the Canticles and the pure love of God. All are hushed and listen with rapture. But stop ! M. de Fénelon is announced. There is a little flutter among the duchesses : a fresh flush comes over Mme. Guyon's inspired face ; and the stately hostess herself beams radiantly as her favourite abbé makes his bow. How is the dear little duke ? Did M. l'Abbé hear Père Bourdaloue's great sermon ? What ? Prefer Monsieur de Meaux ? And, he : What news of the Chanoinesse ? Is she still doubtful about her vocation ? She must be careful ; high spirituality is not meant for all. And then he, too, discourses with equal fervour, but with more judgment and learning, of the maxims of the saints.

Alas ! *Vanitas vanitatum !* Pass over a few years, and Mme. Guyon is shut up in the Bastille ; Fénelon is in exile at Cambrai, humbled to the dust by his mighty brother of Meaux ; Mme. de Maintenon writes that she has lost all faith in him ; and he, on his side, deplores her jealousy, her prejudices, and her love of intrigue. *Vanitas vanitatum, et omnia vanitas !*

## 5

It often happens that men of very dissimilar talents and tastes are attracted together by their very dissimilitude. They live in intimacy for a time, perhaps a long time, till their circumstances alter, or some sudden event comes to try them. Then the peculiarities of their respective minds are brought into action, and quarrels ensue which end in coldness or separation. This contrast of character leading, first, to intimacy, and then to differences, is interestingly displayed, though painfully, in one passage of the history of Basil and Gregory : Gregory the affectionate, the tender-hearted, the man of quick feelings, the accomplished, the eloquent preacher ; and Basil, the man of firm resolve and hard deeds, the high-minded ruler of Christ's flock, the diligent labourer in the field of ecclesiastical politics. . . . Both were men of classical taste ; both were special champions of the Catholic creed ; both were skilled in argument, and successful in their use of it ; both were in the highest place in the Church.<sup>1</sup>

Though Mme. Guyon was a welcomed member of the

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<sup>1</sup> Newman, *Church of the Fathers*, chap. iii.

little *coterie* over which Fénelon presided, her views were not altogether acceptable to all the members of it. Mme. de Maintenon, as we have seen, thought these should not be recommended indiscriminately, and least of all, to the young pupils of Saint-Cyr. Fénelon, too, had written: 'I would, above all, keep pious women and the sisters of a community away from books on high spirituality.' But the 'Chanoinesse,' Mlle. de Maisonfort, who was Mme. Guyon's cousin, and whose religious vocation had been decided by Fénelon, precipitated matters at Saint-Cyr. There the nuns talked of nothing but pure love and holy indifference; and the lay-sisters, instead of doing their work, spent their time in reading Mme. Guyon's books. The Foundress grew alarmed. Her influence over her darling institution was being undermined, and her favourite Abbé seemed to be succumbing to the wiles of the charmer. And then, again, the king could not stand Mme. Guyon and her ravings.

I have had a copy of *L'Explication des Cantiques des Cantiques* for two months [wrote Mme. de Maintenon in May, 1694]. There are some involved passages, some instructive, and some which I do not in any way approve. L'Abbé de Fénelon tells me that the highest form of devotion is to be found in the *Moyen Court*. . . . I have begged Mme. Nôtre Supérieure to forbid our ladies to have these books in their hands in future. Such reading is too strong for them; they must have milk suited to their age. Mme. Guyon edifies them, nevertheless. I have asked her to discontinue her visits; but I cannot forbid them to read letters from one of such piety and virtue.

It was in the preceding May (1693) that Mme. Guyon had been forbidden Saint-Cyr. At Fénelon's instigation she then appealed to Bossuet. To his judgment she submitted all her published works, and also many MSS. which had never seen the light, including her life and her commentaries on some of the books of the Old and New Testaments. After mature examination his decision was entirely against her teaching. Naturally such a result did not satisfy her. She asked that in a matter of such grave importance, two other judges should be associated with him, viz., the Bishop of Châlons (M. de Noailles) and

M. Tronson, the Superior-General of the Sulpicians, to examine into her conduct and doctrine. This was granted, but the inquiry was restricted to the latter. The judges met at Issy in 1694, and continued their sittings until the following March. The result was the same as before: Mme. Guyon's writings were condemned. Thirty-four articles summing up the orthodox teaching were drawn up by the judges and were accepted by Mme. Guyon. Meantime, at Christmas, Mme. de Maintenon had obtained for Fénelon the rich Abbey of S. Valéry, and a few weeks later the Archbishopric of Cambrai. The new prelate was consecrated in July (1695) by Bossuet and de Noailles, in the Chapel of Saint-Cyr, in the presence of the Foundress and her pupils and friends. All seemed to have ended happily: Mme. Guyon's influence was destroyed; Saint-Cyr and Fénelon were safe.

But a difficulty arose. Bossuet was composing a work entitled *Introduction sur les États d'Oraison*, as a commentary on the articles of Issy. Fénelon was asked to give it his approval, but absolutely declined; the book, he said, attacked Mme. Guyon personally, and that he could never do. In a lengthy *Mémoire* intended for Mme. de Maintenon's perusal, he explained that Bossuet attributed to Mme. Guyon all sorts of impious doctrines which he himself could not find in her writings; that, moreover, he (Fénelon) had esteemed and encouraged her at the very time when she was said to have taught these abominations, and that, therefore, he could not defame her without defaming himself. These explanations did not satisfy his friends. They were shocked that he should be still so devoted to his *amie*, and began to tremble for his orthodoxy. 'I have seen our friend (Fénelon),' writes Mme. de Maintenon, October 7, 1696; 'we have had a great discussion. . . . I wish I was as faithful and devoted to my duties as he is to his *amie*. Bossuet, of course, obtained for his *Etats d'Oraison* the hearty approbation of the Archbishop of Paris (M. de Noailles) and the Bishop of Chartres (M. Godet des Marais). It was arranged that the work should be published in the spring of 1697; but before it could come out Fénelon was



first in the field with his *Explication des Maximes des Saints sur la Vie Intérieure*.<sup>1</sup>

Hitherto the contest between these two great ecclesiastics had been of a semi-private character; now it was to be fought out before the eyes of the world. Well might Fénelon say that they, the champions of the Faith, had become the laughing stock of the infidels and the sorrow of the faithful. Even now, as we run our eye along the rows of their works, we cannot but lament that so much of their time, their energy, and their temper was wasted in this miserable strife. Before we go into the merits of the case itself, we must first consider the human elements which had so large a share in its origin and in its development. Four persons play a prominent part in the story—Mme. de Maintenon and Mme. Guyon, Fénelon and Bossuet. At first the famous Bishop of Meaux is patronising towards his brilliant young friend, the Abbé-Supérieur of the *Nouvelles Catholiques*, and helps to obtain for him the post of preceptor to the king's grandson. This office brings Fénelon into close friendship with the lady whom Louis XIV. has lately made his wife. Next enters Mme. Guyon on the scene with her fascinating fervour; and spiritually captivates the susceptible Abbé, the youngest member of the group. Mme. de Maintenon is warned of this lady's influence and opinions. At the wish of the other three, Bossuet is called in. He decides against the seductress, and calls upon Fénelon to approve of the condemnation. But Fénelon is no longer the simple Abbé: he is Archbishop of Cambrai, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and a Duke of France. He resents the overbearing manner in which he is addressed by a mere bishop; and he cannot help feeling for the poor victim, his devoted friend, whom he is called upon to crush. He flatly refuses, and hence arises 'a discussion, so that they departed one from another.' If two Apostles, 'men of like passions' (ὁμοιοπαθεῖς) with ourselves, could disagree over the conduct of a weaker brother, we cannot wonder at the sad dispute between the Archbishop of Cambrai and the Bishop of Meaux.

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<sup>1</sup> The story of the controversy is well told by Card. de Bausset, *Histoire de Fénelon*, tome I.

But what was it all about? It was the old contest between poetry and prose, romance and reason, sentiment and common sense. All of these have their place in devotion; and the greatest writers on the mystical life have especially insisted on the importance of the contemplative and ecstatic states of the soul. But it is plain that such phenomena must be exceptional, and that the treatment of them must require the greatest care. Just about the time when Fénelon first met Mme. Guyon, the doctrine of a Spanish priest, named Molinos, had been condemned at Rome. He had taught (1) that perfect contemplation is a state in which the soul neither reasons nor reflects upon God or upon itself, but merely receives passively the impression of heavenly light, without exercising any act of love or adoration, or any other act of Christian piety. This state of inaction and absolute inattention he called *Quietude*. (2) In this state of perfect contemplation the soul desires nothing—not even eternal salvation; it fears nothing—not even eternal damnation; it feels no other sentiment but complete abandonment to the good pleasure of God. (3) A soul which has reached this state of perfect contemplation is dispensed from receiving the sacraments and practising good works; all acts and exercises of Christian piety become indifferent; the most criminal imaginations affect only the sensitive part of the soul without staining the soul itself, and they are completely outside the higher part in which the understanding and the will reside. From these three principles Molinos drew the conclusion that a soul in this state ceased to be guilty in God's sight even when abandoning itself to the foulest crimes. Mme. Guyon entirely rejected this last inference; but she taught that even ordinary souls might be conducted to a state of perfection in which a continuous and unchangeable act of contemplation dispensed them from all other acts of religion. Fénelon merely held the possibility of an habitual state of pure love, from which were excluded as so many imperfections all explicit acts of the other virtues, even the desire of heaven or fear of hell. He rejected Molinos' system and the views attributed to Mme. Guyon; but he considered that in condemning her, Bossuet had struck at genuine

mysticism, the teaching of St. Francis of Sales, St. John of the Cross, and St. Theresa. It was to defend these that the *Maximes* was written.

At once a storm raged round the *États d'Oraison* and the *Maximes*. But on one point opinions were not divided; all agreed that in logic and style Fénelon was no match for his great rival. Bossuet sent his book to the Sovereign Pontiff, and was rewarded by a commendatory letter from Innocent XII. (May 6, 1697). This was the more significant, because only nine days earlier Fénelon had appealed to the solemn judgment of the Holy See. A little later he asked the king's permission to go to Rome to defend his cause in person. Not only was his request refused, but he was peremptorily commanded to betake himself to Cambrai, and remain in his diocese until further orders (August 1).

The cause was now *sub judice*. It might have been hoped that both parties would keep silence until the decision was given; but both continued to write with increasing bitterness. And here the chief blame must rest on Bossuet's shoulders. Not satisfied that public opinion, as well as ecclesiastical authority, was on his side, he seemed resolved to crush and humiliate his opponent. He who had always been so dignified and courteous in his discussions with Jansenists, and even with Protestants, had now no such consideration for a distinguished ornament of his own Church, once his disciple and friend. His *Rélation sur le Quietisme* made reconciliation impossible. In his *États d'Oraison* he had condemned Mme. Guyon's teaching without mentioning her name, and he had been careful to avoid all reflections on her conduct. Fénelon, however, had pointed out that if she taught what was attributed to her she deserved to be burnt: he had refused his approbation because he believed her to be blameless. Very well, replied Bossuet in his *Rélation*, let us see what her conduct has been; and, quoting from Mme. Guyon's private MSS., entrusted to him by herself, and from Fénelon's *Mémoire*, he tells some queer stories about her, and gives specimens of her esoteric spirituality quite sufficient to destroy her reputation for sanctity. She had, indeed, repented and



retracted, and, therefore, though her writings were impious, she herself no longer deserved condemnation. 'No,' says Bossuet, in a scathing passage—

Your *amie* did not deserve 'to be burnt with her books,' for the simple reason that she herself condemned them. Your *amie* was not even 'a monster upon earth'; she was only an ignorant woman, dazzled by a specious spirituality, deceived by her directors and applauded by a man of your importance; she condemned her error as soon as some one took the trouble to instruct her. This avowal could give nothing but edification to the Church, and deter from her books those persons who had been led astray by them. The Archbishop of Cambrai could not but approve of conduct so just—but he had too much at heart the fear of defaming his *amie* and of 'defaming himself.' What he calls defaming his *amie* is to understand her books in their natural sense, as his confrères have done, and as everyone else has done who has condemned them. He would not let his friends think that he had put such bad books into their hands—that is what he meant 'by defaming himself.' . . . His real fear is not about 'defaming himself,' but about acknowledging that he was wrong. This is not defaming one's self: this is to do one's self honour and to restore one's injured reputation. Is it such a great misfortune to have been deceived by an *amie*? The Archbishop of Cambrai takes good care to have it said in Rome that he hardly knows Mme. Guyon. What strange conduct! At Rome he is ashamed of this *amie*: here in France, where he dare not say that she is unknown to him, he will not let her books be branded; he makes himself responsible for them though their author has herself already condemned them.

In spite of all its qualifications the *Maximes des Saints* contains both Mme. Guyon and Molinos . . . and when I say that the work of an ignorant female visionary and the work of M. de Cambrai are of one and the same stamp, I am only saying what is, after all, self-evident. . . .

I am careful not to impute to the Archbishop of Cambrai any other purpose than that which is revealed by his own writings, by his book, by his answers, and by the course of admitted facts—it is surely enough, and more than enough, to be the open protector of her who foretells and purposes the seduction of the whole unverse. If this be considered too strong language to use against a woman whose errors have gone to the verge of craziness, I grant it—if that craziness is not downright fanaticism: if the spirit of seduction is not at work in that woman: if that Priscilla has not found her Montanus to defend her.

'M. de Meaux's book is making a great stir,' write Mme. de Maintenon to Card. de Noailles (June 29, 1698):

'The facts are within everybody's grasp. Mme. Guyon's follies are most amusing. The book is short, lively, and well put together. People lend it to each other, snatch it out of each other's hands, and devour it.' This from the once devoted patroness of Fénelon and Mme. Guyon! No wonder that his few faithful friends thought him crushed beyond hope. No reply seemed possible; both the archbishop and his protégée had been convicted out of their own mouths. But it is dangerous to press a beaten enemy too hard. Had Bossuet confined himself to argument, his position would have been unassailable, but his insolence laid him open to attack, and Fénelon's *Réponse à la Rélation de M. de Meaux* is one of the ablest rejoinders ever written. He begins by pointing out that Bossuet has now descended to personalities—a sure sign that he has been beaten on the points of doctrine. Moreover, to support these attacks he has stooped to reveal the most private documents, even those almost as sacred as the seal of confession. But Fénelon knew well that though such a proceeding is universally acknowledged to be base, yet the more private the evidence the more likely it is to be believed. He, therefore, goes on at once to deal with the main charge: his relations with Mme. Guyon. You have dared to call us the new Priscilla and the new Montanus, he says, and yet how have *you* behaved towards her? how have you behaved towards me? After a prolonged examination, after keeping her at Meaux for six months, you have certified that you 'are satisfied with her conduct, and have continued to her the participation in the holy sacraments just as [you] found her when she came to [you]'; you have declared 'that [you] have not found her implicated in any way in the abominations of Molinos, or others condemned at other times, and that [you] have not meant to include her in the mention made of them in your ordonnance.' It was at your dictation that she wrote:—'I have none of the errors explained in the said Pastoral [Bossuet's own], having always had the intention of writing in a most Catholic sense, not understanding at that time that what I wrote could have any other.' This after a thorough examination of all her most private

writings ; whereas Fénelon solemnly denied that he had ever read any of them. She had often spoken to him about her extraordinary revelations, but he had treated them as illusions ; and she herself had followed the rule of St. John of the Cross in such matters, viz., never to dwell upon them at all, and she had written them down only in obedience to her half-crazy director, Lacombe. She is no Priscilla on your own showing ; but if she is, who is the real Montanus ? If you believed me to be a real Montanus in league with a real Priscilla, how could you consecrate me to the holy office of Bishop ? It was not I who wished to be consecrated by you—it was you who insisted on overcoming all difficulties in order to consecrate me.<sup>1</sup> There is much more in this style dealing with the various questions raised in the *Rélation*. Then Fénelon concludes :

If M. de Meaux has any further documents to bring against me I beg him not make a half-secret of them (worse than complete publication), and I entreat him to send them all to Rome. I have no fear, thank God, for anything that may be communicated and legally examined. . . . If he believes me to be so impious and such a hypocrite, it is his duty to make use of every proof in his possession. As for me I cannot keep from calling Him to witness Whose eyes enlighten the most profound darkness, and before Whom we must all soon appear. He knows, He Who reads our hearts, that I am attached only to Him and to His Church, and that I beseech unceasingly in His presence that He would bring back peace, and put an end to the scandal, that He would restore the pastors to their flocks, and that He would grant to M. de Meaux as many blessings as He has been pleased to bestow crosses upon me.

The *Réponse* had an even greater success than the *Rélation*. In Rome, as well as in Paris, it produced a complete revolution in his favour. Bossuet replied with *Remarques sur la Réponse de M. de Cambray*, and Fénelon rejoined with *Réponse aux Remarques* ; but the merits of the controversy may well be judged by the *Relation* and the

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<sup>1</sup> The ceremony was to take place at Saint-Cyr. Could Bossuet be senior consecrator with the bishop of the diocese as his assistant ?



original *Réponse*. There is, however, one passage in the second *Réponse* well worth quoting :—

This fanatic [Montanus] had enticed from their husbands two women, who followed him about; he delivered them up to a false inspiration, which was a veritable possession by the Evil One. He himself was possessed as well as these women; and it was while he was in a transport of diabolical fury, which seized him and Maximilla, that they both strangled themselves. Such is the man, the horror of all ages, to whom you compare your brother-bishop, 'the dear, life-long friend whom you bear in your bosom'; and you take it amiss that he complains of the comparison. No, Monseigneur, I do not complain; I am grieved, and it is for you.

Meantime the affair was proceeding in Rome. After prolonged discussion the commissioners appointed by the Pope were equally divided in opinion. Fénelon now felt confident that he should escape censure. He ventured to write once more to Mme. de Maintenon (November, 1698), assuring her of his continued 'respect, attachment, and gratitude.' 'None of the crosses,' he says, 'which have been laid upon me is so heavy as that of having caused you so much displeasure.' We have no evidence that any answer was vouchsafed to this pathetic epistle. We know that Louis XIV. was furious at his probable acquittal. A fresh examination was ordered by the Pope, this time to be made by the Cardinals, and at length it was decided that the *Maximes* must be condemned. After the Papal Brief had been drawn up, but just before it was published, Louis addressed to the Pope a *Mémoire* of more than usual insolence, demanding an immediate and definite decision. This document, it is sad to relate, was from the pen of Bossuet himself.<sup>1</sup>

On the Feast of the Annunciation, 1699, Fénelon was about to ascend the pulpit of his cathedral to preach on the great mystery of the day. A letter was put into his hands. In it he read that the Holy See had condemned his *Maximes* as containing propositions which were rash,

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<sup>1</sup> See his letter to his nephew, March 16, 1699.

scandalous, and offensive to pious ears. There was only time for a few moments of recollection, and then he entered the pulpit. Already the news had spread among the vast congregation. Amidst such expressions of sympathy from them as the sacred occasion permitted, he delivered a discourse far different from that which he had prepared and they had expected. And yet he found in the sublime story of the Incarnation the subject and the example which he needed. He spoke to them of perfect submission to superiors, and he pointed out that it was the most exalted of creatures who had said *Ecce ancilla Domini : fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum*. A fortnight later he issued a *mandement* to his diocese.

We adhere to the Brief [he says] both with regard to the text of the book and the twenty-three propositions, simply, absolutely, and without any reserve. Hence we condemn both the book and the twenty-three propositions precisely in the same form and with the same qualifications simply, absolutely, and without any reserve. Moreover, we forbid, under the same penalties, all the faithful of our diocese to read the book or keep it in their possession.

He also wrote to the Pope in similar terms, and received a touching reply. It is melancholy to have to record that his enemies, and chief among them Bossuet and Mme. de Maintenon, found this submission insufficient.

How could I believe [the latter wrote] in the sincerity of this submission when I could not see the prelate becoming, like St. Paul, a preacher of the faith which he had assailed? I only believe in conviction of error when I see it attacked as fiercely as it has formerly been upheld.

Those who are inside the Church think that such submission is easy : those who are outside think it impossible. The present writer had occasion to take a small part on the losing side in a recent controversy. He can, therefore, speak with some authority on the subject, and he can assure both parties that submission is extremely difficult and yet can be sincere. When a man has made the best use of his powers in forming his opinion ; when that opinion has had the ardent support of some of the greatest names ; when in

the course of discussion he has had good reason to believe that he has by no means been worsted; when, too, he has been a witness of the human passions inseparable from all human contentions—then, indeed, it is hard to acknowledge that his adversaries were right and that he was wrong. Yet this acknowledgment can be perfectly sincere. A Catholic knows very well that his own private judgment is not the sole rule of his belief. He has the teaching of the Sovereign Pontiff to look to, a teaching which is guided by the Spirit of Truth. Hence, when his own opinion is in conflict with the solemn judgment of the Holy See he does not hesitate as to which must give way. It is not to the adversaries' arguments or wiles that he yields, but to Divine authority.

Non me tua fervida terrent  
Dicta, ferox: Dî me terrent, et Jupiter hostis.

When Fénelon's *mandement* was published at Louvain, the censor prefixed to it the fine quotation from Tacitus: *Pro quo exemplum quærimus, id olim pro exemplo erit.* And so it came to pass that a simple country priest, at the end of the nineteenth century, was helped, in no small degree, to make his submission by the shining example of François de Fénelon, the noble Archbishop of Cambrai.

6. It is time that we should follow Fénelon to his diocese, and see how he spent the last twenty years of his life. In those old days a courtier-bishop looked upon his diocese as a land of exile, and took care to spend there as little of his time as possible. When Fénelon was appointed to Cambrai he declared that he was about to enter upon 'a life of ceaseless slavery in a foreign land.' Nevertheless, he resolved to reside there at least three-quarters of the year. His banishment from court (August, 1696) compelled him to remain all the year round.

When we consider the life of a bishop under the old *regime*, we must bear in mind that his position was far different from that of his successors at the present day. At that time he was the leading personage in the city and in the surrounding country. His wealth and his domains, his feudal and political rights made him a high and mighty *seigneur*. This was especially true in the case of a



diocese like Cambrai. The archbishop was a prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and a duke in the kingdom of France, with a revenue of 200,000 livres. Fénelon's familiarity with court life would, naturally, fit him to fill with dignity this high post. On the other hand, his polished and refined character exposed him to many a shock from the rude rustic habits of his Flemish clergy and people. He seems, however, to have adapted himself so well to their ways that in a few years he became popular among them. His episcopal duties were admirably performed. He made his visitations regularly, and put down abuses with that mixture of firmness and gentleness which is already familiar to us in his story. In the matter of patronage he was careful to prevent outsiders from securing the best benefices. We have already examined his views with regard to the treatment of Protestants. He was especially shocked at any cases of hypocritical conformity, and put a stop to them by obtaining for such persons permission to reside in the foreign part of his diocese. His treatment of the Jansenists was severe, Flanders being at that time their stronghold. There is something incongruous in one who had himself been condemned, persecuting others for their heterodox views. But in this, as in many other of the incidents of Fénelon's life, we see the human frailty of his character. The *Nouveau Testament* of the Oratorian Quesnel had been approved by Card. de Noailles, and had been defended by Bossuet. When the Bull *Unigenitus* appeared (1713), Fénelon exclaimed: 'One hundred and one propositions condemned! What a disgrace for the approvers of such a book!' And he insisted that the approvers themselves should be condemned. This last remark shows that the two great prelates were never really reconciled. Bossuet died on April 12, 1704. A few months later his secretary, Le Dieu, visited Cambrai, and called on the archbishop. He gives us an interesting picture of the everyday life of the prelate, a mixture of personal simplicity and official splendour. After supper the conversation turned on Bossuet's death.

They asked me [writes the secretary], whether he had been conscious and had received the Sacraments. But the prelate

particularly wished to know who had prepared him for death. I believe that in putting this question he thought that M. de Meaux on his deathbed had need of sound advice and of a person of authority, after having taken part in so many important and delicate affairs. In all our talk the Archbishop did not say a single word in praise of M. de Meaux.

However, we have Fénelon's own assurance that he prayed heartily (*de bon cœur*) for 'feu M. de Meaux.'

The loss of the battle of Oudenarde (1708) brought the war into the neighbourhood of Cambrai. When it was that the archbishop proved himself the true father of his clergy and people. The country priests were reduced to beggary and were quite unable to pay the extraordinary imposts levied upon them.<sup>1</sup> The archbishop took upon himself the whole of this burden. Next year, after the disaster of Malplaquet, Cambrai was filled with fugitives flying before the advance of the victorious allies. Fénelon fed vast numbers of them at his own expense. His palace was turned into a barrack; his seminary into a hospital. Even the captive enemy benefited by his generosity to such an extent that Marlborough and Prince Eugene spared his estates from pillage, and those also which he specially pleaded for. The spiteful Saint-Simon relates that the archbishop's reputation was greatly enhanced by his conduct, and that Louis XIV. himself, though so prejudiced against him, was grateful for his services.

It seemed that, after his long years of exile from the court, he was about to be received once more into favour. In April, 1711, his enemy, the Dauphin, Bossuet's former pupil, was carried off by a sudden illness, and the Duke of Burgundy was summoned to share in the government of the realm. Beauvillier and Chevreuse, and especially Fénelon, at once became persons of importance. It was known that the archbishop had the greatest influence over the new

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<sup>1</sup> It is commonly asserted that the clergy before the Revolution paid no taxes. They did not, indeed, pay the ordinary taxes, but they gave to the State a *don gratuit* levied in their own assemblies; and besides, they frequently contributed in other ways. Thus, before the summoning of the States-General, the annual contribution of the clergy amounted to 25,000,000 francs. See *Revue des Questions Historiques*, July, 1890.

Dauphin, and would be entrusted with the highest offices in the event of a demise of the crown. Fénelon now corresponded regularly with his former pupil. Moreover, at the instigation of Beauvillier and Chevreuse, he drew up a plan of government for the future king. This work was entitled *Tables de Chaulnes*, from the name of the place where the conferences of the three friends used to be held. It does not, of course, go so far as the principles of 1789; better still, it lays down principles which, if carried out, might have prevented all the excesses of the Revolution. His plan is based upon the rights of the people and the duties of the king; a thorough reform of the court; the summoning of the States-General; the freedom of the Church from government interference. In his *Examen de Conscience des Devoirs de la Royauté*, he attacks the whole of the policy of Louis XIV.—and especially war, of which he himself had seen the terrible consequences. Everything now seemed to point to the speedy commencement of a reign full of promise of peace and prosperity for France. Louis was past eighty; his grandson was not yet thirty, and Fénelon, the trusted counsellor, just sixty. All these bright hopes were dashed to the ground by the mysterious death of the young prince (February 16, 1712).

Once more Fénelon had to fall back upon the consolations of sincere piety, his duties, and his books. His lifelong friends, Chevreuse and Beauvillier, who had stood by him in his darkest days, did not long survive their royal pupil. At the death of the latter (August, 1714) he wrote to the widowed duchess: 'We shall soon find him again whom we have lost. . . He whom we can no longer see, is closer to us than before; we meet him continually in our common centre, God.' A few weeks later he met with a serious accident while out on an episcopal visitation. On New Year's day he was attacked by fever. For six days he was in agony, and at last expired peacefully on the morning of January 7, 1715.

His life had been in his own eyes a double failure: the king had banished him from court, the Pope had condemned his book. And yet it is that failure which has endeared him



to posterity. Had he retained the royal favour he might have become a Wolsey or a Richelieu, but we should not have had the model archbishop devoted to his clergy and his flock. Had his book been approved we should have lost a most striking example of submission. Such lives as Fénelon's reconcile many a man of light and leading to bear with patience the bitterest of all pangs—to feel capable of doing much and yet to be allowed to do nothing.<sup>1</sup>

T. B. SCANNELL.

## GLIMPSES OF IRISH COLLEGIATE LIFE IN PARIS IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

IN a former paper (March, 1902) the present writer gave an account of the languages in use amongst Irish ecclesiastical students in Paris in the eighteenth century. In the present paper he purposes to give some further details concerning Irish collegiate life in Paris in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries especially in its economic aspect. In this respect it may be of interest to inquire: 1. What preparation was made for the journey to the continent, and how it was accomplished? 2. How the maintenance of students was provided for? 3. What was the character of the schools frequented by Irishmen? 4. How their vacations were spent, and 5. What was the status of the Superiors of the College? On these points the records which have come down to us are meagre, but the information they contain is not unworthy of being preserved.

### I

What then was the preparation made by students for the journey to the continent, and how was it accomplished? Here ecclesiastical students found themselves face to face with a threefold difficulty. The first arose from the laws which made it penal to go abroad for

<sup>1</sup> Ἐχθίστη δὲ ὁδὸν ἔστι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι αὐτῇ, πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρατεῖν (HEROD, ix. 16.)

the purpose of education; the second arose from want of means, and the third from the inconvenience of the journey itself. To escape the penalties of the law they were obliged to lay aside every mark of the ecclesiastical state. The better to conceal their purpose some travelled under assumed names; others, like Patrick Joseph Plunkett, so late as 1764, became artied as apprentices to merchants, and travelled as if on the business of their masters.<sup>1</sup>

The second difficulty was to provide means to defray the expense of the journey. To meet this difficulty many aspirants to the ecclesiastical state were promoted to priesthood before their departure from Ireland. Where some remnant of ecclesiastical benefices still existed they were appointed to parishes. But they were required to make their studies as soon as possible. Thus for instance, a decree of a Provincial synod of Armagh, held in 1670, ordered young priests ordained within the previous six years to go to make their studies under penalty of being deprived of their parishes. Meantime they were authorized to absent themselves for five years and to retain a portion of the revenues of their parishes to defray the expenses of their education. In other cases young priests were invited by some of the senior clergy to officiate in their parishes; and an appeal was made to the people to contribute towards the expenses of their education.<sup>2</sup> In the latter case as in the former they were required to set out for the continent as soon as possible. Sometimes it was found necessary to urge their departure. We find an instance of this in a resolution of the Chapter of Armagh, presented to the Primate, Dr. Blake, towards the close of the eighteenth century. It was couched in the following terms:—

We see with sorrow, my Lord, that two of the three ordained last year have remained at home from their studies, to the great

<sup>1</sup> Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, vol. iii., p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Statuimus et ordinamus ut omnes juniores sacerdotes qui a sexennio ordinati sunt, studia prosequi cogantur privatione beneficiorum si parochias habeant; concedimus iis licentiam substituendi alios sacerdotes ab ordinario approbatos, et ad quinquennium emolumentum quod paciscantur cum substituto, et quod ordinario justum videbitur, annue accipiendi; et si nullas parochias habeant ab aliis adjuventur.—*Statut. Armac.*, n. 21, *Renahan's Collections*, p. 153.

loss of not having in proper time a sufficient supply for the diocese, and contrary to your Grace's positive orders to them, we therefore recommend your Grace (in order to hinder the like inconvenience for the future) to direct an order to be given to every young priest along with his letters of ordination; and an exeat, a suspension from saying Mass in Ireland to be incurred, *ipso facto*, after so many days, weeks, or months, as your Grace will judge it convenient to appoint for their leaving the kingdom, and we further request your Grace, to discourage any priest or Community boy<sup>1</sup> that will return to this diocese, except in case of sickness, and that properly attested, before he finishes his regular course, and has proper attestations of good conduct from his superiors; and that if any should return, to oblige him to go back again without any benefice or promotion.<sup>2</sup>

In the eighteenth century burses were founded for the education of ecclesiastics, and in some instances, the founders made provision for the travelling expenses of students. In the M'Mahon Foundation there was a provision of this kind. That foundation made in 1710 was ratified and interpreted in 1714, by Dr. Hugh M'Mahon, Bishop of Clogher, and nephew of the founder. In the deed of ratification the following passage occurs:—

As the Province of Ulster is the most over-run in the whole kingdom by Scotch Presbyterians, who occupy town and country, and exterminate the natives, there are few parents capable of paying the travelling expenses of their children. In consequence, subjects the most talented, and who would have a right to enjoy the foundation in preference to all others, cannot avail themselves of it, for want of means to travel, a circumstance which would frustrate the intention of the founder, who, not being aware of the state of things, ordered that one hundred livres should be given to each occupant of a burse when returning to Ireland. Hence the better to fulfil the intention of the will it is better to divide the one hundred livres into two equal portions. Fifty livres shall be sent to Ireland to defray the travelling expenses of boys who shall be nominated to the burses, and the Sieurs Administrators shall be good enough to forward that sum when they shall be called on by the nominators. The other fifty shall serve for the return, and shall be granted only to such as are capable of serving the mission, and are willing to do so according to what is laid down in the fifth article.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The official title of the Junior division of the Irish College in Paris was 'Communitas Clericorum Hibernorum.'

<sup>2</sup> Resolution of the Chapter of Armagh, 1764.—Renehan's *Collections*, *Archbishops*, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> Extract from the terms of the M'Mahon Foundation.



When young men were fully provided with means to travel there still remained the difficulty of the journey, by no means an imaginary one, in an age when steamboats and railways were unknown. Some students sailed from Cork or Dublin direct to France ; others crossed through England. Two instances may be mentioned of the manner in which the journey was performed. One is that of Thomas Lewis O'Beirne. In 1768 O'Beirne, who had already been a student in Paris, went to Ireland on account of his health. On his return, some time later, it is stated that he made the journey from Holyhead to London on foot. On the way he is said to have made, in a wayside inn in Wales, the acquaintance of an English nobleman, who afterwards offered him the position of secretary. O'Beirne accepted the appointment, was led into the Protestant society, and subsequently became a pervert.<sup>1</sup> The second instance is that of Rev. Charles O'Donnell, afterwards Bishop of Derry. The account of his journey to Paris in 1777, extracted from his diary, is as follows<sup>2</sup> :—

July, 1777. Invoice of things put into my saddle-bags at the Rev. Dr. M'Davitt's house, near Strabane:—Nine shirts of fine linen marked C.D. ; six ditto of a coarse kind, eight stocks, nine pair of stockings, two pair of breeches, two flannel waistcoats, one French grammar, two Irish hymn-books, two pocket-handkerchiefs, six pair of ruffled sleeves.

Left Strabane, July 8th ; slept that night at Augher, at Widdow Duggan's ; second night at Castleblaney. Third day to Drogheda. Stayed there two nights. Supped and took breakfast with the ladies of the nunnery. Became acquainted with Father Burrell, and some gentlemen besides. Fourth day of my journey went to Dublin on the stage coach. Stayed there two nights. Took the packet-boat to Liverpool at five o'clock afternoon. Had a pleasant view of the country going down the Liffey, the hill of Howth to the left hand, and the Wicklow mountains to the right, which we had in view next morning, likewise Holyhead ; sailed down the Welsh coast, and arrived at Liverpool on 16th at 8 p.m. Took a slight view of the docks, which were well supplied with ships. Saw also the floodgates, drawbridges, with some other curiosities. The most pleasing view was that of the Exchange from which the whole town can be seen.

<sup>1</sup> *Sham Squire*, pp. 212-15.

<sup>2</sup> *Brief Memoirs of the Bishops of Derry*, by the Rev. James M'Laughlin, P.P., pp. 63, 64.

That evening [the next we presume after his arrival] I took my seat in the Liverpool fly and set out for London at five o'clock. Drove all night. Dined at Lichfield, about 100 miles from Liverpool, a country village not very large, but remarkable for an ancient church adorned with three spires, and a great many pictures of saints or other religious people, as they seemed to me to be, set up in places outside the church all made for them. Supped that night at Meridon, about thirty miles off. Went by Coventry, St. Alban's and Highgate. From thence to London where I arrived at eight o'clock, p.m., on the 19th day of the month. Stayed there two nights, having heard Mass in Lincoln Field Chapel. Saw the Royal appartments in the King's palace. Took an outside passage on the Dover stage, being anxious to see the country. Went out by the Queen's Head Inn. Eight miles from London to Rochester, a long narrow town, but with few streets, having the Thames running through the middle. From thence to Canterbury, twenty-five miles, to Dover fifteen miles; seventy-three miles from London to Dover. The country seemed very productive, beans, wheat, hops, no flax or potatoes, but great quantities of brush or wood.

That day the rain fell prodigiously. We had very little pleasure on the journey, but very wet skins for our curiosity. That night we slept at Dover.

Entered the College of the Lombards on the 26th July, 1777.

Thus at the end of the eighteenth century eighteen days were spent in making a journey which can now be made in twenty-four hours.

## II

The feelings of young men arriving in Paris for the first time must have been of joy mingled with anxiety. The perils and fatigues of the journey were over but dangers and anxieties no less serious remained. Like the celebrated Boussard, Chancellor of the University (A.D. 1518), they might say that they had come to a city the most celebrated in the world for its vices and its learning.<sup>1</sup> They had to seek a home and means of support. At first they lived as boarders at one of the University Colleges, or at lodgings in the city, while frequenting the schools as externs. After a time the liberality of M. de l'Escalopier, Baron de St. Just, provided them with a residence of which Messingham speaks in terms of eulogy.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Veni adolescens natus annos decem et septem ad Parisiorum civitatem illam inclytam toto, vitiis et literis, cantatissimam orbe.

<sup>2</sup> Obscuro satis loco manentes alumnorum paucitate incognitos ad magnificam domum ab ipso translato, auctis mediis et alumnorum numero, ad communem notitiam deductos,—Messingham, *Floulegii*, *S. Hib.*, Preface.

At a later period the Lombard College became their residence ; but, as will be seen by the appeal which we give below,<sup>1</sup> even that establishment was found insufficient, and until between 1730 and 1740 some Irish students were compelled to seek lodgings in the city.

But let us now proceed to give some details concerning the expense of their support, and how it was provided for. The students were composed of two categories, viz., priests ordained before leaving home and young men not yet in orders. As we shall see later on, 400 francs a year was considered sufficient for the support of a student in the seventeenth

<sup>1</sup> AUX PERSONNES PIEUSES ET ZÉLÉES POUR LE SOULAGEMENT DE LEURS FRÈRES  
EN JESUS CHRIST

Le Collège de Lombards où Louis XIV. a permis aux Irlandais de s'établir, n'a pas assez de logement pour contenir tous les prêtres et tous les jeunes Etudiants de cette Nation, qui viennent à Paris commencer ou achever leurs études.

Les supérieurs majeurs de ce Collège ont jugé qu'il était nécessaire d'y faire un nouveau corps de logis, qui pût contenir sous un même toit, et sous une même discipline ce qu'il y a de Prêtres et d'Etudiants Irlandais repandus dans les différents quartiers de cette capitale.

Toute jeunesse qui n'est pas disciplinée fait ordinairement de mauvaises études. Elle prend souvent dans le monde des impressions contraires à sa vocation. Les Prêtres même y courent risque d'altérer l'esprit de leur état. La dissipation est inseparable de gens qui sont occupés de se procurer le nécessaire, et n'entraîne que trop souvent le dérèglement. Quand les Ecclesiastiques Irlandais de Paris se trouveront rassemblés dans une même maison tous ces inconveniens disparaîtront. L'on espère par là soulager leurs besoins et faciliter leurs études.

Les Catholiques d'Irlande, qui depuis les Revolutions de Angleterre ont toujours regardé la France comme leur principal refuge, osent se flatter que la Nation Française, si zélée pour le maintien et la conservation de la Religion, si genereuse envers les Etrangers, surtout envers les Irlandais ne se dementira pas en cette occasion.

Les Irlandais ne s'entendront point ici sur les obligations qu'ils ont déjà à la France. Il suffit de dire qu'elle est le principal instrument dont Dieu s'est servi pour conserver la Foi in Irlande : En effet c'est à Paris que le plupart des Ecclesiastiques de cette Nation desolée viennent puiser les lumières, la sainteté et le courage nécessaires pour remplir leur ministère et qu'ils se mettent en état d'être réellement et selon Dieu, utiles à la mission, et à leur Patrie. Dieu a beni cet ouvrage.

Une triste experience nous apprend, que partout où la Foi est persecutée, elle s'éteint presque en moins d'un siècle, ou passe à une autre nation, sans laisser aucune trace de sa lumière chez le peuple qu'elle abandonne. C'est ainsi qu'en Suede l'erreur ; le schisme en Moscovie, en Asie l'infidelité ont éteint jusqu'au nom de Catholique.

Cependant la Foi pure telle que tous les Chrétiens l'ont reçu de Jesus Christ, par le ministère de ses Apôtres et de leurs successeurs, subsiste encore en Irlande. Apres deux siècles de persecution le plus grand nombre de ses habitants est encore Catholique. La Hierarchie Ecclesiastique s'y maintient. La rigueur des Lois, la privation des Biens, l'exclusion des Charges et des Dignités sont de vains obstacles. La foi y est toujours la plus forte. Et cette



and in the beginning of the eighteenth century. The priests received stipends for their masses. The stipend was usually a franc. By means of these stipends, they were able to provide themselves with at least absolute necessities. They purchased their own furniture, and, as we learn from a memorandum drawn up by them about 1736, they paid their accounts to the Econome of the College once a week.<sup>1</sup> Besides the priests there were also the

honte est un miracle, dont la Providence ne fournit aucun exemple dans l'histoire Ecclesiastique.

C'est pour se mettre en etat de soutenir une œuvre si digne de la coopération de tous les Fideles que les Irlandais invitent aujourd'hui les Français à les secourir dans la depense, qu'ils ont à faire non seulement pour leur nouveau batiment mais encore pour la réédification de leur chapelle, qui tombe en ruines, et qu'ils ne peuvent se dispenser de demolir incessamment.

Les Prieres sont la seule recompense que puissent attendre des Chretiens, et que des Pretres puissent offrir ; surtout quand il s'agit des bienfaits entre une nation genereuse et florissante et un peuple humble et persecuté.

Les Irlandais ne cesseront donc de prier Dieu pour leur Bienfaiteurs et pour la France leur seconde Patrie. Ils n'ont j'amaïs pu lui temoigner assez la juste reconnaissance, qu'ils leur doivent pour l'asyle qu'Elle accorde au Roi Jacques. Ce qu'ils purent faire dans le temps fut de venir au nombre de quarante cinq mille hommes se joindre aux Français pour combattre les ennemis communs, lorsque toute l'Europe etait ligué contre Louis XIV de triomphante memoire.

Le souvenir que la France à bien vouloir conserver des batailles de la Marseilles, de Luzata, et d'Almanza, des sieges du Namur, Charleroi, Barcelone, etc., et enfin du choc de Cremoné et de quelques autres occasions où les Irlandais firent leur devoir, est si flatteur pour eux, qu'ils n'ont pas de regret au sang repandu à son service, et qu'ils sont encoré prêts à verser pour Elle tout ce qu'il leur en reste. Les Ecclesiastiques prieront, les laïques combattront.

#### ETAT PRESENT DU COLLÈGE DES LOMBARDS

Ce Collège est à present composé de quatre vingt dix personnes y compris les quatre Provisours, le Prefet des Clercs et les domestiques.

Ce grand nombre n'a d'autre ressource fixe pour subsister que dix huit cent livres de Rentes, mais la Providence est infinie.

Quoniam eleemosyna à morte liberat, et ipsa est quae purgat peccata, et facit invenire misericordiam et vitam aeternam. (Tob. xii. 9.)

L'aumone delivre de la mort, et c'est elle qui efface lespechés et qui fait trouver la misericorde et la vie Eternelle. (Tob xii. 9.)

Ceux qui auront la charite de contribuer quelque chose à cette pieuse entreprise auront la bonté de s'adresser à Monsieur l'Abbé de Vaubrun l'un des Superieurs majeurs ; il demeure à l'Hotel d'Estrees, rue de Grenelle, Faubourg St. Germain. Il a deja fait des avances tres considerable pour ce batiment qui coutera plus de 80,000 livres.

Les personnes charitables qui voudront contribuer à cette bonne œuvre pourront aussi s'adresser à Monsieur Bourk, demeurant au Collège des Lombards, Provisour et Procureur du dit College.—*Recueil des pieces*, Mazarin Library, A 15,422, undated. M. Bourk was Provisor from 1728 to 1734.

<sup>1</sup> On one occasion, when some were in arrears, the Econome locked the door of the refectory, and when the priests assembled for supper they found the door shut against them.—*Memoire pour les Pretres*, Arch. Nat., M 147.

junior students. These again may be divided into three classes. Some amongst them had means of their own, and paid a pension; others were supported by burses founded by benefactors; and others again, in the eighteenth century, were supported at the expense of the College.

At the close of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century the value of a burse was 400 livres. The Maginn Foundation amounted to 2,500 livres, and six students were supported on it. In like manner the annual revenue of the Molony Foundation, made in 1701 for the support of six students at the College of Clermont, and subsequently transferred to the Irish College was 2,500 livres. In some other foundations the amount 400 livres is expressly mentioned. It may be of interest to inquire what such a burse entitled a student to receive. On this point some of the acts of foundation enter into minute details. The terms of the Foundation Bannan are as follows:—

Pour laquelle somme de quatre cent livres, la dite communauté sera obligée, de nourrir, chauffer, éclairer, blanchir, entretenir d'habits, de linge de lit, et de livres d'études, dans le dite commune à Paris, et non ailleurs, un étudiant qui sera nommé par qui il sera dit cy-après.

The terms of the Duffy Foundation are no less detailed:—

Les sujets admis en la dite communauté en vertu des présentes, y seront nourris, logés, blanchis, et entretenus d'habits, linge, bas, souliers, livres de classes, généralement de tout ce qui sera nécessaire pour un étudiant pendant le cour de ses études, jusqu'et compris la Licence, s'il en est jugé capable; et jusqu'à ce qu'il ait reçu l'ordre de prêtrise dans le dite communauté.

Again, in the Foundation Farely, it was stipulated:—

Lorsqu'ils auront été reçu dans la dite communauté; ils y seront nourris comme les autres étudiants, ils y seront entretenus, modestement et honnetement d'habits, linge, et autres hardes: on leur fera blanchir leur linge, et ils seront fournis de livres de classe, papier, encre, et plumes, et généralement tout ce qui sera nécessaire pour leur nourriture, leur entretien et leurs études.

In the Foundation O'Keeffe it is laid down that the bursars shall be treated as follows:—

Il leur sera fourni une nourriture saine, viande, pain, boisson, soit vin, ou bière, et en outre ils seront, blanchis, chauffés et

entretenus modestement et honnetement d'habits, bas, souliers, chapeaux, linge, livres, papiers, et généralement de tout ce qui leur sera nécessaire pour leur nourriture et leurs études.

In the Maher Foundation made in the Irish Jesuit College at Poitiers, the terms were these :—

Que, les dits boursiers seront nourris tant en santé qu'en maladie ; et qu'il leur sera fourni tous les ans un habit conforme à leur état et convenable à un prêtre, ainsi que le linge, le chapeau, les souliers, la chandelle, le bois, le blanchissage, et les frais nécessaires pour le barbier.<sup>1</sup>

A burse then of the annual value of 400 francs provided for the maintenance of a student for the entire year. At the close of the eighteenth century 400 livres was no longer considered sufficient, and when the Poitiers burses were transferred to Paris the sum allocated for the support of a student was 600 livres.

Besides the bursars there were other students some of whom paid a pension, and some were educated gratis. The amount of the pension, as may be gathered from the following letter of Dr. Kearney (A.D. 1788), was moderate :—

The only method for pensioners [he writes] would be to have them pay a round sum all at once. For a boy who begins his philosophy nothing less than sixty guineas can at present be taken, and one-third more for a boy who would begin his troisième.

What I shall call for, then, to be fixed by his Grace of Paris, is that each pensioner shall give, on his arrival here, at once, at least fifty guineas if he begins in philosophy and about seventy if he begins in troisième. Dividing that sum between the number of years they are to spend in the house from the beginning of their classes, they will only have paid at the rate of 200<sup>2</sup> livres yearly.

Other students again were educated gratis. The qualifications necessary to entitle a young man to this privilege, are thus set forth in a letter of Dr. Plunket :—

He [the student] must be of an age not too advanced for troisième, that is fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen, or thereabouts. In this supposition he will be received gratis, as soon as he shall win a premium in the university. Should this happen the first year, he will have nothing at all to pay during the course of his studies. At anyrate Dr. Kelly admits him for ten pounds a year until his application is crowned with the above-mentioned success.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Recueil des ouvrages de M. le President Roland*. Paris, 1783, p. 644.

<sup>2</sup> 200 livres equals about £8.

<sup>3</sup> Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, vol. iii. pp. 126, 128.

<sup>4</sup> Letter of Dr. Plunket, A.D. 1775. Cogan's *Meath*, vol. iii. p. 7.



The maintenance of students received gratis was derived from pious foundations made for the general purposes of the College and not destined for the exclusive benefit of a particular diocese or family. These details, arid though they are, serve to throw light on the manner in which the education of the Irish clergy was provided for in the eighteenth century. They also show that when offerings for Masses became rarer at the approach of the Revolution, and when the price of provisions increased in years of scarcity, it is not to be wondered at, that the two Irish Colleges in Paris suffered severely and contracted debts.<sup>1</sup>

### III

Such, from an economic point of view, was the condition of Irish ecclesiastical students in Paris in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Let us now follow these into the schools. The priests usually devoted two years to the study of philosophy, three to theology and one to preparation for pastoral work. The junior clerics, in many cases, began in the grammar classes and then passed on to philosophy and theology. The more talented were allowed to remain for two years after their baccalaureat to prepare for their Licence.

A word, therefore, on the character of the schools frequented by them may not be uninteresting. The first of the university schools frequented by the Irish students was the Collège Montaigu. The students of that College were divided into two categories, viz., the rich, who paid a pension, and the poor, who were supported on the College foundation. The latter formed a community canonically organised. This community was divided into four sections. Each section rose at midnight for a week at a time, in turn, to recite the Divine Office. The other sections rose at 3 a.m. for prayer.

For some years after the foundation of the College the students received no breakfast, but were permitted to take their place amongst the poor at the door of the neighbouring

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<sup>1</sup> *Irish College in Paris, 1578-1901*, pp. 54, 57.

Carthusian monastery, where they received an alms. At a later period a piece of bread only was given them in the College. Advent was observed as rigorously as Lent, and each Friday throughout the year was a fast-day. The statutes of the College prescribed that the meals should be frugal, and that they were not undeserving of that appellation may be inferred from the menu, which was as follows :—

Les prêtres seuls auront l'usage de vin, mais in petite quantité, c'est à dire, une pinte sera partagée entre trois, et il y aura un quart d'eau. Chacun aura pour entrée la trentième d'un livre du heurre ou des pommes cûtes, ou des pruneaux. Cela sera suivi d'une soupe aux legumes sans graisse, avec un demi-hareng ou un œuf à chacun des jeunes ecoliers, et aux theologiens unhareng entier, ou deux œufs, ce qui sera suivi d'un peu de fromage ou fruits. On aura grand soin des malades. On leur permettra l'usage de la viande, mais avant toutes choses, en entrant à l'infirmerie ils se confesseront.

The rigorous discipline of the Montaign College was celebrated, and parents used to bring their refractory children to a sense of their duty by threatening to send them to that establishment.<sup>1</sup>

This *régime* continued until 1683, when an effort was made to mitigate its severity, but without success. In 1744 the Parliament of Paris interfered, and dispensed the students from rising at night for the recitation of the Office, and authorised the use of flesh meat.

The earliest batch of Irish students, with Rev. John Lee at their head, entered this College in 1578, and so late as 1681 many Irishmen continued to attend it for lectures. It is worthy of mention that an Irishman, Rev. Richard Ferris, was Econome of the Collège Montaign in 1789. The Marquis Lally Tollendal, in a confidential note to the Minister of the Interior in 1811, in which he recommends the appointment

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<sup>1</sup> The author of *Gargantua* thus satirises it: ' Ne pensez pas que j'ai mis mon fils au collège qu'on nomme Montagut. Mieux l'eusse voulu le mettre entre les guenaux des saints Innocents pour l'enorme cruauté que j'y cognu (connu). Car trop (beaucoup) mieux sont traités les forcés (forcats) entre les Maures et les Tartares, les meurtriers en la maison criminelle, voire certes les chiens en votre maison que ne sont ces malotrus au dit collège : et si j'étais roi de Paris, le diable m'emporte, si je ne mettrais le feu dedans et ferais bruler et principal et regent qui endurent cette inhumanite devant leur yeux.—Rabelais, *Gargantua*. Apud de Gaulle, *Hist. de Paris*, etc., vol. ii., p. 429.

of Dr. Ferris as Superior of the Irish College, thus enumerates his qualifications: 'Doctor of the Sorbonne, Licentiate of Laws, Advocate in Parliament, Promoter-General of the Diocese and Deputy of the Clergy of Amiens, Procurator of the Nation d'Allemagne, Member of the Tribunal of the University, and Procurator Syndic for life at the College of Montaigu.' He adds that Dr. Ferris had refused to take the constitutional oath, and had been deprived in consequence of his office as Econome.

Another college frequented by Irish students was that of Boncour, where Dr. Molony, of Killaloe, was professor in the early years of the seventeenth century. The College of Boncour was distinguished for its discipline, the course of studies extended over seven years, and the sermons addressed to the students were delivered in the Latin language.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Irish priests of the Lombard College attended the Collège des Grassins for lectures in Philosophy. In a former paper<sup>1</sup> an account has been given of that ancient establishment and of the connexion of Irishmen with it. About 1708 its financial position became embarrassed, but a member of the family of the founder came to its aid. Its former prosperity was restored, and it continued to flourish until it perished with the University itself in 1793.

The junior clerics attended lectures in Classics and Philosophy at the College of Plessis, otherwise called Plessis-Sorbonne. Its discipline and the merit of its professors earned for that College a high rank in the University. It sustained, says De Gaulle,<sup>2</sup> its reputation to the end, and there was no College in the University in which scholastic discipline was better observed, or which produced a greater number of distinguished men.

Besides the colleges just mentioned, Irishmen also frequented the College of Navarre. According to the author just cited, of all the University establishments, the College of Navarre had the most complete course of studies,

<sup>1</sup> I. E. RECORD, Nov., 1901.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. de Paris*, vol. ii., pp. 436-37.



comprising the Humanities, Philosophy, and Theology. It was styled the 'Ecole de la noblesse française et l'honneur de l'Université.' With none of the University Colleges were Irishmen more intimately connected. Dr. Michael Moore, who had already been professor there, became its Principal in 1702. Rev. James Wogan was Professor of Philosophy at Navarre in 1730. There, too, Rev. John Plunkett was Professor of Theology in 1740. Dr. Patrick Plunkett held the same chair in 1782, and Rev. Peter Flood in 1789.<sup>1</sup>

Amid such surroundings Irishmen made their studies. Their success in the schools is testified to by the degrees which they won, and the professorships to which some of them were promoted. Even French satirists, by their reference to Irish dialectic skill, pay a tribute to their reputation in the schools. Elsewhere we have quoted the verses of Santeul, and of Rulhieres.<sup>2</sup> Lesage, too, and Montesquieu mention them. The former puts the following words into the mouth of one of his heroes :—

Jè m'appliquai à la logique qui m'apprit à raisonner beaucoup. J'aimais tant la dispute que j'arretais les passans connus et inconnus pour leur poser des arguments. Je m'adressais quelquefois à des figures hibernoises, qui ne demandaient pas mieux ; et il fallait alors nous voir disputer. Quels gestes, quelles grimaces, quelles contortions. Nos yeux étaient pleins de fureur et nos bouches ecumantes, on nous devoit plutôt prendre pour des possidés que pour des philosophes.<sup>3</sup>

In his edition of Lesage, in 1825, M. le Comte de Chateauneuf thus refers to this passage :—

C'était surtout à Paris que l'on rencontrait ces figures hibernoises, venus d'Irlande avec le Roi Jacques Stuart, et signalées aussi dans les lettres persanes. Quand Lesage les place à Oviedo, c'est une première preuve qui si le lieu de la scène est en Espagne, l'original des tableaux est le plus souvent en France.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Flood, Dr. Aherne, and Dr. Plunkett, Professor Emeritus, professors at Navarre ; Dr. Ferris, Procurator at the Montaigu College, and MacMahon, Professor at Louis le Grand, refused the Constitutional oath in 1789, and were deprived of their position. On the list of University Professors, who acted in the same way the names Delahogue and Anglade occur.—Jourdain, *Hist. de l'Univ.*, ed. 1866, vol. i., p. 486.

<sup>2</sup> *Irish College in Paris, 1578-1901*, pp. xi.-18.

<sup>3</sup> Le Sage, *Gil Blas*, liv. i., c. i., p. 7. <sup>4</sup> Loc. cit.

Montesquieu above alluded to, speaks thus :—

Il y a des quartiers où l'on voit comme une mêlée noire et épaisse de ces sortes de gens . . Ils se nourrissent de distinctions. Ils vivent de raisonnements obscurs et fausses conséquences. Ce métier où l'on devrait mourir de faim ne laisse pas de rendre. On a vu une nation entière chassée de son pays, traverser les mers pour s'établir en France, n'emportant avec elle pour parer aux nécessités de la vie, qu'un redoutable talent pour la dispute.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV

But how, it may be asked, did they spend their vacations? Here we have no data to guide us. Only in 1769 do we find mention of a country house. At that date Dr. Kelly purchased a house and garden at Ivry, which from that period to the outbreak of the Revolution served as a vacation residence for students and professors. To this residence Dr. Marky thus refers in a letter to Dr. Plunket, dated 9th August, 1779 :—

Flood is in a fair way to finish himself—and so intent is he upon it, that he chooses rather to stay vegetating and poring over his books in Paris, than spend the vacation with us at Ivry, where he might certainly read as much as any reasonable pounder would desire. . . . Our garden has done its duty extremely well. We have plenty of fruit. The melons have succeeded tolerably.<sup>2</sup>

The Superiors themselves seldom returned to Ireland. Father Donlevy mentions that in 1742 he had been absent from his native country for over thirty-one years. They generally spent their vacations in France, and strange as it may seem to those of the present day it was considered a restorative in illness to go to take the waters at Passy.

When the course of studies was completed the young priests were obliged to return to the mission in Ireland. In the seventeenth, and in the earlier years of the eighteenth century, the homeward journey was beset with dangers<sup>3</sup> Priests landing in Ireland were liable to imprisonment and to banishment. Even at the close of the eighteenth century there remained the fatigue and inconvenience of the journey. The expense too was not inconsiderable. But

<sup>1</sup> Lettre 36.

<sup>2</sup> Cogan, *Hist. of the Diocese of Meath*, vol. iii., p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Irish College in Paris, 1578-1901*, p.p. 21-44.

provision for this was made in the case of some. Thus to the the M'Mahon bursars fifty livres, to the Farely bursars three hundred livres and to the O'Keefe bursars a competent sum was assigned by the terms of those foundations for that purpose.

## V

Having seen what was the condition of the students let us now proceed to consider what was the status of the Superiors of the College.

By the statutes of the Lombard College the Superiors were required to be graduates of the University of Paris. This qualification was so indispensable that in 1716, the Rector of the University having learned that the students of the Province of Munster purposed to elect as their Provisor a priest who was not a graduate, issued a mandate forbidding them to elect anyone who was not at least a Master of Arts in the University. The mandate was obeyed, and the Abbé Fogarty, Doctor of Theology, was elected provisor for Munster.<sup>1</sup>

Being graduates, the Superiors were members of the Nation d'Allemagne, and as such took part in the affairs of the University. Many of them filled the office of Procurator of that Nation; and in that capacity they had a vote in the election of the Rector of the University. One of the most interesting and important of the Rectorial elections was that held in 1739, in which the Abbé Pierre Armand Rohan de Ventadour was elected. The youthful and noble Rector succeeded at a critical moment in inducing the University to withdraw its appeal and accept the Bull Unigenitus. One of the four electors on this occasion was Dr. Farely,<sup>2</sup> Principal of the Lombard College. After 1730 the University registers of the Nation d'Allemagne are missing, and from that period it is more difficult to give a full list of Irish Procurators. But many Irishmen continued to hold that office down to 1790, nor was there any drawing off from the University either on the part of the Superiors or the students until the University ceased to exist.

But what, it may be asked, was the income of the Provisors?

<sup>1</sup> Jourdain, *Hist. de l'Universite de Paris*. Ed. 1866: vol. i., p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> Jourdain, *ibid.*, vol. i. p. 368. There were two of the name. Dr. Farley, senior, died in 1736.



Here we have no very precise documents to guide us. The first Provisors, Dr. Maginn and Dr. Kelly, were benefactors rather than salaried officers of the College. In his *Notes Confidentielles* to the Minister of the Interior, Lally Tollendal states that the salaries of the Superiors of the College previous to the Revolution, did not exceed 400 livres. No doubt they had board and lodging and Mass stipends. In some cases, too, the founders of burses assigned an annual sum of 50 or 60 or 100 livres to the Provisor under whose care a burse was placed to indemnify him for the expense and trouble of administration.

But while filling the office of Provisor, some of the Superiors held professorships in the University. Dr. Plunket, for instance, and Dr. Flood, were Royal Professors of Theology in the College of Navarre. When established in 1659 by Louis XIV. the salary of the Royal professorship at that College was fixed at 900 livres, and soon after it was increased to 1,000 livres.

In the faculty of Arts, as we learn from Jourdain,<sup>1</sup> that at the end of the eighteenth century, the salary of a professor of Philosophy or Rhetoric from all sources was 2,400 francs, that of a professor of troisième 2,200 francs, and of a professor of quatrième and cinquième 2,000 francs. After twenty years service they were entitled to retire with a pension of 1,400 francs. A supplement of 300 was granted to the twenty senior *emeriti*. The salary of a professor of Theology in the University Colleges at the same period was probably equal to that of a professor of Philosophy.

Outside college and university life the Superiors of the Irish College were not without acquaintances. Some amongst them had relatives amongst the officers of the Irish Brigade, and some of them like Dr. Maginn and Dr. Kelly were known at Court. Just at the outbreak of the Revolution the Abbé O'Brien, one of the officials of the College, held the office of chaplain at one of the country houses of the King's brother. Others were favourably known to members of the French Episcopate. The Abbé Kearney before his appointment as Superior of the College had been

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. de l'Universite*, ed. 1866, vol. i, p. 474.

nominated Vicar-General of the diocese of Tarbes, and Dr. Walsh was for some time Vicar-General of Clermont in the early years of the nineteenth century. The Superiors, therefore, though not affluent, occupied a position of influence and honour.

But to one of them, Dr. Charles Kearney, more than a passing notice is due. Charles Kearney entered the College as a boy in 1762. In 1772 his name occurs amongst the signatories of the deed of Donation by Dr. Kelly. He was then a sub-deacon. At a latter period he took his degree, and in 1783 he was appointed Superior of the Collège rue de Cheval Vert. We have elsewhere given some account of the administration of Dr. Kearney.<sup>1</sup> To the confidential report above mentioned of the Marquis Lally Tollendal to the Minister of the Interior, dated 12th March, 1811, we are indebted for additional interesting information regarding him.

Dr. Kearney, says the Marquis, could not see anyone in distress without opening his purse to relieve him, and when his own was empty that of the College. During the Revolution he permitted Frenchmen to deposit their title deeds in the College as being a place under the protection of International Law. He also provided many British subjects with means to escape from Paris and thus save their lives. Moreover he was associated with M. Gavroi, the Abbé Edgeworth, M. de Vauvilliers, and M. Swinburne, first page of the Queen, in a plan for the escape of Louis XVI.<sup>2</sup> A vessel was engaged, and in readiness at Havre, to take the King to England; a boat was waiting on the Seine to bring him to Havre. But Louis would not consent to depart without the Queen. It was found impossible to contrive means for the evasion of both together, and in consequence the project was abandoned.

<sup>1</sup> *The Irish College in Paris, 1578-1901*, pp. 56-67.

<sup>2</sup> Il ne pouvait voir un être souffrant sans lui ouvrir sa bourse, et quand elle était vide celle du collège. Il avait concouru avec M. Garvoi, l'Abbé Edgeworth, M. de Vauvilliers, M. Swinburne, premier page de la Reine, et autres à un projet d'évasion pour l'infortuné Louis XVI. Le vaisseau était acheté et en panne au Havre, la barque qui devait y conduire a longtemps attendu la funeste indecision et le plus funeste refus de ce trop malheureux Prince. On ne pouvait, on ne voulait se charger que du Roi seul, et le Roi ne voulait partir sans la Reine.—Notes Confidentielles de Lally Tollendal, sur l'administration des collèges irlandais, anglais et écossais; réunis dans tout l'Empire français, aux Arch. Nat. H<sup>3</sup>. 2561.

Meanwhile Dr. Kearney continued to reside at the College. On 12th August, 1792, a band of men armed with clubs, sabres, and muskets, broke into the College, the students saved themselves by leaping over the walls into the neighbouring gardens and streets. The cry, 'Seize the Citizen Kearney, alive or dead,' resounded on all sides. Dr. Kearney, however, succeeded in making his escape. About this time the papers and other property of the Superiors of the College were put under seals by the Revolutionary Government. But a mob, headed by Truchon, surnamed Longuebarbe, broke into the College, snatched the keys from the official in charge of the seals, and ransacked the whole house. Dr. Kearney again returned, and Mass continued to be said in the College until 17th May, 1793. Soon after that date Dr. Kearney was arrested and cast into prison. He was tried by a Revolutionary tribunal. Amongst the documents produced against him one was a letter from an English colonel, referring to the part Dr. Kearney had taken in the plan for the escape of Louis XVI. to England; another was a letter from the Duke of FitzJames, thanking him for the aid he had given to British subjects, whereby they were enabled to save their lives and escape to their native country. He was detained in prison for three years, partly at the Luxembourg, and partly in the Temple. Of that period he spent thirty-six days in a *cachot* or dungeon, whence he was told he would come forth only to be led to the scaffold. When all hope seemed lost, his liberation came from a quarter whence it was to be least expected. Years before he had befriended Camille Desmoulins, then a poor student at the Collège Louis Legrand. Learning that his former benefactor was in danger Camille Desmoulins interfered in his behalf, saved him from the scaffold, and restored him to liberty.

On his return to the College, Dr. Kearney let it for a period of nine years to the Abbé M'Dermott, while he

<sup>1</sup> These facts are given by Lally Tollendal as taken from the 'déclarations authentiques du gardien des scellés, du commissaire du police, des maires adjoints de l'arrondissement.'



himself continued to reside in Paris, and supported himself by giving lessons.

After the Peace of Amiens Dr. Walsh was appointed Administrator of the Irish Foundations. He obliged the Abbé M'Dermott to give up possession of the College, and opened it to students under his own management. Dr. Kearney remained in Paris, where he was befriended by many, and amongst his benefactors was the Queen of Holland. In 1820 he was again appointed Rector of the College, and held that office until his death in 1824. His funeral obsequies were celebrated in the College. Many French ladies and gentlemen, whom he had befriended during the Revolution, assisted at the ceremony, after which he was laid to rest in the vault beneath the chapel, along with Dr. Laurence Kelly, Dr. Michael Cahill, and Rev. Donal M'Mahon.

In bringing these remarks and papers to a close one may be permitted to apply to him the concluding words of the panegyric of Dr. Michael Moore :—

Supersedeo, plura dicere, satis non deservisse quidem, sed delimasse me arbitror qualis in vos fuerit venerabilis senex, ut nostri muneris fuisse censeatur, hos qualescumque flores ejus sepulchro injicere, et piis Rectorii viri manibus pacem aeternam adprecari.<sup>2</sup>

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

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<sup>1</sup> Summarised from the *Notes Confidentielles* of Lally Tollendal.

<sup>2</sup> From the oration of M. Delaval on Dr. Moore, Paris, 1726, *Regist.* 40 de la Nation d'Allemagne.

# Notes and Queries

## LITURGY

### MAY CANDIDATES VALIDLY INVEST THEMSELVES WITH SCAPULAR?

REV. DEAR SIR,—A question has been raised by one of the fathers engaged here in giving a mission, as to the conditions of valid investiture in the Confraternity of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. The father thinks that he read in the I. E. RECORD some time within the years 1894-98, a decision that the priest who receives into the confraternity may validly invest with the scapular, by simply getting the candidates to put on the scapular themselves after (that is) he has blessed the scapulars and read the other required prayers. The negative of this opinion finds more favour with the rest of the fathers, who think that the priest must *invest* each candidate *individually*.

His reverence has requested me to write direct to the editor of the I. E. RECORD. T. C.

We cannot find in any number of the I. E. RECORD the decision referred to. There are two articles on the subject of scapulars—one in the number of September, 1890, page 845, and the other in that of October, 1901, page 311. In both of these articles it is supposed that the investiture must be performed by the *hand of the priest*, though the question of the validity of the other mode of investiture is not expressly raised. Beringer also<sup>1</sup> has: 'Ensuite on en impose un a chaque fidèle en particulier,' etc. The same author, in another place,<sup>2</sup> does expressly raise the question of the validity of the investiture described by our correspondent and decides against it, except there be a special Apostolic Indult authorizing it:—

' Enfin en ce qui concerne la reponse du General des Carmes

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., p. 398, k.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii., Append. 11, p. 31.

. . . elle n'a nul rapport avec la question présente (de la formule au pluriel) : elle regarde les cas où l'on distribuait d'abord les scapulaires à tous et où l'on recitait ensuite la formule d'imposition au pluriel, pendant que *chacun s'imposait le scapulaire à lui-même*. Le General des Carmes avait bien raison de dire que de telles impositions *sont nulles et de nulle valeur*, si l'on n'a point un indult spécial de Rome.'

It is plain that the invalidity arises from the self-investiture and not from the use of the plural form, because, at the end of the same page the author holds most distinctly the validity of the plural form :—

‘ Il n'est donc plus possible de révoquer en doute la validité et la licéité de l'imposition du scapulaire à plusieurs personnes, en récitant une seule fois la formule au pluriel.’

We are not aware of any recent decision opposed to this teaching.

P. O'LEARY.



## DOCUMENTS

ENCYCLICAL OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII.<sup>1</sup>

EX ACTIS LEONIS XIII. ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM  
 LEO XIII, INEUNTE 25 ANNO AB INCOEPTO S. PONTIFICATU, DESCRIBIT  
 PERSECUTIONES OLIM ET NUNC CONTRA ECCLESIAM EXORTAS, EX  
 QUIBUS QUAMPLURIMA MALA EXSURGUNT IN CIVILI SOCIETATE,  
 ETC.

LETTRE APOSTOLIQUE DE SA SAINTETÉ LE PAPE LÉON XIII À TOUS  
 LES PATRIARCHES, PRIMATS, ARCHEVÊQUES ET EVÊQUES DU  
 MONDE CATHOLIQUE

## LÉON XIII PAPE

VÉNÉRABLES FRÈRES SALUT ET BÉNÉDICTION APOSTOLIQUE.

Parvenu à la vingt-cinquième année de Notre Ministère apostolique, et étonné Nous-même de la longueur du chemin qu'au milieu d'âpres et continuels soucis Nous avons parcouru, Nous Nous sentons tout naturellement porté à élever Notre pensée vers le Dieu à jamais béni, qui, parmi tant d'autres faveurs a bien voulu Nous accorder un Pontificat d'une durée telle qu'on en rencontre à peine quelques-uns de pareils dans l'histoire. C'est donc vers le Père de tous les hommes, vers Celui qui tient dans ses mains le mystérieux secret de la vie, que s'élance, comme un impérieux besoin de Notre cœur, l'hymne de Notre action de grâces. Assurément, l'œil de l'homme ne peut pas sonder toute la profondeur des desseins de Dieu, lorsqu'il a ainsi prolongé au delà de toute espérance notre vieillesse ; et ici Nous ne pouvons que Nous taire et l'adorer. Mais il y a pourtant une chose que Nous savons bien, c'est que s'il Lui a plu, et s'il Lui plaît de conserver encore Notre existence, un grand devoir Nous incombe : vivre pour le bien et le développement de son Epouse immaculée, la Sainte Eglise, et, loin de perdre courage en face des soucis et des peines, lui consacrer le restant de Nos forces jusqu'à Notre dernier soupir.

Après avoir payé le tribut d'une juste reconnaissance à notre

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[<sup>1</sup> This Encyclical was not composed in Latin, but was issued simultaneously in Italian and in French. We give the French official text.—ED. I. E. RECORD.]

Père céleste, à qui soient honneur et gloire pendant toute l'éternité, il Nous est très agréable de revenir vers vous par la pensée et de vous adresser la parole, à vous, Vénérables Frères, qui, appelés par l'Esprit Saint à gouverner des portions choisies du troupeau de Jésus-Christ, participez par cela même avec Nous aux luttes et aux triomphes, aux douleurs et aux joies du ministère des Pasteurs. Non, elles ne s'évanouiront jamais de Notre mémoire, les nombreuses et remarquables preuves de religieuse vénération que vous Nous avez prodiguées au cours de Notre Pontificat, et que vous multipliez encore avec une émulation pleine de tendresse dans les circonstances présentes. Intimement uni à vous déjà par Notre devoir et par Notre amour paternel, ces témoignages de votre dévouement, extrêmement chers à Notre cœur, Nous y ont attaché encore, moins pour ce qu'ils avaient de personnel en ce qui Nous regarde, que pour l'attachement inviolable qu'ils dénotaient à ce Siège Apostolique, centre et soutien de tous les autres sièges de la catholicité. S'il a toujours été nécessaire qu'aux divers degrés de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique tous les enfants de l'Eglise se tinssent jalousement unis dans les liens d'une charité réciproque et dans la poursuite des mêmes desseins, de manière à ne former qu'un cœur et qu'une âme, cette union est devenue de nos temps plus indispensable que jamais. Qui peut ignorer en effet l'immense conjuration de forces hostiles qui vise aujourd'hui à ruiner et à faire disparaître la grande œuvre de Jésus-Christ, en essayant, avec un acharnement que ne connaît plus de limites, dans l'ordre intellectuel, de ravir à l'homme le trésor des vérités célestes, et, dans l'ordre social, de déraciner les plus saintes, les plus salutaires institutions chrétiennes? Mais tout cela, vous en êtes, vous-mêmes, frappés, tous les jours, vous qui Nous avez plus d'une fois exprimé vos préoccupations et vos angoisses, en déplorant la multitude de préjugés, de faux systèmes et d'erreurs qu'on sème impunément au milieu des foules. Que de pièges ne tend-on point de tous côtés aux âmes croyantes? Que d'obstacles ne multiplie-t-on pas pour affaiblir et, autant que possible, pour annihiler la bienfaisante action de l'Eglise? Et, en attendant, comme pour ajouter la dérision à l'injustice, c'est l'Eglise elle-même qu'on accuse de ne pas savoir recouvrer sa vertu antique, et d'être impuissante à endiguer le torrent de passions débordées qui menace de tout emporter!

Nous voudrions bien vous entretenir, Vénérables Frères, d'un sujet moins triste et qui fût en harmonie plus grande avec

l'heureuse circonstance qui Nous incline à vous parler. Mais rien ne comporte un pareil langage, ni les graves épreuves de l'Eglise, qui appellent avec instance un prompt secours, ni les conditions de la société contemporaine qui, déjà fortement travaillée au point de vue moral et matériel, s'achemine vers des destinées encore pires par l'abandon des grandes traditions chrétiennes : une loi de la Providence, confirmée par l'histoire, prouvant qu'on ne peut pas porter atteinte aux grands principes religieux, sans ébranler en même temps les bases de l'ordre et de la prospérité sociale. Dans ces circonstances, pour permettre aux âmes de reprendre haleine, pour les réapprovisionner de foi et de courage, il Nous paraît opportun et utile de considérer attentivement, dans son origine, dans ses causes, dans ses formes multiples, l'implacable guerre, que l'on fait à l'Eglise, et, en dénonçant les funestes conséquences, d'en assigner les remèdes. Que Notre parole résonne donc bien haut, quoiqu'elle doive rappeler des vérités affirmées d'autres fois déjà ; qu'elle soit entendue non seulement par les fils de l'unité catholique, mais encore par les fils de l'unité catholique, mais encore par les dissidents et même par les infortunés qui n'ont plus la foi ; car ils sont tous enfants du même Père, tous destinés au même bien suprême, qu'elle soit accueillie enfin comme le testament qu'à la faible distance où Nous sommes des portes de l'éternité Nous voulons laisser aux peuples comme un présage du salut que Nous désirons pour tous.

De tout temps, la Sainte Eglise du Christ a eu à combattre et à souffrir pour la vérité et pour la justice. Instituée par le divin Rédempteur lui-même pour propager dans le monde le règne de Dieu, elle doit conduire, aux clartés de la loi évangélique, l'humanité déchue vers ses immortelles destinées c'est-à-dire la faire entrer en possession des biens sans fin que Dieu nous a promis, à la hauteur desquels, nos seules forces ne nous permettent pas de monter : céleste mission dans l'accomplissement de laquelle elle ne pouvait que se heurter aux innombrables passions reçues de l'antique déchéance et de la corruption qu'elle a engendrée, orgueil, cupidité, amour effréné des jouissances matérielles, vices et désordres qui en découlent et qui ont tous rencontré dans l'Eglise le frein le plus puissant.

Le fait de ces persécutions ne doit pas nous étonner ; ne nous ont-elles pas été prédites par le Divin Maître et ne savons-nous pas qu'elles dureront autant que le monde ? Que dit en effet le Sauveur à ses disciples, lorsqu'il les envoya porter le trésor de sa



doctrine à toutes les nations ? Personne ne l'ignore : ' Vous serez poursuivis de ville en ville, à cause de mon nom, vous serez haïs, méprisés, vous serez traduits devant les tribunaux et condamnés aux derniers des châtimens. ' Et pour les encourager à supporter de telles épreuves il se donna lui-même en exemple : ' Si le monde vous hait, sachez qu'il m'a haï avant vous, tout le premier. ' *Si mundus vos odit, scitote quia me priorem vobis odio habuit.*<sup>1</sup> Voilà les joies, voilà les récompenses qu'ici-bas le Divin Sauveur nous promet.

Quiconque juge sainement et simplement des choses ne pourra jamais découvrir la raison d'une pareille haine. Qui donc le divin Redempteur avait-il jamais offensé, ou en quoi avait-il démerité ? Descendu sur cette terre sous l'impulsion d'une charité infinie, Il y avait enseigné une doctrine sans tache, consolatrice et on ne peut mieux faite pour unir fraternellement tous les hommes dans la paix et dans l'amour. Il n'avait convoité ni les grandeurs de ce monde, ni ses honneurs et n'avait usurpé sur le droit de personne : bien au contraire, on l'avait vu infiniment compatissant pour les faibles, pour les malades, pour les pauvres, pour les pécheurs et pour les opprimés ; en sorte qu'il n'avait passé dans la vie que pour semer à pleines mains parmi les hommes ses divins bienfaits. Ce fut donc un pur excès de malice de la part de ces hommes, excès d'autant plus lamentable qu'il était plus injuste, et suivant la prophétie de Siméon, le Sauveur devint le signe de la contradiction sur cette terre *Signum cui contradicetur.*<sup>2</sup>

Faut-il s'étonner dès lors si l'Eglise catholique qui est la continuatrice de la mission divine de Jésus-Christ et l'incorruptible gardienne de sa vérité, n'a pas pu échapper au sort du Maître ? Le monde ne change pas ; à côté des enfants de Dieu, se trouvent toujours les séides du grand ennemi du genre humain, de celui qui, rebelle au Très-Haut dès le principe, est appelé dans l'Evangile la prince de ce monde. Et voilà pourquoi, en face de la loi divine et de qui la lui présente au nom de Dieu, ce monde sent bouillonner et se soulever en lui, dans un orgueil sans mesure, un esprit d'indépendance auquel il n'a aucun droit ! Ah ! que de fois, avec une cruauté inouïe, avec une impudente injustice et pour la perte évidente de toute la société, que de fois, dans les époques les plus agitées, les ennemis de l'Eglise ne se sont-ils pas formés en colonnes profondes pour renverser l'œuvre divine !

<sup>1</sup> Io. xv. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Luc. ii. 34.

Un genre de persécution restait-il sans succès ? ils essayaient d'un autre. Pendant trois grands siècles, l'Empire romain, abusant de la force brutale, parsema toutes ses provinces des cadavres de nos martyrs et empourpra de leur sang chacune des mottes de terre de cette ville sacrée. Puis l'hérésie, tantôt sous un masque et tantôt le visage à découvert, recourut aux sophismes et à des artifices perfides, afin de briser l'harmonie de l'Eglise et son unité. Comme une tempête dévastatrice, se déchainèrent ensuite, du nord les barbares, et du midi l'Islamisme, laissant partout derrière elle des ruines dans un immense désert. Ainsi se transmettait de siècle en siècle le triste héritage de haine sous lequel l'Epouse du Christ était accablée. Alors vint un césarisme, soupçonneux autant que puissant, jaloux de la grandeur d'autrui, quelque développement qu'il eut d'ailleurs donné à la sienne, et qui se reprit à livrer d'incessants assauts à l'Eglise pour faire main basse sur ses droits et pour fouler aux pieds sa liberté. Le cœur saigne à voir cette Mère si souvent assiégée par les angoisses et par d'inexprimables douleurs ! Cependant, triomphant de tous les obstacles, de toutes les violences et de toutes les tyrannies, elle plantait toujours, de plus en plus largement ses tentes pacifiques, elle sauvait du désastre le glorieux patrimoine des arts, de l'histoire, des sciences et des lettres, et, en faisant, pénétrer profondément l'esprit de l'Evangile dans toute l'étendue du corps social, elle créait de toutes pièces la civilisation chrétienne, cette civilisation à qui les peuples, soumis à sa bienfaisante influence, doivent l'équité des lois, la douceur des mœurs, la protection des faibles, la piété pour les pauvres et pour les malheureux, le respect des droits et de la dignité de tous les hommes et, par là même, autant du moins que cela est possible au milieu des fluctuations humaines, ce calme dans la vie sociale qui dérive d'un accord sage entre la justice et la liberté.

Ces preuves de la bonté intrinsèque de l'Eglise sont aussi éclatantes et sublimes qu'elles ont eu de durée. Et cependant, comme au moyen-âge et durant les premiers siècles, dans des temps plus voisins du nôtre, nous voyons cette Eglise assaillie, d'une certaine façon au moins, plus durement et plus douloureusement que jamais. Par suite d'une série de causes historiques bien connues, la prétendue Réforme leva au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle l'étendard de la révolte, et, résolue à frapper l'Eglise en plein cœur, elle s'en prit audacieusement à la Papauté ; elle rompit le lien si précieux de foi et d'autorité, qui, centuplant bien souvent la force, le

prestige, la gloire, grâce à la poursuite harmonieuse des mêmes desseins, réunissait tous les peuples sous une seule houlette et un seul pasteur, et elle introduisit ainsi dans les rangs chrétiens un principe funeste de lamentable désagrégation.

Ce n'est pas que Nous prétendions affirmer par là que dès le début même du mouvement on eût en vue de bannir le principe du christianisme du sein de la société ; mais, en refusant d'une part de reconnaître la suprématie due Siègle de Rome, cause effective et lien de l'unité, et en proclamant de l'autre le principe du libre examen, on ébranlait, jusque dans ses derniers fondements, le divin édifice et on ouvrait la voie à des variations infinies, aux doutes et aux négations sur les matières les plus importantes, si bien que les prévisions des novateurs eux-mêmes furent dépassées.

Le chemin était ouvert : alors surgit le philosophisme orgueilleux et railleur du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, et il va plus loin. Il tourne en dérision le recueil sacré des Ecritures et rejette en bloc toutes les vérités divinement révélées, dans le but d'en arriver finalement à déraciner de la conscience des peuples toute croyance religieuse et à y étouffer jusqu'au dernier souffle l'esprit chrétien. C'est de cette source que découlèrent le rationalisme et le panthéisme, le naturalisme et le matérialisme ; systèmes funestes et délétères qui réinstaurèrent, sous de nouvelles apparences, des erreurs antiques déjà victorieusement réfutées par les Pères et par les Docteurs de l'Eglise, en sorte que l'orgueil des siècles modernes, par un excès de confiance dans ses propres lumières, fut frappé de cécité et, comme le paganisme, ne se nourrit plus que de rêveries, même en ce qui concerne les attributs de l'âme humaine et les immortelles destinées qui constituent son privilège glorieux.

La lutte contre l'Eglise prenait ainsi un caractère de gravité plus grande que par le passé, non moins à cause de la véhémence des attaques qu'à cause de leur universalité. L'incrédulité contemporaine ne se borne pas en effet à révoquer en doute ou à nier telle ou telle vérité de foi. Ce qu'elle combat, c'est l'ensemble même des principes que la révélation consacre et que la vraie philosophie soutient ; principes fondamentaux et sacrés qui apprennent à l'homme le but suprême de son passage dans la vie, qui le maintiennent dans le devoir, qui versent dans son âme le courage et la résignation et qui, en lui promettant une incorruptible justice et une félicité parfaite au delà de la tombe, le forment à subordonner le temps à l'éternité, la terre au ciel. Or, que



mettait-on à la place de ces préceptes, réconforts incomparables fournis par la foi ! Un effroyable scepticisme qui glace les cœurs et qui étouffe dans la conscience toutes les aspirations magnanimes.

Des doctrines aussi funestes n'ont que trop passé comme vous le voyez, ô Vénérables Frères, du domaine des idées dans la vie extérieure et dans les sphères publiques. De grands et puissants états vont sans cesse les traduisant dans la pratique, et ils s'imaginent ainsi faire œuvre de civilisation et prendre la tête du progrès. Et, comme si les pouvoirs publics ne devaient pas ramasser en eux-mêmes et refléter tout ce qu'il y a de plus sain dans la vie morale ils se sont tenus pour affranchis du devoir d'honorer Dieu publiquement, et il n'advient que trop souvent qu'en se vantant de rester indifférents en face de toutes les religions, de fait ils font la guerre à la seule religion institutée par Dieu.

Ce système d'athéisme pratique devait nécessairement jeter, et de fait a jeté une perturbation profonde dans le domaine de la morale ; car, ainsi que l'ont entrevu les sages les plus fameux de l'antiquité païenne, la religion est le fondement principal de la justice et de la vertu. Quand on rompt les liens qui unissent l'homme à Dieu, Législateur souverain et Juge universel, il ne reste plus qu'un fantôme de morale : morale purement civile, ou, comme on l'appelle, indépendante, qui, faisant abstraction de toute raison éternelle et des lois divines, nous entraîne inévitablement et par une pente fatale à cette conséquence dernière d'assigner l'homme à l'homme comme sa propre loi. Incapable dès lors de s'élever sur les ailes de l'espérance chrétienne jusque vers les biens supérieurs, cet homme ne cherche plus qu'un aliment matériel dans l'ensemble des jouissances et des commodités de la vie ; en lui s'allument la soif des plaisirs, la cupidité des richesses, l'âpre désir des gains rapides et sans mesure, doit la justice en souffrir ; en lui s'enflamment en même temps toutes les ambitions et je ne sais quelle avidité fiévreuse et frénétique de les satisfaire, même d'une manière illégitime ; en lui enfin s'établissent en maîtres le mépris des lois et de l'autorité publique et une licence de mœurs qui, en devenant générale, entraîne avec soi un véritable déclin de la société.

Mais peut-être, exagérons-nous les tristes conséquences des troubles douloureux dont nous parlons ? Non, car la réalité est là, à notre portée et elle ne confirme que trop nos deductions. Il

est manifeste en effet que, si on ne les raffermir pas au plus tôt les bases mêmes de la société vont chanceler et qu'elles entraîneront dans leur chute les grands principes du droit et de la morale éternelle.

C'est de là que proviennent les graves préjudices qu'ont eu à souffrir toutes les parties du corps social à commencer par la famille. Car, l'état laïque, sans se souvenir de ses limites, ni du but essentiel de l'autorité qu'il détient, a porté la main sur le lien conjugal pour le profaner, en le dépouillant de son caractère religieux ; il a entrepris autant qu'il le pouvait sur le droit naturel qu'ont les parents en ce qui concerne l'éducation des enfants ; et dans plusieurs endroits, il a détruit la stabilité du mariage, en donnant à la licencieuse institution du divorce une sanction légale. Or, chacun sait les fruits que ces empiètements ont protégés : ils ont multiplié au delà de toute expression des mariages ébauchés seulement par de honteuses passions et par suite se dissolvant à bref délai, ou dégénérent, tantôt en luttes tragiques, tantôt en scandaleuses infidélités ! Et Nous ne disons rien des enfants, innocente descendance qu'on néglige, ou qui se pervertit, ici au spectacle des mauvais exemples des parents, et là sous l'effet du poison que l'état, devenu officiellement laïque, lui verse tous les jours.

Avec la famille l'ordre social et politique est, lui aussi, mis en danger, surtout pas les doctrines nouvelles, qui, assignant à la souveraineté une fausse origine, en ont corrompu par là même la véritable idée. Car si l'autorité souveraine découle formellement du consentement de la foule et non pas de Dieu, principe suprême et éternel de toute puissance, elle perd aux yeux des sujets son caractère le plus auguste, et elle dégénère en une souveraineté artificielle qui a pour assiette des bases instables et changeantes, comme la volonté des hommes dont on la fait dériver. Ne voyons-nous pas aussi les conséquences de cette erreur dans les lois ? Trop souvent en effet, au lieu d'être la *raison écrite*, ces lois n'expriment plus que la puissance du nombre et la volonté prédominante d'un parti politique. C'est ainsi qu'on caresse les appétits coupables des foules et qu'on lâche les rênes aux passions populaires, même lorsqu'elles troublent la laborieuse tranquillité des citoyens, sauf à recourir ensuite, dans les cas extrêmes, à des répressions violentes où l'on voit couler le sang.

Les principes chrétiens répudiés, ces principes qui sont si puissamment efficaces pour sceller la fraternité des peuples et

pour réunir l'humanité tout entière dans une sorte de grande famille, peu à peu prévalu dans l'ordre international un système d'égoïsme jaloux, par suite duquel les nations se regardent mutuellement, sinon toujours avec haine, du moins certainement avec la défiance qui anime des rivaux. Voilà pourquoi dans leurs entreprises elles sont facilement entraînées à laisser dans l'oubli les grands principes de la moralité et de la justice, et la protection des faibles et des opprimés. Dans le désir qui les aiguillonne d'augmenter indéfiniment la richesse nationale, les nations ne regardent plus que l'opportunité des circonstances, l'utilité de la réussite et la tentante fortune des faits accomplis, sûres que personne ne les inquiètera ensuite au nom du droit, et du respect qui lui est dû. Principes funestes, qui ont consaéré, la force matérielle, comme la loi suprême du monde, et à qui l'on doit imputer cet accroissement progressif et sans mesure des préparatifs militaires, ou cette paix armée comparable aux plus désastreux effets de la guerre, sous bien des rapports au moins.

Cette confusion lamentable dans le domaine des idées a fait germer au sein des classes populaires l'inquiétude, le malaise et l'esprit de révolte, de là une agitation et des désordres fréquents qui préludent à des tempêtes plus redoutables encore. La misérable condition d'une si grande partie du menu peuple, assurément bien digne de relèvement et de secours, sert admirablement les desseins d'agitateurs pleins de finesse, et en particulier ceux des factions socialistes, qui, en prodiguant aux classes les plus humbles de folles promesses, s'acheminent vers l'accomplissement des plus effrayants desseins.

Qui s'engage sur une pente dangereuse roule for ciment jusqu'au fonde de l'abîme. Avec une logique qui a vengé les principes, s'est donc organisée une véritable association de criminels. D'instincts tout à fait sauvages, dès ses premiers coups, elle a consterné le monde. Grâce à sa constitution solide et à ses ramifications internationales, elle est déjà en mesure de lever partout sa main scélérate, sans craindre aucun obstacle et sans reculer devant aucun forfait. Ses affiliés, répudiant toute union avec la société, et rompant cyniquement avec les lois, la religion et la morale, ont pris le nom d'*anarchistes* ; ils se proposent de renverser de fond en comble la société actuelle, en employant tous les moyens qu'une passion aveugle et sauvage peut suggérer. Et, comme la société reçoit l'unité et la vie de l'autorité qui la gouverne, c'est contre l'autorité tout d'abord que l'anarchie



dirige ses coups. Comment ne pas frémir d'horreur, autant que d'indignation et de pitié, au souvenir des nombreuses victimes tombées dans les dernières années, empereurs, impératrices, rois, présidents de républiques puissantes, dont l'unique crime consistait dans le pouvoir suprême dont ils étaient investis ?

Devant l'immensité des maux qui accablent la société et des périls qui la menacent, Notre devoir exige que Nous avertissions une fois encore les hommes de bonne volonté, surtout ceux qui occupent les situations les plus hautes, et que Nous les conjurons, comme Nous le faisons en ce moment, de réfléchir aux remèdes que la situation exige et, avec une prévoyante énergie, de les appliquer sans retard.

Avant tout, il faut se demander quel sont ces remèdes et en scruter la valeur. La liberté et ses bienfaits, voilà d'abord ce que Nous avons entendu porter jusques aux nues ; en elle, on exaltait le remède souverain, un incomparable instrument de paix féconde et de prospérité. Mais les faits ont lumineusement démontré qu'elle ne possédait pas l'efficacité qu'on lui prêtait. Des conflits économiques, des luttes de classes s'allument et font éruption de tous les côtés, et l'on ne voit pas même briller l'aurore d'une vie publique où le calme régnerait. Du reste, et chacun peut le constater, telle qu'on l'entend aujourd'hui, c'est à dire indistinctement accordée à la vérité et à l'erreur, au bien et au mal, la liberté n'aboutit qu'à rabaisser tout ce qu'il y a de noble, de saint, de généreux, et à ouvrir plus largement la voie au crime, au suicide et à la tourbe abjecte des passions.

On a soutenu aussi que le développement de l'instruction, en rendant les foules plus polies et plus éclairées, suffirait à les prémunir contre leurs tendances malsaines et à les retenir dans les limites de la droiture et de la probité. Mais une dure réalité ne nous fait-elle pas toucher du doigt chaque jour à quoi sert une instruction que n'accompagne pas une solide instruction religieuse et morale ? Par suite de leur inexpérience et de la fermentation des passions, l'esprit des jeunes gens subit la fascination des doctrines perverses. Il se prend surtout aux erreurs qu'un journalisme sans frein ne craint pas de semer à pleines mains et qui, en dépravant à la fois l'intelligence et la volonté, alimentent dans la jeunesse cet esprit d'orgueil et d'insubordination, qui trouble si souvent la paix des familles et le calme des cités.

On avait mis aussi beaucoup de confiance dans les progrès de la science. De fait, le siècle dernier en a vu de bien grands, de

bien inattendus, de bien merveilleux assurément. Mais est-il si vrai que ces progrès nous aient donné l'abondance de fruits, pleine et réparatrice, que le désir d'un si grand nombre d'hommes en attendait? Sans doute, le vol de la science a ouvert de nouveaux horizons à notre esprit, il a agrandi l'empire de l'homme sur les forces de la matière et la vie dans ce monde s'en est trouvée adoucie à bien des égards. Néanmoins tous sentent, et beaucoup confessent que la réalité n'a pas été à la hauteur des espérances. On ne peut pas le nier, quand on prend garde à l'état des esprits et des mœurs, à la statistique criminelle, aux sourdes rumeurs qui montent d'en bas et à la prédominance de la force sur le droit. Pour ne point parler encore des foules qui sont la proie de la misère, il suffit de jeter un coup d'œil, même superficiel, sur le monde, pour constater qu'une indéfinissable tristesse pèse sur les âmes et qu'un vide immense existe dans les cœurs. L'homme a bien pu s'assujettir la matière, mais la matière n'a pas pu lui donner ce qu'elle n'a pas, et aux grandes questions qui ont trait à nos intérêts les plus élevés, la science humaine n'a pas donné de réponse; la soif de vérité, de bien, d'infini, qui nous dévore, n'a pas été étanchée, et ni les joies et les trésors de la terre, ni l'accroissement des aises de la vie n'ont pu endormir l'angoisse morale au fond des cœurs. N'y a-t-il donc qu'à dédaigner ou à laisser de côté les avantages qui découlent de l'instruction, de la science, de la civilisation et d'une sage et douce liberté? Non certes; il faut au contraire les tenir en haute estime, les conserver et les accroître comme un capital de prix; car ils constituent des moyens qui de leur nature sont bons, voulus par Dieu lui-même et ordonnés par l'infinie sagesse au bien de la famille humaine et à son profit. Mais il faut en subordonner l'usage aux intentions du Créateur et faire en sorte qu'on ne les sépare jamais de l'élément religieux, dans lequel réside la vertu, qui leur confère, avec une valeur particulière leur véritable fécondité. Tel est le secret du problème. Quand un être organique dépérit et se corrompt, c'est qu'il a cessé d'être sous l'action des causes qui lui avaient donné sa forme et sa constitution. Pour le refaire sain et florissant, pas de doute qu'il ne faille le soumettre de nouveau à l'action vivifiante de ces mêmes causes. Or la société actuelle, dans la folle tentative qu'elle a faite pour échapper à son Dieu, a rejeté l'ordre surnaturel et la révélation divine; elle s'est soustraite ainsi à la salutaire efficacité du Christianisme, qui est manifestement la garantie la

plus solide de l'ordre, le lien le plus fort de la fraternité et l'inépuisable source des vertus privées et publiques.

De cet abandon sacrilège est né le trouble qui la travaille actuellement. C'est donc dans le giron du Christianisme que cette société dévoyée doit rentrer, si son bien-être, son repos et son salut lui tiennent au cœur.

De même que le Christianisme ne pénètre pas dans une âme sans l'améliorer, de même il n'entre pas dans la vie publique d'un peuple sans l'ordonner. Avec l'idée d'un Dieu qui régit tout, qui est sage, infiniment bon et infiniment juste, il fait pénétrer dans la conscience humaine le sentiment du devoir, il adoucit la souffrance, il calme les haines et il engendre les héros. S'il a transformé la société païenne, et cette transformation fut une résurrection véritable, puisque la barbarie disparut à proportion que le Christianisme s'étendit, il saura bien de même, après les terribles secousses de l'incrédulité remettre dans le véritable chemin et réinstaurer dans l'ordre les Etats modernes et les peuples contemporains.

Mais tout n'est point là : le retour au Christianisme ne sera pas un remède efficace et complet, s'il n'implique pas le retour et un amour sincère à l'Eglise une, sainte, catholique et apostolique. Le Christianisme s'incarne en effet dans l'Eglise catholique, il s'identifie avec cette société spirituelle et parfaite, souveraine dans son ordre, qui est le corps mystique de Jésus-Christ, et qui a pour chef visible le Pontife Romain, successeur du Prince des Apôtres. Elle est la continuatrice de la mission du Sauveur, la fille et l'héritière de sa rédemption ; elle a propagé l'Evangile et elle l'a défendu au prix de son sang ; et, forte de l'assistance divine et de l'immortalité qui lui ont été promises, ne pactisant jamais avec l'erreur, elle reste fidèle au mandat qu'elle a reçu de porter la doctrine de Jésus-Christ à travers ce monde et, jusqu'à la fin des siècles, de l'y garder dans son inviolable intégrité.

Légitime dispensatrice des enseignements de l'Evangile, elle ne se révèle pas seulement à nous comme la consolatrice et la rédemptrice des âmes ; elle est encore l'éternelle source de la justice et de la charité, et la propagatrice en même temps que la gardienne de la liberté véritable et de la seule égalité qui soit possible ici-bas. En appliquant la doctrine de son divin Fondateur, elle maintient un sage équilibre et trace de justes limites entre tous les droits et tous les privilèges dans la société. L'égalité qu'elle proclame ne détruit pas la distinction des différentes classes



sociales ; elle la veut intacte, parce qu'évidemment la nature même les requiert. Pour faire obstacle à l'anarchie de la raison émancipée de la foi et abandonnée à elle-même, la liberté qu'elle donne ne lèse ni les droits de la vérité, parce qu'ils sont supérieurs à ceux de la liberté, ni les droits de la justice, parce qu'ils sont supérieurs à ceux du nombre et de la force, ni les droits de Dieu, parce qu'ils sont supérieurs à ceux de l'humanité.

Au foyer domestique, l'Eglise n'est pas moins féconde en bons effets. Car non seulement elle résiste aux artifices que l'incrédulité met en œuvre pour attenter à la vie de la famille, mais elle prépare encore et elle sauvegarde l'union et la stabilité conjugale, dont elle protège et développe l'honneur, la fidélité, la sainteté. Elle soutient en même temps et elle cimente l'ordre civil et politique, en apportant d'une part une aide efficace à l'autorité, et de l'autre, en se montrant favorable aux sages réformes et aux justes aspirations des sujets ; en imposant le respect des Princes et l'obéissance qui leur est due et en défendant les droits imprescriptibles de la conscience humaine, sans jamais se lasser. Et c'est ainsi que grâce à elle les peuples soumis à son influence n'ont rien eu à craindre de la servitude, parce qu'elle a retenu les princes sur les pentes de la tyrannie.

Parfaitement conscient de cette efficacité divine, dès le commencement de Notre Pontificat, Nous Nous sommes soigneusement appliqué à mettre en pleine lumière et à faire ressortir les bienfaits des desseins de l'Eglise et à étendre le plus possible, avec le trésor de ses doctrines, le champ de son action salutaire.

Tel a été le but principal des actes de Notre Pontificat, notamment des Encycliques sur *philosophie chrétienne*, sur la *liberté humaine*, sur le *mariage chrétien*, sur la *franc-maçonnerie*, sur les *pouvoirs publics*, sur la *constitution chrétienne des Etats*, sur le *socialisme*, sur la *question ouvrière*, sur les *devoirs des citoyens chrétiens* et sur d'autres *sujets analogues*. Mais le vœu ardent de Notre âme n'a pas été seulement d'éclairer les intelligences ; Nous avons voulu encore remuer et purifier les cœurs, en appliquant tous nos efforts à faire reflourir au milieu des peuples vertus chrétiennes. Aussi ne cessons-nous pas de prodiguer les encouragements et les conseils pour élever les esprits jusqu'aux biens impérissables et pour les mettre ainsi à même de subordonner le corps à l'âme, le pèlerinage terrestre à la vie céleste et l'homme à Dieu.

Béni par le Seigneur, Notre parole a pu contribuer à raffermir

les convictions d'un grand nombre d'hommes, à les éclairer davantage au milieu des difficultés des questions actuelles, à stimuler leur zèle et à promouvoir les œuvres les plus variées. C'est surtout pour le bien des classes déshéritées que ces œuvres ont surgi et continuent à surgir encore dans tous les pays, parce qu'on a vu s'y raviver cette charité chrétienne qui a toujours trouvé au milieu du peuple son champ d'action le plus aimé. Si la moisson n'a pas été plus abondante, Vénérables Frères, adorons Dieu, mystérieusement juste, et supplions-le en même temps d'avoir pitié de l'aveuglement de tant d'âmes auxquelles peut malheureusement s'appliquer l'effrayante parole de l'apôtre : *Deus huius sæculi excaecavit mentes infidelium, ut non fulgeat illis illuminatio evangelii gloriæ Christi.*<sup>1</sup>

Plus l'Eglise Catholique donne d'extension à son zèle pour le bien moral et matériel des peuples, plus les enfants des ténèbres se lèvent haineusement contre elle et recourent à tous les moyens, afin de ternir sa beauté divine et de paralyser son action de vivifiante réparation. Que de sophismes ne propagent-ils pas, et que de calomnies ! Un de leurs artifices les plus perfides consiste à redire sans cesse aux foules ignorantes et aux gouvernements envieux que l'Eglise est opposée aux progrès de la science, qu'elle est hostile à la liberté, que l'Etat voit ses droits usurpés par elle et que la politique est un champ qu'elle envahit à tout propos. Accusations insensées, qu'on a mille fois répétées et qu'ont mille fois réfutées aussi la saine raison, l'histoire et avec elles, tous ceux qui ont un cœur honnête et ami de la vérité.

L'Eglise, ennemie de la science et de l'instruction ? Ah ! sans doute elle est la vigilante gardienne du dogme révélé ; mais c'est cette vigilance elle-même qui l'incline à protéger la science et à favoriser la saine culture de l'esprit ! Non ! en ouvrant son intelligence aux révélations du Verbe, vérité suprême de qui émanent originellement toutes les vérités, l'homme ne compromettra jamais, ni en aucune manière, ses connaissances rationnelles. Bien au contraire les rayonnements qui lui viendront du monde divin donneront toujours plus de puissance et de clarté à l'esprit humain, parce qu'ils le préserveront dans les questions les plus importantes, d'angoissantes incertitudes et de mille erreurs. Du reste dix-neuf siècles d'une gloire, conquise par le catholicisme dans toutes les branches du savoir, suffisent amplement à réfuter cette calomnie. C'est à l'Eglise catholique qu'il faut faire

<sup>1</sup> II. Cor. iv. 4.

remonter le mérite d'avoir propagé et défendu la sagesse chrétienne, sans laquelle le monde serait encore gisant dans la nuit des superstitions païennes et dans une abjecte barbarie. A elle, d'avoir conservé et transmis aux générations les précieux trésors des lettres et des sciences antiques ; à elle, d'avoir ouvert les premières écoles pour le peuple et d'avoir créé des Universités qui existent encore et dont le renom s'est perpétué jusqu'à nos jours. A elle enfin, d'avoir inspiré la littérature la plus haute, la plus pure et la plus glorieuse, en même temps qu'elle rassemblait sous ses ailes protectrices les artistes du génie le plus élevé.

L'Eglise, ennemie de la liberté ? Ah ! comme on travestit l'idée de liberté, qui a pour objet un des dons les plus précieux de Dieu, quand on exploite son nom pour en justifier l'abus et l'excès ! Par liberté, que faut-il entendre ? L'exemption de toutes les lois, la délivrance de tous les freins, et, comme corollaire, le droit de prendre le caprice pour guide dans toutes les actions ? Cette liberté, l'Eglise la réprouve certainement, et tous les cœurs, honnêtes la réprouvent avec elle. Mais salue-t-on dans la liberté la faculté rationnelle de faire le bien, largement, sans entrave et suivant les règles qu'a posées l'éternelle justice ? Cette liberté, qui est la seule digne de l'homme et la seule utile à la société, personne ne la favorise, ne l'encourage et ne la protège plus que l'Eglise. Par la force de sa doctrine et l'efficacité de son action, c'est cette Eglise en effet qui a affranchi l'humanité du joug de l'esclavage, en prêchant au monde la grande loi de l'égalité et de la fraternité humaine. Dans tous les siècles, elle a pris en mains la défense des faibles et des opprimés contre l'arrogante domination des forts ; elle a revendiqué la liberté de la conscience chrétienne en versant à flots le sang de ses martyrs ; elle a restitué à l'enfant et à la femme la dignité et les prérogatives de leur noble nature, en les faisant participer, au nom du même droit, au respect et à la justice, et elle a largement concouru ainsi à introduire et à maintenir la liberté civile et politique au sein des nations.

L'Eglise, usurpatrice des droits de l'Etat, l'Eglise, envahissant le domaine politique ? Mais l'Eglise sait et enseigne que son divin Fondateur a ordonné de rendre à César ce qui est à César et à Dieu ce qui est à Dieu et qu'il a ainsi sanctionné l'immuable principe de la perpétuelle distinction des deux pouvoirs, tous les deux souverains dans leur sphère respective : distinction féconde et qui a si largement contribué au développement de la civilisation chrétienne. Etrangère à toute pensée hostile, dans son esprit de



charité, l'Eglise ne vise donc qu'à marcher parallèlement aux pouvoirs publics pour travailler sans doute sur le même sujet, qui est l'homme, et sur la même société, mais par les voies et dans le dessein élevé que lui assigne sa mission divine. Plût à Dieu que son action fut accueillie sans défiance et sans soupçon : car les innombrables bienfaits dont nous avons parlé plus haut ne feraient que se multiplier. Accuser l'Eglise de visées ambitieuses, ce n'est donc que répéter une calomnie que ses puissants ennemis ont plus d'une fois employée du rest comme prétexte pour masquer eux-mêmes leur propre tyrannie. Et loin d'opprimer, l'histoire l'enseigne clairement, quand on l'étudie sans préjugés, l'Eglise, comme son divin Fondateur, a été le plus souvent au contraire la victime de l'oppression et de l'injustice. C'est que sa puissance réside, non pas dans la force des armes, mais dans la force de la pensée et dans celle de la vérité.

C'est donc sûrement dans une intention perverse qu'on lance contre l'Eglise de semblables accusations. Œuvre pernicieuse et déloyale, dans la poursuite de laquelle va, précédant tous les une secte ténébreuse, que la société porte depuis de longues années dans ses flancs et qui, comme un germe mortel y contamine le bien-être, la fécondité et la vie. Personnification permanente de la révolution, elle constitue une sorte d société retournée, dont le but est d'exercer une suzeraineté occulte sur la société reconnue et dont la raison d'être consiste entièrement dans la guerre à faire à Dieu et à son Eglise. Il n'est pas besoin de la nommer, car à ces traits, tout le monde a reconnu la franc-maçonnerie, dont Nous avons parlé d'une façon expresse dans Notre Encyclique '*Humanum genus*' du 20 avril 1884, en denonçant ses tendances délétères, ses doctrines erronées et son œuvre néfaste. Embrassant dans ses immenses filets la presque totalité des nations et se reliant à d'autres sectes qu'elle fait mouvoir par des fils cachés, attirant d'abord et retenant ensuite ses affiliés par l'appât des avantages qu'elle leur procure, pliant les gouvernants à ses desseins, tantôt par ses promesses et tantôt par ses menaces, cette secte est parvenue à s'infiltrer dans toutes les classes de la société. Elle forme comme un état invisible et irresponsable dans l'état légitime. Pleine de l'esprit de Satan qui, au rapport de l'Apôtre, sait au besoin se transformer en ange de lumière,<sup>1</sup> elle met en avant un but humanitaire

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<sup>1</sup> II. Cor. ix. 14.

mais elle sacrifie tout à ses projets sectaires ; elle proteste qu'elle n'a aucune visée politique, mais elle exerce en réalité l'action la plus profonde dans la vie législative et administrative des états ; et tandis qu'elle professe en paroles le respect de l'autorité et de la religion elle-même, son but suprême (ses propres statuts en font foi) est l'extermination de la souveraineté et du sacerdoce, en qui elle voit des ennemis de la liberté.

Or, il devient de jour en jour plus manifeste que c'est à l'inspiration et à la complicité de cette secte qu'il faut attribuer en grande partie les continuelles vexations dont on accable l'Eglise et la recrudescence des attaques qu'on lui a livrées tout récemment. Car, la simultanéité des assauts dans la persécution qui a soudainement éclaté en ces derniers temps, comme un orage, dans un ciel serein, c'est-à-dire sans cause proportionnée à l'effet ; l'uniformité des moyens mis en œuvre pour préparer cette persécution, campagne de presse, réunions publiques, productions théâtrales ; l'emploi dans tous les pays des mêmes armes, calomnies et soulèvements populaires, tout cela trahit bien vraiment l'identité dessein et le mot d'ordre parti d'un seul et même centre de direction. Simple épisode du reste qui se rattache à un plan arrêté d'avance et qui se traduit en actes sur un théâtre de plus en plus large, afin de multiplier les ruines que nous avons énumérées précédemment. Ainsi veut-on surtout restreindre d'abord, exclure complètement ensuite l'instruction religieuse, en faisant des générations d'incrédules ou d'indifférents ; combattre par la presse quotidienne la morale de l'Eglise, ridiculiser enfin ses pratiques et profaner ses fêtes sacrées.

Rien de plus naturel dès lors que le sacerdoce catholique qui a précisément pour mission de prêcher la religion et d'administrer ses sacrements, soit attaqué avec un particulier acharnement : en le prenant pour point de mire, la secte veut diminuer aux yeux du peuple son prestige et son autorité. Déjà, son audace croissant d'heure en heure et en proportion de l'impunité dont elle se croit assurée, elle interprète malignement tous les actes du clergé, elle le soupçonne sur les moindres indices et elle l'accable des plus basses accusations. Ainsi de nouveaux préjudices s'ajoutent à ceux dont ce clergé souffre déjà, tant à cause du tribut qu'il doit payer au service militaire, grand obstacle à sa préparation sacerdotale, que par suite de la confiscation du patrimoine ecclésiastique que les fidèles avaient librement constitué dans leur pieuse générosité.

Quant aux Ordres religieux et aux Congrégations religieuses, la pratique des conseils évangéliques faisait d'eux la gloire de la société autant que la gloire de la religion : ils n'en ont paru que plus coupables aux yeux des ennemis de l'Eglise, et on les a implacablement dénoncés au mépris et à l'animosité de tous. Ce Nous est ici une douleur immense que de devoir rappeler les mesures odieuses, imméritées et hautement condamnées par tous les cœurs honnêtes dont tout récemment encore les religieux ont été les victimes. Rien n'a pu les sauver, ni l'intégrité de leur vie restée inattaquable même pour leurs ennemis ; ni le droit naturel qui autorise l'association contractée dans un but honnête, ni le droit constitutionnel qui en proclame hautement la liberté ; ni la faveur des peuples, pleins de reconnaissance pour les services précieux rendus aux arts, aux sciences, à l'agriculture, et pour une charité qui déborde sur les classes les plus nombreuses et les pauvres de la société. Et c'est ainsi que des hommes, des femmes, issus du peuple, qui avaient spontanément renoncé aux joies de la famille pour consacrer, au bien de tous, dans de pacifiques associations, leur jeunesse, leurs talents, leurs forces, leur vie elle-même, traités en malfaiteurs comme s'ils avaient constitué des associations criminelles, ont été exclus du droit commun et proscrits, en un temps où partout on ne parle que de liberté !

Il ne faut pas s'étonner que les fils les plus aimés soient frappés, quand le Père lui-même, c'est-à-dire le Chef de la catholicité, le Pontife Romain, n'est pas mieux traité. Les faits sont bien connus. Dépouillé de la souveraineté temporelle et privé par le fait même de l'indépendance qui lui est nécessaire pour accomplir sa mission universelle et divine, forcé dans cette Rome elle-même qui lui appartient de se renfermer dans sa propre demeure, parce qu'un pouvoir ennemi l'y assiège de tous les côtés, il a été réduit, malgré des assurances dérisoires de respect et des promesses de liberté bien précaires, à une condition anormale, injuste, et indigne de son haut ministère. Pour Nous, Nous ne savons que trop les difficultés qu'on lui suscite à chaque instant, en travestissant ses intentions et en outrageant sa dignité. Aussi la preuve est-elle faite et elle devient de jour en jour plus évidente : c'est la puissance spirituelle du Chef de l'Eglise elle-même que peu à peu on a voulu détruire, quand on a porté la main sur le pouvoir temporel de la Papauté. Ceux qui furent les vrais auteurs de cette spoliation n'ont du reste pas hésité à le confesser.



A en juger par les conséquences, ce fait est non seulement un fait impolitique, mais encore une sorte d'attentat antisocial ; car les coups qu'on inflige à la religion sont comme autant de coups portés au cœur même de la société.

En faisant de l'homme un être destiné à vivre avec ses semblables, Dieu dans sa Providence avait aussi fondé l'Eglise et, suivant l'expression biblique, il l'avait établie sur la montagne de Sion, afin, qu'elle y servît de lumière et qu'avec ses rayons fécondants elle fit circuler le principe de la vie dans les multiples replis de la société humaine, en lui donnant des règles d'une sagesse céleste, grâce auxquelles celle-ci pourrait s'établir dans l'ordre qui lui conviendrait le mieux. Donc, autant la société se de l'Eglise, part considérable de sa force, autant elle déchoit ou voit les ruines se multiplier dans son sein, en séparant ce que Dieu a voulu uni.

Quant à Nous, Nous ne Nous sommes jamais lassé, toutes les fois que l'occasion nous en a été offerte, d'inculquer ces grandes vérités, et Nous avons voulu le faire une fois encore et d'une manière expresse dans cette circonstance extraordinaire. Plaise à Dieu que les fidèles s'en trouvent encouragés et instruits à faire converger plus efficacement vers le bien commun tous leurs efforts et que, mieux éclairés, nos adversaires comprennent l'injustice qu'ils commettent, en persécutant la mère la plus aimante et la bienfaitrice la plus fidèle de l'humanité.

Nous ne voudrions pas que le souvenir des douleurs présentes abâtît dans l'âme des fidèles la pleine et entière confiance qu'ils doivent avoir dans l'assistance divine : car Dieu assurera à son heure et par ses voies mystérieuses le triomphe définitif. Quant à Nous, quelque grande que soit la tristesse qui remplisse Notre cœur, Nous ne tremblons pas néanmoins pour les immortelles destinées de l'Eglise. Comme Nous l'avons dit en commençant, la persécution est son partage, parce qu'en éprouvant et en purifiant ses enfants par elle, Dieu en retire des biens plus hauts et plus précieux. Mais en abandonnant l'Eglise à ces luttes, il manifeste sa divine assistance sur elle, car il lui ménage des moyens nouveaux et imprévus, qui assurent le maintien et le développement de son œuvre, sans que les forces conjurées contre elle parviennent à la ruiner. Dix-neuf siècles d'une vie écoulée dans le flux et le reflux des vicissitudes humaines nous apprennent que les tempêtes passent, sans avoir atteint les grands fonds.

Nous pouvons d'autant plus demeurer inébranlables dans la

confiance, que le présent lui-même renferme des symptômes bien faits pour nous empêcher de nous troubler. Les difficultés sont extraordinaires, formidables, on ne saurait le nier : mais d'autres faits, qui se déroulent sous nos regards, témoignent en même temps que Dieu remplit ses promesses avec une sagesse admirable et avec bonté. Pendant que tant de forces conspirent contre l'Eglise et qu'elle s'avance, privée de tout secours, de tout appui humain, ne continue-t-elle pas en effet à poursuivre dans le monde son œuvre gigantesque et n'étend-elle pas son action parmi les nations les plus différentes et sous tous les climats ? Non, chassé qu'il en a été par Jésus-Christ, l'antique prince de ce monde ne pourra plus y exercer sa domination altière comme jadis, et les efforts de Satan nous susciteront bien des maux sans doute, mais ils n'aboutiront pas à leur fin. Déjà une tranquillité surnaturelle, due à l'Esprit Saint qui couvre l'Eglise de ses ailes et qui vit dans son sein, règne, non pas seulement dans l'âme des fidèles, mais encore dans l'ensemble de la catholicité ; tranquillité qui se développe avec sérénité, grâce à l'union toujours de plus en plus étroite et dévouée de l'Episcopat avec ce siège apostolique et qui forme un merveilleux contraste avec l'agitation, les dissensions et la fermentation continuelle des sectes qui troublent la paix de la société. Féconde en innombrables œuvres de zèle et de charité, cette union harmonieuse existe aussi entre les Evêques et leur clergé. Elle se retrouve enfin entre le clergé et les laïques catholiques, qui, plus serrés et plus affranchis de respect humain que jamais, se réveillent et s'organisent avec une émulation généreuse, afin de défendre la cause sainte de la religion. Oh ! c'est bien là l'union que Nous avons recommandée si souvent et que Nous recommandons de nouveau encore, et Nous la bénissons, afin qu'elle se développe de plus en plus largement et qu'elle s'oppose, comme un mur invincible, à la fougueuse violence des ennemis du nom divin.

Rien de plus naturel dès lors, que, semblables aux surgeons qui germent au pied de l'arbre, renaissent, se fortifient et se multiplient les innombrables associations que Nous voyons avec joie fleurir de nos jours dans le sein de l'Eglise. On peut dire qu'aucune forme de la piété chrétienne n'a été laissée de côté qu'il s'agisse de Jésus-Christ lui-même et de ses adorables mystères ou de sa divine Mère, ou des Saints dont les vertus insignes ont le plus brillé. En même temps, aucune des variétés de la charité n'a été oubliée, et c'est de tous les côtés qu'on a rivalisé de zèle,

pour instruire chrétiennement la jeunesse, pour assister les malades, pour moraliser le peuple et pour voler au secours des classes les moins favorisées. Avec quelle rapidité ce mouvement se propagerait et combien ne porterait-il pas des fruits plus doux, si on ne lui opposait pas les dispositions injustes et hostiles auxquelles il va si souvent se heurter !

Le Dieu qui donne à l'Eglise une vitalité si grande dans les pays civilisés où elle est établie depuis de longs siècles déjà, veut bien nous consoler par d'autres espérances encore. Ces espérances, c'est au zèle des missionnaires que nous les devons. Sans se laisser décourager par les périls qu'ils courent, par les privations qu'ils endurent et par les sacrifices de tout genre qu'ils doivent s'imposer, ils se multiplient et conquièrent à l'Evangile et à la civilisation des pays entiers. Rien ne peut abattre leur constance, quoiqu'à l'exemple du Divin Maître ils ne recueillent souvent que des accusations et des calomnies pour prix de leurs infatigables travaux.

Les amertumes sont donc tempérées par des consolations bien douces et, au milieu des luttes et des difficultés qui sont Notre partage, Nous avons de quoi raffaîchir Notre âme et espérer. C'est là un fait qui devrait suggérer d'utiles et sages réflexions à quiconque observe le monde avec intelligence et sans se laisser aveugler par la passion. Car il prouve que, comme Dieu n'a pas fait l'homme indépendant en ce qui regarde la fin dernière de la vie et comme il lui a parlé, ainsi il lui parle encore aujourd'hui dans son Eglise, visiblement soutenue par son assistance divine, et qu'il montre clairement par là où se trouvent le salut et la vérité. Dans tous les cas, cette éternelle assistance remplira nos cœurs d'une espérance invincible : elle nous persuadera qu'à l'heure marquée par la Providence et dans un avenir qui n'est pas très éloigné la vérité, déchirant les brumes sous lesquelles on cherche à la voiler, resplendira plus brillante et que l'esprit de l'Evangile versera de nouveau la vie au sein de notre société corrompue et dans ses membres épuisés.

En ce qui Nous concerne, Vénérables Frères, afin de hâter l'avènement du jour des miséricordes divines, Nous ne manquerons pas, comme d'ailleurs Notre devoir Nous l'ordonne, de tout faire pour défendre et développer le règne de Dieu sur la terre. Quant à vous, votre sollicitude pastorale Nous est trop connue pour que Nous vous exhortions à faire de même. Puisse seulement la flamme ardente qui brûle dans vos cœurs se transmettre de plus en plus dans le cœur de tous vos prêtres ! Ils se



trouvent en contact immédiat avec le peuple : ils connaissent parfaitement ses aspirations, ses besoins, ses souffrances, et aussi les pièges et les séductions qui l'entourent. Si, pleins de l'esprit de Jésus-Christ et se maintenant dans une sphère supérieure aux passions politiques, ils coordonnent leur action avec la vôtre, ils réussiront sous la bénédiction de Dieu à accomplir des merveilles : par la parole ils éclaireront les foules, par la suavité des manières ils gagneront tous les cœurs, et en secourant avec charité ceux qui souffrent, ils les aideront à améliorer peu à peu leur condition.

Le Clergé sera fermement soutenu lui-même par l'active et intelligente collaboration de tous les fidèles de bonne volonté. Ainsi, les enfants qui ont savouré les tendresses maternelles de l'Eglise l'en remercieront dignement, en accourant vers elle pour défendre son honneur et ses gloires. Tous peuvent contribuer à ce devoir si grandement méritoire : les lettrés et les savants, en prenant sa défense dans les livres ou dans la presse quotidienne, puissant instrument dont nos adversaires abusent tant ; les pères de familles et les maîtres, en donnant une éducation chrétienne aux enfants ; les magistrats et les représentants du peuple, en offrant le spectacle de la fermeté des principes et de l'intégrité du caractère, tous en professant leur foi sans respect humain. Notre siècle exige l'élévation des sentiments, la générosité des desseins et l'exacte observance de la discipline. C'est surtout par une soumission parfaite et confiante aux directions du Saint Siège que cette discipline devra s'affirmer. Car elle est le moyen le meilleur pour faire disparaître ou pour atténuer le dommage que causent les opinions de parti lorsqu'elles divisent, et pour faire converger tous les efforts vers un but supérieur, le triomphe de Jésus-Christ dans son Eglise.

Tel est le devoir des catholiques. Quant au succès final, il dépend de Celui qui veille avec sagesse et amour sur son épouse immaculée et dont il a été écrit : *Jesus Christus heri, et hodie ipse et in saecula.*<sup>1</sup>

C'est donc vers Lui qu'en ce moment Nous laissons monter encore Notre humble et ardente prière ; vers Lui qui, aimant d'un amour infini l'errante humanité, a voulu s'en faire la victime expiatoire dans la sublimité du martyre ; vers Lui qui assis, quoique invisible, dans la barque mystique de son Eglise peut seul apaiser la tempête, en commandant au déchaînement des flots et des vents mutins.

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<sup>1</sup> Ad Hebr. xiii. 8.

Sans aucun doute Vénérables Frères, vous supplierez volontiers ce divin Maître avec Nous, afin que les splendeurs de la lumière céleste éclairent ceux qui, plus peut-être par ignorance que par malice, haïssent et persécutent la religion de Jésus-Christ, et aussi, afin que tous les hommes de bon vouloir s'unissent étroitement et saintement pour agir : Puisse le triomphe de la vérité et de la justice être ainsi hâté dans ce monde, et sur la grande famille humaine se lever doucement des jours meilleurs, des jours de tranquillité et de paix.

Qu'en attendant, gage des faveurs divines les plus précieuses, descende sur Vous, et sur tous les fidèles confiés à vos soins la bénédiction que Nous Vous donnons de grand cœur.

Donné à Rome, près Saint Pierre, le 19 Mars de l'année 1902, de Notre Pontificat la vingt-cinquième.

LÉON XIII PAPE.

**RESOLUTIONS OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE IRISH  
ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS ON EMIGRATION AND ITS  
REMEDIES**

At a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, held at University College, Dublin, on Tuesday, April 15, 1902, his Eminence Cardinal Logue in the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

1. The population of Ireland having decreased by a quarter of a million of inhabitants within the last ten years, and by little short of four millions within the last half century, we cannot but regard this continued depletion with feelings of deep anxiety for the fortunes of our race in their own country.

We, therefore, deem it a pressing duty to publicly discourage the ruinous outflow of our people from their own country, where Providence has provided sufficient room for them, if only they were employed in cultivating Irish land and engaged in the manufacturing and industrial occupations that should find place in every city, town, and village of Ireland.

Apart from what we cannot but regard as the radical causes of the depopulation of Ireland, we consider it utterly reckless on the part of the vast majority of male emigrants to the United States and Canada to quit Ireland in the present condition of the American labour market. Many young Irishmen are wasting

their lives in idleness, and are driven to seek help from public charity far away from home and relatives, in American towns and cities. And many female emigrants, too, have learned to regret that they ever abandoned their Irish homes, attracted by some bright vision beyond the Atlantic.

2. We have seen with satisfaction the efforts made by the Congested Districts Board to have large grazing tracts broken up and distributed amongst the tillers of the soil, and we look to a wider extension of these operations as a most effectual means of stemming the tide of emigration.

3. We consider that the promotion of suitable industries in town and country and the establishment of factories along the numerous rivers of Ireland would also powerfully contribute to the same all-important end.

4. We desire to impress upon our people the duty of practically encouraging Irish manufactures and industries by purchasing Irish-made goods, and thus causing Irish money to circulate in its proper channels.

We appeal with confidence to the clergy throughout the country to use their influence by emphasising these few practical points in their public addresses to their flocks.

Signed on behalf of the meeting,

✠ MICHAEL Cardinal LOGUE, *Chairman.*

✠ JOHN, Bishop of Clonfert, }

✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, } *Secretaries.*

#### RESOLUTIONS OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE IRISH ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS ON THE LICENSING QUES- TION

We think it right to insert on the present occasion the resolutions of the Standing Committee on the Licensing Question that were passed on the 21st of January last. As our attention was not specially called to these resolutions they somehow escaped our notice at the time they were passed:—

That we, the Standing Committee of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, view with deep concern and sorrow the continued multiplication, in town and country, of licences for the



sale of intoxicating drink, and deplore the reckless facility with which the licensing authorities have been granting these licences, and perpetuating what we deem a grave abuse.

That as pastors of our flocks, we appeal to the licensing authorities of the country to abstain from granting new licences, and to take every legitimate opportunity of reducing the number of existing licences until it has been brought within reasonable limits.

That we look forward with feelings of alarm to the disastrous consequences, spiritual and material, of this multiplication of centres of temptation to excessive drinking unless promptly and effectually checked by an awakened healthy public opinion.

That we call upon our clergy to earnestly co-operate, in season and out of season, in creating and fostering a sound and enlightened public policy upon this licensing question, as well as upon the widespread evil of intemperance, which, as a canker, is fast praying upon the social and industrial life of our country, and blighting domestic peace, happiness, and prosperity.

(Signed)

✠ MICHAEL Cardinal LOGUE, *Chairman.*

✠ JOHN, Bishop of Clonfert,

✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, ) *Secretaries.*

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

MARIAE CORONA ; CHAPTERS ON THE MOTHER OF GOD AND HER SAINTS. By the Rev. P. A. Sheehan, D.D., author of 'My New Curate,' etc. Published for the 'Catholic Truth Society of Ireland' by Browne and Nolan, Limited. 1902.

WE are particularly happy to call attention to this excellent collection of papers in honour of the Blessed Virgin, which, whilst they will promote ardent devotion to Our Lady during the month of May, will at the same time give the reader a beautiful insight into the inner life of a popular clerical 'litterateur.' The papers we notice have been secured by the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, and we trust they may become even more popular than any of Dr. Sheehan's previous works. We confess that we have great hopes that good results will follow from the diffusion of books of this kind, which are pious without being dull, fresh and readable in form, enlivened here and there by touches of genuine feeling, and lifted above the commonplace by the experience, the sympathy and cultivated taste of the writer. The book appears most appropriately before the month of May. May it serve its devout purpose well and encourage the 'Catholic Truth Society of Ireland' to circulate other books of the same kind.

J. F. H.

HOW TO REASON : THE A B C OF LOGIC REDUCED TO PRACTICE. By Rev. Richard C. Bodkin, C.M. Browne & Nolan, Dublin. 1s.

A VERY readable and useful little book. It is not an exhaustive or elaborate treatise on the subject ; it rather aims at being practical. It is intended mainly for those who have neither the time nor the opportunity to read an extensive course of Logic, and to those, we think, it will strongly recommend itself.

The section dealing with Propositions and Syllogisms has been treated with great simplicity and yet with considerable skill. While excluding all those minutiae, that are so apt to puzzle and discourage the beginner, the author has managed to omit little that was either necessary or important. To render his treatment

more practical he has subjoined a chapter on Logical Analysis, in which one gets an idea of how some of the principles and rules of Logic are to be employed for the end for which they were intended.

We were pleased to notice the special importance attached to Definition in the book. For the sake of that chapter alone, we would wish it fell into the hands of many of our countrymen who waste so much time in heated discussions about subjects on which they have often rather hazy ideas.

We congratulate the author on his work. He has endeavoured to popularize a very dry subject, and his attempt has been successful. We recommend the book to those who are anxious to have some working knowledge of the principles and rules of Logic. It will enable them to profit by their reading. It will give them a facility in analyzing any speech, essay, or book, and it will aid them considerably in estimating the value of the opinions whether scientific, political, or economic, with which they are every day brought into contact.

C. J. F.

DERRIANA: ESSAYS AND OCCASIONAL VERSES. Chiefly relating to the Diocese of Derry. By the Most Rev. Dr. O'Doherty, Bishop of Derry. Dublin; Sealy, Bryers and Walker; also Gill and Son. 1902.

As most of the essays published in this volume already appeared in our own pages they require neither commendation nor any prolonged notice from us. We have merely to discharge the very pleasant duty of informing our readers that these valuable papers have been collected and published in a single volume by his Lordship the Bishop of Derry. This, we are sure, will be welcome news to all who are in any way connected with the Diocese of Derry; but interest in the work will not be confined to them. The papers on Redmond O'Gallagher and Sir Cabir O'Doherty are of national importance, and are both very valuable contributions to history. At the end of the volume his Lordship has added a number of poems composed on various occasions, but takes care to inform us that they were written in far off college days, and consequently bear the marks of juvenility. He quotes Cardinal Newman to the effect that 'life is not long enough to do more than our best, whatever that may be; that they who are ever taking aim make no hits; that they who never venture never

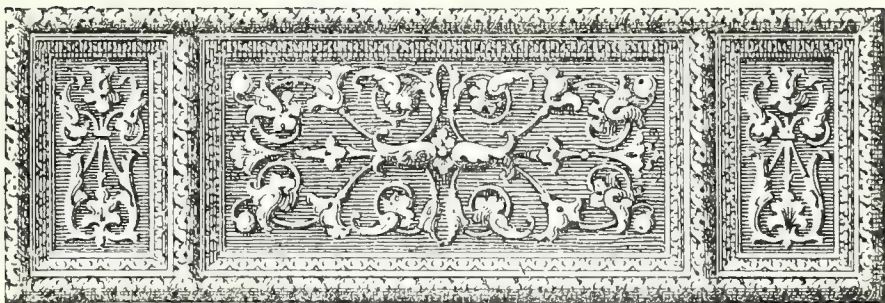


gain ; that to be for ever safe is to be for ever feeble ; and that to do some substantial good is a compensation for much incidental imperfection.' We do not see any necessity for such an elaborate apology ; for the verses are much better thanm any of the effusions that have acquired popularity in our time. If Dr. O'Doherty is the only occupant of the Episcopal bench who has written verses he has at all events only continued a tradition that was long honoured in the Irish Church. The Irish bishop, who is now the Patron Saint of the city of Ghent, was the most accomplished poet of the seventh century. The lines he wrote on the tomb of St. Bavo of Ghent were pronounced by the late Cardinal Pitra the best that come down to us from his time. Another Irish Bishop who ruled the diocese of Fiesole in the ninth century not only wrote verses but gave lessons in metre to his disciples. Donatus, like Livinus, had tasted of the Castalian spring. The poems of the modern Irish bishop are inspired by the same religious spirit that moved the ancient ones. The themes are similar ; and although the Bishop's fame, particularly in his diocese of Derry, will not have to depend upon his verses, we are sure that, insignificant though he may think them, they will help to perpetuate his memory and commend his virtues to generations who may forget the schools he has erected and the churches he has built.

J. F. H.

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[We are reluctantly compelled to hold over till June the reply of Mr. Vesey Hague to Father Fitzsimons' criticism in our last issue. The publication of the Papal Encyclical, which could not be delayed, has also crushed out other contributions. We think it only fair to Mr. Hague, however, to say that he has met his opponent without delay and remains unmoved by a criticism which he regards as entirely beside the mark.—ED. I. E. RECORD.]



## THE RELIGIOUS MIND OF A GERMAN STUDENT

**P**ERCHED on the summit of a deeply-wooded hill by the Rhine, not many miles from Bonn, stands the ruined castle of Roland, the Paladin of Charlemagne. In the olden times, when the taper or the torch was burning in every chamber after nightfall, it must have looked like some great lanthorn aglow with ruddy panes. Many a time must the massive walls have shook with the noise of revelry, and many a time must the guests in the banquet-hall have heard their songs repeated by the careless fisher on the river far beneath, as he drifted down stream with idle sail. The distant mountains, too, could tell us many a story of those wondrous days. Often were they startled from their slumbers by the echoes of the magic horn when Roland, hot upon the chase, flung out a wild call to the laggard huntsmen of his train. In the middle of the rapid river below lies a long, narrow island, riding like a ship at anchor. The large building towards the centre is the convent where Roland's bride sought shelter when the news came that he had fallen in the battle of the Pyrenees. Here, too, he found her on his sad return, recognising her voice amongst the whole choir of sisters at the singing of some vesper hymn. Away on the other side of the river rise the Seven Mountains, with many a patch of bare red rock peeping through a

scanty robe of vineyard and pine forest. Drachenfels stands nearest to us, and then come Petrusberg, the Mount of Olives, and the rest. Somewhere here, on the river's brink, is the rock from which Lorelei, the Siren of the Rhine, lured many a bark to ruin with the witchery of her song.

One day, some two years ago, I found myself in a chamber of the ancient castle. I drew back a little space from the outer wall, so as to make a ruined window serve as a frame for the landscape. Was it not fitting, I thought, that such a region, so rich in natural beauty and in stories of the grey old time, should be bordered all around with the rough lines of that very window from which, mayhap, the lonely Roland listened to the voices from the cloister? The blue shade, dark upon the river, but verging into misty white along the distant mountains, enriching all things along the Rhine valley with a peculiar lustre, was absent that day. The sky was black with electric clouds; the lightning quivered down in silver streams upon the earth, hushed for an instant, and then the very rock on which I stood trembled to the roar of the thunder. I had just made up my mind to seek shelter in some house down in the valley, when I heard the shuffle of footsteps behind me and, as I thought, some muttered words from the *Edipus Coloneus*, where the chorus stand gazing with terror on a similar scene. I recognised my chance companion as one whom I had seen at lecture. Perceiving that his look was friendly, I introduced myself to him, with the very sensible informality of the German student.<sup>1</sup> We descended the steep path together, and reached a little cottage on the outskirts of a wood, just in time to escape the downpour which marked the end of the thunderstorm.

The friendship, begun in this rather romantic fashion, lasted whilst I remained at the university. We found that our lines of reading lay in the same direction, and moreover by working together we soon realised that, owing to the

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<sup>1</sup> In England two students may sit side by side for three whole terms or more, and never think of breaking silence until some common friend has introduced them. In Germany one goes up to another, makes a quick bow, jerks out his surname; the other does likewise, and the pair are introduced.



very great disparity of the methods in which we had each been trained, one could give the other assistance of some value. Karl von Ellenfels was a delightful companion. He had brought back from the army a stiffness of bearing and a precision of movement which somehow seemed to consort admirably with his rapid, steel-trap style of speaking. He was full of legendary lore. He knew all the Rhine sagas by heart, though he thought little of their antiquity. He was a tireless reader not only in his own subject, but in general literature besides. This is, in fact, the very reason why I have masked him with a pseudonym: I was afraid lest his busy eyes might chance upon these pages, and that he might chide me for dragging him before the gaze even of a stranger people, especially as I have altered his words by insertion and omission, partly through lapse of memory, partly because I wished to darken the lines a little here and there, and so make a clearer portrait. I make no doubt he will recognise the features, in spite of the trifles which I have touched in to make the picture represent his comrades as well as himself.

I found him in his rooms one evening, poring over some ancient tome. The lamp was shaded so as to leave his thoughtful face but dimly visible. He looked very like the pictures of the High German doctor, deep in the study of Paracelsus. If only a crucible and some phials stood upon the table, he might have been searching for the philosopher's stone or the secret of life. A pair of swords hung crossed upon the wall, and on each side of them, two or three pistols, for our friend had been through more than half a dozen duels and loved to make open profession of his martial character. In a corner stood a murderous-looking but really very harmless blunderbuss, which he used in place of Indian clubs. He was smoking a long pipe, with a flexible stem, the bowl of which rested on the table, and the smoke, too listless for cones or vortex-rings, drifted upward, wrapping his face round in a thin veil of cloud. He often said, quite seriously, and, indeed, I heard many other Germans say the same, that a close study of the classical authors, without the aid of nicotine, was injurious to the health: one had to

give such close attention to a host of minutiae that the nervous system required something to soothe it.

That evening we worked through the seventh idyll of Theocritus. After a hot dispute as to whether it contained any clear proof as to the poet's birthplace, I rose to go, suggesting that he need not pay me a return visit on the following day, as it was Sunday, and he might have other matters to attend to. This innocent remark was the key that opened his mind.

'The fact of the matter is, though nominally a Protestant, I really have no religion. Perhaps it's from reading so much classics; at all events, I have come to regard your account of the origin of the world, the fall of man, the deluge, and so forth, as so many fables not one whit more credible than the stories about Prometheus, Deucalion and Pyrrha, and all that other tangle of myth and deliberate invention. For my own part, if I were to make a selection of theocracies, I should prefer the ancient German system to all others. I should prefer to believe in Wôdan, Donar, Tiu, and that goddess whose name Tacitus translates Isis.' This seemed to me so utterly ridiculous that I could not conceal my merriment. He confessed, with a smile, that he did not mean his reference to the long-forgotten German gods to be taken quite seriously. 'Still,' he continued, 'I do find something attractive about the way in which our ancestors worshipped. They did not immure their gods in temples, nor did they consider themselves competent to represent them in image of wood or stone. Each divinity was identified in some mysterious way with the spirit of the groves and glades set apart in its honour. What's this Tacitus says? Yes. Here are the words in the ninth chapter of his *Germania*: 'Ceterum Germani) nec cohibere parietibus deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare ex magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur; lucos ac nemora consecrant deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud quod sola reverentia vident.'<sup>1</sup> And as for the moral side our people stood in the highest place, as

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<sup>1</sup> H. von E. knows quite well that the commentators have rubbed all the gilding off his theory.

the same writer tells us. We haven't their religious system in its completeness; but if we had, I shouldn't be surprised to find that their moral code was almost as noble as yours. . . . Yes, I *have* read the New Testament, and never read the Gospels without being deeply touched by the gentle life, the dignity and the kindness of the Saviour. But still the religion is of Jewish origin. . . . I mean that the ceremonial worship, and so forth, are Jewish, or, at all events, that is my impression. No doubt the moral code is almost perfection, simply because it is nothing more than the natural law, or the social law, as I prefer to call it.

'I met a co-religionist of yours some time ago. We had some conversation about these subjects. It was too friendly to be called a controversy, and I suppose it wasn't learned enough to be called a discussion. At all events, in the course of some remarks, he explained that you believe in the existence of a Providence, whose ministers are often guardian spirits, a Providence which watches with an intense love over the life of man, which notes every thought that arises in his mind, every impulse born within his will, which counts every throb of his heart, and whose whole endeavour is to bring him after death to the home of the angels. He told me that that same beneficent Power held the whole world in the embrace of His love, and that without Him the sparrow did not fall from the roof, nor the blade of grass tremble in the wind. He appealed to me to bow down before that Being and ask of it light to see the way. My imagination was fascinated for a little by all that these thoughts suggested, and it seemed to me as if the world were peopled with white-robed angels that watched over all things lifeless and living, over the sea with all its changes, the flowers of the forest, over man himself with his joys and sorrows. But when I wished to pray, I found that I could not. However beautiful the thought, I had no real faith in such a Being or His ministering spirits. He might as well have asked me to pray to Jupiter or Mercury.

'I hope you're not offended at my running on in this way. I am afraid, you must think it strange, to hear what you consider almost self-evident truths treated with such scant respect.'



There was, I admit, some ground for these last remarks. However, I could scarcely suspect von Ellenfels of insincerity; so I thought it better to hear him out.

Before proceeding further with his self-revelation he fetched a note-book from a shelf, and read in it for a few moments with great care. The sequel will show, what I could have well deemed incredible, that he had gained some acquaintance with matters which I had always thought very far removed from the threshold of theology or philosophy.

‘Well,’ he said, closing his book, ‘to pass on to something quite different. . . . By the way, I’d be obliged to you if you’d just let me talk. I know you will find it hard to keep yourself from breaking in on me. But just let me tell you to-night how I stand; let me show you my mind, and you can take me up some other night and give me as sound a drubbing as you please, although, I warn you, the blows won’t be all on one side. If you wish, I’ll let you have this note-book; so that you’ll have every chance of making a successful onslaught. . . . Well, to pass on. There’s the great difficulty about reconciling human liberty with divine omniscience and divine omnipotence. I have read Scheeben and some other theologian of your school—I forget his name, it’s here in this book somewhere—on these questions. I must admit that I’m fairly satisfied about the omniscience. I think your people have answered that fairly well; but they seem to have broken down utterly on the other difficulty. There appear to be two chief attempts at solving it. How is this you call those two schools? Yes, quite so—Thomists and Molinists. Very well. The Thomists say, don’t they, that man is moved by God, that he infallibly does what God moves him to, but that he is moved freely. Now, what, in the name of common sense, could any man call that but the merest quibbling? The other explanation is not a bit better. It seems to be a principle in your theology that there is no being unsupported by the hand of God, and that men’s actions require that divine support or concurrence as much as the men themselves. Now, how does the other explanation fit in with this? It says that the ultimate determination of the will is somehow independent of this

concurrence; and then, if you say to them: but isn't that determination an act, and for that matter isn't it the most important of all acts, and oughtn't it require concurrence as much, at the very least, as any other act? they answer you blandly that that ultimate determination is a mere *non-ens*. *Wortspiel und Ausrede!* (quibble and subterfuge). Why can't you face the situation honestly? Admit that there is a difficulty, but that there is no explanation. Surely the initial difficulty is preferable to the new difficulties raised by either of these systems.<sup>1</sup> As for myself, I see no reason whatever for believing that the human will is free. I have dipped into one or two of your philosophical books. I hope you find them more interesting than I do. I feel inclined at times to a belief in destiny, but have not satisfied myself as to the evidence. I don't want to go into the matter to-night, as I have so much else of greater moment to say. Enough for the present to observe, that what I call destiny is a peculiar grouping of causes, which produces results in the moral order, as strikingly symmetrical as the formation of crystals in the order of inert matter. By the way, I read, a good while ago, that the words, "contiguere omnes," were found on a wall in Pompeii. Could the fingers that traced those words have moved at the dictate of a mere chance, blind to what lay beyond the present hour? Surely it was a prophecy of the silence of death which fell upon the city on the day when the anger of Vesuvius covered it from human eyes. All were silent with the silence of the grave.<sup>2</sup>

'But, now, let me come to another point. You remember a few days ago when we were doing the *Phædo*, or, rather, some extracts from it, we discussed the arguments for the spirituality of the human soul, or, to put it in my

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<sup>1</sup> H. von E. seems to think that we are committed to one or other of the two systems. If he had read his authorities more carefully he would have found that there are theologians who take his view of the question, although they do not present it with such heat nor depreciate the solutions laudably attempted by others.

<sup>2</sup> There seems to be some lapse in logic here. However, one may gather that H. von E. is not a materialist of the ordinary kind. His words appear to me to hold out a hope, that he may some day exchange the notion of this lifeless power, for that of a personal omnipotent Being.

own way, for the existence of a human soul. I was struck by the arguments you used, but at the same time, was hardly convinced by them. Taking the principal argument, I conceive it to be something like this: the mind perceives abstract ideas, such as justice, virtue, and so on, but nothing material like the eye or the hand could perceive or touch things, like virtue or justice, which have no extension, no property which could make them felt by the senses, therefore, the power which perceives these ideas must, like the ideas, be devoid of extension, and like them be independent of matter. Now, it strikes me that that is one of those proofs, just a little too clever to be true. How do you know but that these abstract ideas are nothing more than confused pictures of just acts, or virtuous acts, as the case may be?<sup>1</sup> And then, not content with telling us about the human soul, you volunteer a whole lot of statements about the lower animals. You tell us that they have no powers of reasoning, reflection, no such thing as volition. What can you really know about them? You cannot enter into their consciousness and come out again and tell us what you found there. One would imagine, from what your people say, that they had occupied in turn all the cages of the zoo. You say that they show no signs of reasoning, and if I or a naturalist tells you of some wonderful thing done by a horse or dog you account for it by saying it was simply an accident or coincidence, or that the act of reasoning in the case was *ab extra* not *ab intra*.<sup>2</sup> It appears to me, that you come to study philosophy with a lot of conclusions ready made, and that you so fix your principles and so order your methods as to produce the very conclusions you require. Still you

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<sup>1</sup> This is an appeal to consciousness: do we, as a matter of fact, when we conceive the idea of justice, have before our minds a confused blending of a number of just acts of which we have had experience? Is not our idea quite distinct from these? When a man sees a number of bodies fall to the ground, he arrives at a general formula called the law of gravitation. Is this law a confused picture of a number of objects falling to the ground? Is it not rather a kind of formula like the abstract idea which includes not only the phenomena actually observed, but all similar phenomena as well?

<sup>2</sup> Some of our philosophers may, perhaps, have exposed themselves to this charge. At all events, H. von E. forgets that a great many of our adversaries who approach this question with the pre-conceived notion that there is no essential difference between man and the lower animals, are just as deserving of his censure.



are very far beyond Kant, Hegel and all that rout, who seem so often to write as though they enjoyed a special license to be nonsensical.<sup>1</sup> Your philosophy, as you said to me a few days ago, squares best with the findings of common sense, simply because, though occasionally the caricaturists, you are, in the main, the faithful interpreters of the divine Aristotle.<sup>2</sup>

'Then as to immortality. Well, some philosophers—I don't know whether they are of your school or not—are honest enough to admit that there is no argument to prove it. Others, however, say that the universal belief in immortality is a proof that there is such a thing, because the fact that such a belief is universal proves that it comes from human nature itself; in other words, it was implanted in human nature by its Author. Now, what is the use of this kind of argument? Didn't the whole world believe at one time that the earth was flat, and don't they still believe in ghosts and fairies?<sup>3</sup> Of course, I know that there is another argument, which, indeed, hardly pretends to be an argument. It puts us the question: Can we believe that the grave is the limit of life? Can we believe that the friends we loved, the friends who, perhaps, died for us, will be separated from us for ever? I wish I could believe it were so. You often think poor fellows like myself are merely posing when we talk like this; but you'd very soon change your mind if you but felt the sharpness of the grief that pierced me through when I heard of my father's death. They brought him home dead one day from the forest, where he had been hunting, with the blood trickling from a ghastly wound in his forehead.

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<sup>1</sup> A faithful report of the words used. H. von E. was the only German non-Catholic whom I heard speak in this strain of German philosophy.

<sup>2</sup> H. von E. was later on considerably impressed when I reminded him, first, that the Catholic Church alone claims to be the sole infallible teacher, and secondly, that our philosophers, who, according to his own assertion, start by assuming the truth of Catholic dogma, and who make their philosophy fit in with their religion, yet produce, as the result of all this, a philosophy which harmonises so admirably with the verdicts of common sense.

<sup>3</sup> There is no use in discussing the immortality of the soul with one who denies its simplicity and spirituality. If he admitted the simplicity and spirituality, he should also admit, that it could not be destroyed after death except by the direct interference of God. Such an interference would, however, be altogether out of the question according to H. von E.'s philosophical principles. The remaining portion of the paragraph deals with an argument which, as far as I am aware, is not looked upon by anyone as conclusive.

. . . Let me draw a veil over what followed. Enough to tell you that I realised then for the first time, in the cruellest of all ways, that I had lost the faith<sup>1</sup> of my childhood ; I felt that my father and I were separated for ever. The night that would never end had fallen on him before he had time to say a single word of farewell. I struggled, but struggled in vain, with the voice of reason. Faith was vanquished and reason triumphed, and I was left more lonely than I thought man could ever be. . . . I can scarcely recall the train of reasoning which passed through my mind. As far as I remember it was something like this : Friendships are often dissolved by difference of opinion and other causes, and are, therefore, perishable, and, just like our perishable bodies, why should not nature fix a certain limit for their existence ? Moreover, granted the truth of all that religion teaches, what guarantee have we that we shall meet our friends again ? For, are there not more mansions than one in that other world of yours ? And, again, look at the many instances of friendship between, let us say, man and the lower animals ! What could be more touching than the story of the dog that died of grief on its master's grave ? Or the story of the war-horse that stood by its fallen master and defended him fiercely against the human jackals of the battle-field ? And yet true friendship of this kind is supposed to end with the grave ! If it does, and I grant that it does, what greater reason is there for saying that men, who may not love one another with the intensity or loyalty of these dumb creatures, are to be accorded the privilege of continuing their friendship after death ?

'There are some other points I wanted to speak of. They're not exactly religious difficulties ; they're rather criticisms of the attitude of the Catholic Church towards science and of her general influence on human character. She seems to be always at loggerheads with the scientists. At the present day every reasonable man accepts the theory of evolution.'

Here I could not help interjecting the remark that

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<sup>1</sup> H. von E., we may charitably suppose, never had any faith.

very recently Fleischmann of Erlangen, a scientist of high standing, had written a most damaging critique of evolution, and that the only way in which Haeckel could reply to him was to accuse him of dishonest intentions.

‘Well, at all events, evolution is more probable than non-evolution. Look at it in this way : we see certain resemblances between the various species of animals. How are you going to account for them ? Surely all the resemblances cannot be due to chance ! Take our own subject and you will find a parallel case :—We see certain resemblances, very close and far-reaching, between French, Italian, and Spanish, and we argue therefrom that these languages grew from a common stock, which we know historically to be a fact. So, too, we see similar resemblances between the other Indo-European languages, and we trace them all back to five or six sources, such as Latin, Celtic, Slavonic, and so on. Between these chief languages we find resemblances as before, and we conclude without any historical evidence that they all sprang from some one primitive language. Similarly we can trace many of the Asiatic languages back to a common fountainhead. Should I be wrong, then in saying that not only do all the languages of the world spring from, let us say, forty or fifty parent stems, but that these parent stems themselves may have grown from a common root ?<sup>1</sup> Your theologians, at all events, would gladly accept such a supposition simply because it accorded with the Bible narrative. But the evidence for evolution is of a similar kind exactly. Of course, it is not an absolute certainty. . . . I mean rather that if one wants to make out a case against it, there is abundant material at hand. Still, the unprejudiced man admits evolution of race, just as he admits evolution of language.<sup>2</sup>

‘Now for that other point I was speaking of. I have always heard, and I know it to be a fact, that Catholics are

<sup>1</sup> Philology is not yet sufficiently advanced to offer an opinion on this point.

<sup>2</sup> The doctrine of evolution is no doubt looked upon with disfavour by the Church. Our position is this : evolution has not yet been proved, we are therefore not certain of its truth ; we *are* certain of our religious belief, and we think, so far at all events, that evolution does not well accord with our belief. We cling to what we are sure of, calmly awaiting the final verdict of science.



wanting in energy and push. I do not know how things are in your country. Here, at all events, the poorest section of the population is Catholic. Nearly all the great business houses are Protestant (*Evangelisch*). Most of the great Government positions are filled by Protestants.<sup>1</sup> Your people drive our vans, dig our fields, and carry our letters. In this very town of Bonn—a so-called Catholic town—although the Protestants are but one-third of the population, their valuation is equal to that of the Catholics.<sup>2</sup> This often struck me as very strange. Can it be that Catholicity has a numbing effect on the faculties, or does it teach that we ought to think nothing of thrift and hard work?

‘But in spite of all that I’ve said, you needn’t look on me as a zealous opponent of Christianity. I subscribe myself a Protestant, although I am not really such, and in public, at all events, I will say nothing to give offence to those who believe themselves to be my co-religionists. Not taking account of the Socialists, I look on Germany as divided into two great and almost equal sections—the Catholic and the Protestant. When I say almost equal, I mean that the number of real Protestants is not much greater than the number of real Catholics. Of course, there are a great many like myself, perhaps one-third<sup>3</sup> of those professing Protestantism, who have no religion, but take the Protestant side, simply because they look upon Catholicity as anti-German, inasmuch as the centre of the religion is outside Germany. It would not do for them to form a distinct party as that might strengthen the Catholics and the Socialists. In any case, we are not in favour of the spread of irreligion. We think that the people require religion to make them contented, to make them honest, peaceful, truthful, and in general to observe their social obligations. So you need not be in the least afraid that, by and by, when I am a teacher or professor, I shall instruct my pupils in the doctrines of unbelief. At the same time, you needn’t build up any

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<sup>1</sup> Simply because Protestants are unduly favoured.

<sup>2</sup> I have no means of checking this. I believe he altogether exaggerates the strength of Protestantism.

<sup>3</sup> A mere guess.

ingenious argument<sup>1</sup> from the admissions I have made, about the effect of religion on the vulgar mind. I look on the human race as still very imperfect. We are still little more than children. And as you give children toys of all kinds to amuse them, and as you invent bugbears to frighten them and make them good, so too you hold up before the vulgar mind the threat of a future judgment, of rewards and punishments, to save them from sinning against the common good. By and by when the race becomes perfect, it will look back at all this as so much fiction, devised, when the world was young, by the cunning minds of a few men, wise before their time. . . .'<sup>2</sup>

We passed through the window, down a flight of steps into the garden. It was pleasant to sit awhile in the cool night air with the sounds of distant music wooing the ear. My companion, whose recent words had made him more thoughtful than usual, remained silent for many minutes, barely rousing himself to bid me welcome to the fair retreat in the words of his *Coloneus*, half-abstractedly uttered: 'Stranger . . . thou hast come to earth's fairest home, even to our white Colonus; where the nightingale, a constant guest, trills her clear note in the covert of green glades, dwelling amid the wine-dark ivy and inviolate bowers rich in berries and fruit, unvisited by sun, unvexed by wind of any storm. . . . And fed of heavenly dew, the narcissus flowers morn by morn with fair clusters . . . and the crocus blooms with golden beam.' And, as it chanced, there *was* a nightingale in the heart of a great chestnut-tree, fluting its silver melodies to the sleeping songsters of the day. The lilac and the laburnum and a flowering tree whose name eludes my memory, supplied the place of the olive and the vine. Still the words of the pagan writer jarred upon my ear. It was a

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<sup>1</sup> A reference, of course, to the moral argument.

<sup>2</sup> This doctrine about the development of the human race has been often stated, but no proof has ever been vouchsafed. The great progress, made in physical science during the last two hundred years, has suggested the possibility of a similar development in the intellectual and moral orders. If we appeal to the testimony of history, Plato and Aristotle, and the saints of the early Church can hardly be regarded as mere half-developed imperfections in comparison with the prodigies of the present era.

relief to gaze for a little space into God's Open Book, and after all I had heard, to make new acts of faith in His existence, and of love for His watchful care. My companion, I felt, in spite of a keen intellect and a stainless character, had quenched his light, if, indeed, it was ever burning, and was groping in the dark. For him, even the voice of Nature had lost more than half its meaning.<sup>1</sup>

M. SHEEHAN, M.A., D.Ph.

## THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF HIGHER CRITICISM

### THE SUPPLEMENT THEORY

WHEN men of good-will that unfortunately have either no faith or no infallible guide, attempt to write on the origin and meaning of Scripture or on kindred subjects, it is no wonder they fall into error. They cannot avoid it sooner or later, try as they may. Gladstone is an instance of the second class. What, then, can be looked for when rationalists that neither believe Scripture nor respect it, put forward their theories about its origin? What shall be done with this dry wood? Rationalists disregard all authority and discard all tradition. Each of them is his own prophet, and each of them has his theory. Hence the multitude of errors. We come now to those that are classed under the name of the Supplement-Hypothesis. This is the third phase in the rapid development of the rationalistic treatment of Scripture. It owes its existence to the erroneous notion that in the Pentateuch there are two distinct constituents, viz., a continuous narrative in which God's name is Elohim, and a series of annotations to it, or a 'supplement,' in which God is called Jehovah. The great advocate of this hypothesis, Tuch, states the case thus: 'Not Genesis alone,

<sup>1</sup> The above article was written long before the articles of Mr. Harrison or Sir Henry Thompson appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*, and, therefore has not been in any sense inspired by them.



but the whole Hexateuch, has as its basis an historical composition in which God is called Elohim.' Tuch and his associates hold also that the J passages were added to the E document by the man who wrote them, or, in critical parlance, that the Jehovist is the Supplementer.

There is no difficulty in understanding how a theory of this kind was invented, and how, false though it be, it at once became popular. Intrinsically it was simply the result of a reaction in critical circles against the extravagancies of the Fragment-Hypothesis. As long as Vater and the other representatives of the second stage of higher criticism found occupation in proving that Astruc's theory was not radical enough, things went on well with them. The attention of their rationalist followers was confined to this one point. It was, indeed, easy to show by experiment that their own theory applied critical principles to the analysis of the Pentateuch with more relentless consistency than had been attempted hitherto. There could be no doubt whatever that the Fragment-Hypothesis was a far more powerful solvent than the old Documentary one; for instance where Astruc had made out thirteen elements, Vater discovered thirty-eight.

But at length even those rationalist disciples began to see that the Fragment-Hypothesis went too far; it carried the process of dissolution and disintegration to extremes; chapters and verses of Scripture were divided and subdivided into alleged heterogeneous fragments, till men grew tired and began to inquire where the process was to stop. The residuum of its analysis was almost too minute to be visible. Vater and Hartmann had overreached themselves; but this was not their only discomfiture. When they were asked to account, if they could, for the harmony of design, the beautiful unity, and the perfect arrangement of every part, in the Pentateuch, they had no answer to give. Their theory was destructive; it was not constructive. The audiences in Halle and Berlin must have felt it very unsatisfactory to be put off with the magisterial evasion, that the books of Moses were the mere outcome of a fortuitous concurrence of a multitude of short passages, and

half-verses, and stray words. It presumably occurred to many of the university students that this *dictum* bore a suspicious resemblance to the atomic theory of the origin of the world propounded by Leucippus and Democritus, of which Cicero said that it would not explain the existence of even one page of Ennius.

Hence, the Supplement-Hypothesis which promised to account satisfactorily for the unity and the symmetry of the Pentateuch was eagerly welcomed. It is not, however, certain which of the critics invented this hypothesis. Holzinger, who has evidently taken great pains to investigate its origin says that it appears for the first time in this remark of De Wette's 'there runs throughout Genesis and the first chapters of Exodus a sort of epic poem which serves as the foundation of the whole. It is older than most of the fragments, and, in a certain sense, it is the original to which the fragments are attached as explanatory supplements.'<sup>1</sup> This was merely an *obiter dictum* quite unconnected, or, rather, quite inconsistent with the Fragment-Hypothesis which regarded the books in question as made up of independent pieces. But as we saw<sup>2</sup> De Wette gave up the Fragment Theory of which he had long been a strenuous supporter, and these words may be taken to indicate the change in his opinion. He did not, however, follow up the idea. Neither did Stähelin's book, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Genesis*, Basel, 1830, lead to the formation of the new theory, though Kittel, another critic, believes it did, and of course launches into a panegyric of Stähelin for the benefit he conferred upon mankind. True, Stähelin rejected the Fragment-

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<sup>1</sup> 'Durch die Genesis und den Anfang des Exodus zieht sich ein ursprüngliches Ganzes, eine Art von epischem Gedicht, welches früher als fast alle übrigen Stücke und von diesen gleichsam das Original, der Urkundensammlung über diesen Teil der Geschichte als Grundlage gedient hat, auf welche die übrigen als Erläuterungen und Supplemente aufgetragen sind.'—*Beiträge*, ii. s. 28.

Cornill, one of the most learned rationalists at the present day, who has paid special attention to the history of higher criticism, also says in his *Einleitung* that De Wette had a faint notion of the Supplement-Hypothesis, and was favourably inclined to it, but that van Bohlen was the first to speak clearly about it.

<sup>2</sup> I. E. RECORD, February, 1902, p. 130.

Hypothesis, but he reverted to the old Documentary one. What has procured for Stähelin a front place amongst the founders of higher criticism was his bold opposition to Ewald's reasons for his rejection of the Fragment-Hypothesis, and, still more, his drastic examination of Ewald's own system. We mean, of course, Ewald's first system, which will be described presently. Here it is enough to say that his reviewing the *Kritische Untersuchungen* was the occasion of Ewald's abandoning a position true in itself, but badly defended by him. With the introduction of the Supplement-Hypothesis, literary criticism began to revive. It was Stähelin's work in this department that completed what had been undertaken by Eichhorn and others. He thoroughly examined the linguistic and grammatical peculiarities of Genesis, and devoted special attention to the style, etc., of the 'Jehovist.' To Stähelin's statements very little has been added since. We Catholics know that all this labour was thrown away. Stähelin's energies were spent in a bad cause. *Mutatis mutandis*, his futile attempts remind us of the never-ending toil of the Jewish rabbis who pored after their own fashion over every consonant and vowel in the law, not aware that the Messiah had come. But they did this in mistaken zeal, they believed in the Old Testament, whereas Stähelin acted out of opposition to it. Stähelin's own attempt to account for the Pentateuch was just as insane as that of the rationalists he differed from. He was of opinion that the redaction of the Pentateuch in its present form (together with the book of Joshua in its present form, Judges *minus* the appendix, and the original sources of 1 Samuel<sup>1</sup>) dated from the time of Saul. It might be the work of Samuel, or of one of his disciples. But the basis of it was a history from the creation to the taking possession of

<sup>1</sup> Readers must have noticed ere now the rather frequent employment of the Protestant nomenclature of some of the inspired books as well as some of the persons mentioned in them. For instance, 'Joshua, 1 Samuel, Chronicles, Isaiah, Hezekiah.' An explanation may be looked for, and it is easy to give it. The retention of these names serves to mark the passages in which they respectively occur as belonging to rationalists, the subject of whose criticism is thus expressed in their own terminology. But the terminology is not adopted. In the refutation of the rationalists, as readers may observe, the Catholic names are used, e.g., 'Josue, 1 Kings, Paralipomenon,' etc.



Canaan, which contained a great part of Genesis, the greater part of the middle books, and the geographical portions of Joshua. This book was written under the early Judges. The paramount result of, or the great momentous inference from, all Stähelin's critical investigations was, that nothing in the Pentateuch is of Mosaic origin !

Descending now to particulars, Stähelin asserted that part of Genesis was made up of two documents, an Elohist and a Jehovist, both of which aimed at showing the greatness and dignity of the Israelites, by relating the history of their ancestors. The Elohist document which was written in the reign of Saul had also in view the secondary object of establishing the people's right to Palestine, while in a similar way the Jehovist document which belongs to the time of David lays stress upon the inferiority of the Gentiles and their rightful subjection to the Jews.

The compiler of our Genesis combined the twofold scope of both documents : he was a harmonizer, or redactor. When the two sources narrated the same event, he either reproduced word for word the account that suited him, or else wrote a composite narrative ; in some passages, the sources are laid under contribution equally ; in other passages one of them predominates. When, however, in the two sources one identical occurrence is referred respectively to different times or different places, he represents it as if it really happened twice. This is done by means of short interpolations which have the desired effect of making it appear that an occurrence was repeated.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A person that has not looked into the pages of the rationalist commentators, can hardly form an idea of the multifarious, occupations of the Redactor. If in an Elohist passage, 'Jehovah' occurs, or *vice versa* ; if a verb or adverb that ought, according to higher criticism, be the exclusive property of the Elohist, occur in a Jehovist verse, or *vice versa*—if the theory won't work ; the 'Redactor' accounts for it all. But did he ever exist ? Professor Green gives the following description of the case for the Jehovist :—'A hypothetical personage who has to be represented by turns as artless and artful, as an honest reporter and a designing interpolator, as skilful and a bungler, as greatly concerned about conformity of style and thought in some passages—of which he is wholly regardless in others, and of whose existence we have no other evidence than that afforded by these contradictory allegations respecting him, can scarcely be said to have his reality established.'—*The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch*.

In this last foolish and irreverent remark, Stähelin presumably alludes to the narrative about a king, Abimelech (Genesis xx. and xxvi. 8-11), and similar passages, technically called 'doublets.' If he believed Scripture, he would have learned that there was two monarchs of that name. Indeed Abimelech may, as Pharaoh or Cæsar, have not been a personal appellation, but a dynastic title. But however this may be, contrary to Scripture, and of course without the possibility of proof, Stähelin has the audacity to assert that the two narratives refer to one event.

Though his foolish fancies, to call them by a mild name, and the fancies of the other critics are seriously and minutely described in these pages, our readers will not think that any importance is attached to them, intrinsically considered. Neither will our readers think them deserving of detailed refutation. To make use of a familiar example, the ecclesiastical historian takes pains to describe accurately the absurd systems of the early Gnostics, for, inasmuch as they are a unique phase of religious error, they have a right to a place in his work, while in themselves they are nothing more than a tissue of grotesque blasphemies. The historian, however, does not feel that he is called upon to refute them all minutely; they refute themselves. So, too, here: it is useful for ecclesiastics to know exactly what Stähelin and the other leaders of higher criticism have taught, and ecclesiastics can then for themselves disprove all the wicked notions.

We said above that Stähelin's book had the effect of making Ewald give up his early belief and his first system and this is the place to say what the object of that belief was—nothing less than the unity of the Pentateuch. When only nineteen years of age Ewald attracted the attention of all Germany by the consummate learning he displayed in his criticism of the systems of Vater and De Wette. In his *Enleitung* Keil says that he gave a death-blow to the Fragment-Hypothesis. Its supporters had judged an Oriental book by the canons of European literature; but

Ewald showed by examples that the respective methods of composition were widely dissimilar. His great knowledge of Arabic literature supplied him with numerous instances of sub-titles in one and the same book, of frequent repetitions, circumlocutions, etc. If all these did not militate against the unity of an Arabic work, why should the twelve Toledoth (or sections beginning with 'These are the *generations*') and apparent repetitions and displacements be considered a conclusive argument against the unity of the Pentateuch? What Ewald commenced, Ranke completed. Keil, who was one of the so-called 'orthodox Protestants,' or firm supporters of the traditional origin of the Pentateuch, remarks that Ranke's intrinsic proof of its unity buried the Fragment-Hypothesis and put it out of sight for ever.

But to return to Ewald. Against the old Document Theory he demonstrated to evidence that the two divine names (Elohim and Jehovah) are not marks indicative of two sources of information, and he brought forward numerous instances to show that the names are nowhere employed indifferently, but of deliberate choice; that the context determines which one is to be used, and that each of the names is generally found in connection with certain characteristic words and phrases. This was Ewald's first system or theory to explain the phenomenon that had engaged the attention of scholars ever since the publication of Astruc's *Conjectures*. Here again Ewald's intimate acquaintance with the Hebrew text, and with the comparative syntax of the Semitic languages, stood him in good stead. Just as he had done when refuting the Fragment-Hypothesis, he showed that in the Pentateuch numerous *minutiæ* indicate unity of plan and identity of authorship, and that numerous archaisms and idioms distinguish the work itself from all others. Hence, concluded Ewald, where perfect harmony reigns, there cannot have been such an origin as Astruc or Eichhorn imagine.

But Ewald at length retracted all this in a review of Stähelin's book which he published in the *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1831. In this sense it may be true to say that Stähelin was the originator of the Supplement-Hypothesis,



viz.:—because his book became the occasion of Ewald's accepting part of his assertions and of developing something like the new theory. This is a very slender claim to the honour and glory of being a leader among unbelievers, yet it is painful to see how the higher critics dispute about it. Ewald's view now was that the basis of the whole Pentateuch (for Genesis was not to be separated from the following books) was an historical work which reaches from the creation of the world to the death of Moses, and even to the conquest of Chanaan by Josue. It can be recognised by its well-defined plan and also by its simple and beautiful style.<sup>1</sup> It uses Elohim as the name for God. This is the earliest continuous narrative, and, so to speak, the oldest stratum of the Pentateuch, though in some places pieces still older are found imbedded in it, *e.g.*, the Decalogue and the Book of the Covenant (Exodus xx. 22, xxiii.). At a later period when literary activity had increased, another historical work was composed, which also contained extracts from ancient documents, *e.g.*, Genesis xiv. It took quite a different view of the past, was richer in legends, and aimed at a more elaborate and ornamental style of description. As the living memory of events was gradually lost in the course of time, the manner of representing them gained in originality and freedom, for instance, even in the history of the patriarchs, the name 'Jehovah' is used without the slightest embarrassment. The author read the religious ideas of his own time into the records of antiquity. (In the next article the drift of this remark of Ewald's will be explained at length.) Passages from this Jehovist narrative were incorporated into the other, but they were so deftly interwoven, that the Elohist source remained throughout the groundwork or warp of the history. It might be thought that the Jehovist passages now preserved in the Pentateuch never had an independent existence, never formed part of a homogeneous whole, but Ewald will not admit the

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<sup>1</sup> It is as well to know that the critics of the present day, *e.g.*, Baudissin, Cornill, Westphal, Spurrell, Wellhausen, Driver, all agree that this document is written in a stiff, lawyerlike manner, and that this very characteristic mode of expression enables them to recognise it with certainty, wherever it appears. Thus does one erroneous system contradict the other.

probability of such a conjecture, because, he says, they have a character of their own and they differ too much from the Elohist to permit our imagining that they were originally written in connection with it. These additions to the 'Elohimschrift' are not of the nature of notes. With regard to the 'Redactor' or editor who combined both these sources of information in the manner just described, Ewald declares that he is a third personage, distinct from the two authors. He did his work well; the Jehovist passages are inserted not at random but with admirable discretion and skill. He makes use in some places of other sources, and here and there he adds connecting links in order to bind more closely the different passages. Ewald ends his critique by saying that the appearance of unity which the Pentateuch presents is due chiefly to the original arrangement of the Elohist document.

From this summary it is evident that Ewald does not hold the Supplement-Hypothesis: though some of his assertions are considered by certain critics as in reality the principles from which the hypothesis may be logically deduced. Ewald stands alone, no one agrees with him throughout. Indeed, the following rationalists differ from him on the essential point, by identifying the Supplementer with the Jehovist. Bleek, who, as we saw,<sup>1</sup> abandoned the Fragment Theory, now opposed Ewald, because it appeared to him that the utter absence of any connection, as he considered, between the Jehovah passages, was a clear and convincing proof that no Jehovist history, such as Ewald postulated, had ever existed. It also appeared to him that several of the J passages—whether in their original or in their revised form: *i.e.*, after they had left the Redactor's hands—were, in the first instance, composed with reference to the E document, because they were essentially supplementary and explanatory. Moreover, they were added by the author of Genesis, and of the following books.<sup>2</sup> Hence,

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<sup>1</sup> I. E. RECORD, February, 1902, page 140.

<sup>2</sup> This modification, for such it really was, of the Document-Hypothesis, once so popular, was now accepted with one limitation by van Bohlen. He asserted that the Elohist document had not been revised, or worked over twice,

the Jehovist is the Supplementer. Besides his own contributions, he added statements taken from other sources, but it would be impossible for us at the present day to determine either the nature of these sources, or the number and extent of the statements derived from them. Deuteronomy, the latest of the books, has an independent origin: its compiler combined a composition of his own, with one by the Jehovist, in which, however, he made considerable alterations. This was done in the first half of the seventh century, or, to speak more definitely, in the early part of the reign of Manasses (697-642 A.C.).

Next in the succession of higher critics comes Tuch, the 'classic writer,' as he is styled of the Supplement Theory school. He begins by making the stereotyped remark that not only in Genesis, but throughout the remainder of the Pentateuch, two documents are distinguishable by their respective use of Elohim and Jehovah as the name of God.<sup>1</sup> The E is the fundamental document, and it describes the events of the whole period whose history is contained in the Pentateuch. The present plan and arrangement of the Pentateuch is derived from the E; the whole legislation is taken from it, and so are the outlines and the leading features of the historical parts. The Jehovist, who at times uses the name Elohim, is the Supplementer. 'No connected

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but that an editor or 'diaskeuast' had gathered these ancient pieces and inserted them into his recension. He was followed by Tuch (*Studien u. Kritiken*, 1835), who applied this theory to Genesis, and then by Stähelin (*Kritische Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch*, 1843), who extended the theory to the three middle books. It is worth remembering that Stähelin said he found in the legislation of these books the nucleus of the Elohist document. The new idea was hailed as a wonderful discovery by De Wette, von Lengerke, Knobel, and Delitzsch. On one point, however, the critics did not agree, viz., whether Deuteronomy (with the exception of xxxii. 48-52, and xxxiv. 1-9, which they all ascribed to the Elohist) was the work of the Jehovist or Supplementer ('the author of the second legislation,' Stähelin calls him), or of a third person, the 'Deuteronomist,' who inserted his own composition into that of the Supplementer, after having transferred the two passages about the death of Moses which were mentioned above, from the end of the Book of Numbers to the places they now occupy in Deuteronomy. Stähelin maintained the first notion; Tuch, von Lengerke, De Wette held the second.

<sup>1</sup> The opposite notion, viz., that this mark of difference ceases at Exodus vi. 2-8 is universally accepted by rationalists at the present day. See any one of the critics. According to Strack, Ewald deserves the credit of this discovery.



passage of his is extant, what belongs to him is at present so interwoven with the background of the Pentateuch that it is only supplementary to it. In fact, it is only in this relation that the J possesses either purpose or coherency. Where E's information is meagre, J's is full.' Just as Ewald, Tuch perceives in the employment of the name Jehovah before the time of Moses, a different view of antiquity from that taken by the Elohist, and an inaccurate view, viz., that the true religion of Israel was the primitive one. The human race did not start with monotheism. (This is one of the most diabolical ideas of the higher critics. We shall see it fully worked out when we come to Wellhausen and his followers). The same tendency to interpret the past by the present is visible also in J's description of civilization. It may be added that, both in language and in style of composition E and J differ. Granting, just for the sake of discussion, that J was originally an organic whole, a literary work properly so called, then the Redactor made alterations in the passages which he took from J, and he added passages of his own. Tuch however insists that the supposition of the Redactor being a distinct individual not only calls for one writer more than the data either need or allow, but that it creates a difficulty. Besides, even if it were not so certain as it is, it is simpler—and this consideration, in Tuch's opinion, settles the matter—to say that it was the Jehovist gave the book its present form. The style of the Pentateuch throughout shows that both E and J depended on written documents. This is acknowledged in matters of history, and is evident to every attentive observer in matters of legislation (E). Tuch is certain that E and J were written in the time of the Kings and in the land of Chanaan. They were known not only to the writer of Deuteronomy, but also to the earlier prophets. Descending at last to particulars, Tuch informs the world at large that the E document, which has not a word about the temple, but which describes the tabernacle from eyesight, must belong to the reign of Saul; while the J one, or the Supplementer's, which presupposes a new Jehovah cult that to him is the chief object of interest, must have been

written some time subsequently. As, however, the centralization of worship in Jerusalem had not yet been introduced, this series of annotations cannot have been added to the E later than the time of Solomon. In Tuch's system there is the deadly virus of that 'higher criticism' which has done incalculable harm to the souls of many; but the consideration of some of its points—such as monotheism not being the primitive religion, centralization, etc.—will be more conveniently treated of in connection with Wellhausen's system, in which all these notions are completely developed.

In 1840 De Wette renounced for ever the Fragment-Hypothesis;<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, with one exception; for he continued to hold that in the two chief sources several fragments of even greater antiquity were preserved, and adopted the new

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<sup>1</sup> What De Wette says on the origin of the Pentateuch, in the seventh and last edition of his *Einleitung* (pp. 193, 194) must be taken as the expression of his final opinion. He says there: 'Die Hypothese, dass der Pentateuch aus einzelnen Stücken von zweifelhaften ursprünglichen Zusammenhänge zusammengestellt worden, ist nunmehr mit Recht aufgegeben, da wir gesehen haben dass die Urschrift Elohim ein ganzes gebildet hat, und der Jehovist fast durchdeg denselben schriftstellerischen Charakter bewahrt. An jener Hypothese ist nur so viel wahr, dass der Elohist einige ältere Stücke in sein Werk aufgenommen zu haben scheint, und auch unter den Jehovistischen Bestandtheilen manche älter seyn mögen. Wegen des einheitlichen Charakters der jehovistischen Bestandtheile, bei dem Mangel eines sie verbindeten Planes ist es auch nicht wahrscheinlich, dass sie ehemals eine Schrift für sie gebildet, welche der Sammler mit der Urschrift E. zusammengearbeitet hätte. Das Wahrscheinlichste vielmehr ist, dass der Jehovist durch Bearbeitung und Vermehrung jener Urschrift den vier ersten Büchern ihre heutige Gestalt gegeben hat, nur dass nach seiner Redaction die Elohistischen Bestandtheile des 5 B. Moses und Vielleicht 5 Moses xxxi. 14-22 das 4 Buch schlossen. Späterhin schob dann der Deuteronomist seine Ermahnungsreden, die neue Gesetzgebung, und die Verpflichtung auf das Gesetz ein, und setzte die Schlusstheile des 4 Buches ans Ende.'

In his *Founders of Higher Criticism* (p. 32) Cheyne speaks thus of De Wette:—'His views on the composition of the Pentateuch are of a highly provisional character. He hovers between the Fragment and the Document-Hypothesis, and, though he is evidently not hopeless of reconciling them, he cannot form a distinct theory of his own.' And (p. 50): 'Extensive and useful as his critical work is, we cannot say that it is worthy of the epoch-making opener of the historical criticism of the Pentateuch. In definite literary and historical results it is comparatively poor. And this remark applies to all De Wette's critical writings, alike on the Old Testament and on the New. In both departments of study he began with scepticism and negativism, and as a rule fails to attain to positive conclusions, much less to assured historical synthesis. And the reason is that he has a theory of criticism which, though not unsound, is incomplete.' N.B.—Cheyne himself is a thorough rationalist.

theory. He now agreed with Tuch that the Jehovist was the author of the additions to the E document; but, in opposition to Stähelin, he distinguished between the Jehovist and the Deuteronomist. The Deuteronomist, who belonged to a later period, added to the Jehovistic rescension the warnings which he ascribes to Moses, the new legislation, and the exhortations to observe the law. The original E document, apart from its own quotations, on the one hand, and the additions subsequently made to it on the other, belongs at the earliest to the reign of Jeroboam I. (937-915). The Jehovist wrote at a time when prophecy had reached a very high degree of perfection. Genesis xxvii. 40 (Isaac's prophecy about Edom) would indicate the reign of Jehoram II. (851-843), King of Judah. We may observe, in passing, that this highly 'critical' remark of De Wette's is intended to imply, presumably with a sneer, that the 'alleged' prophecy was contemporary with the event it referred to. This being a first principle of high criticism, no rationalist would demean himself by giving a reason for his holding it. The first trace of the Deuteronomist's existence that De Wette can discover is the finding of the book of the law under Josiah (640-609)! So the tale ended. Von Lengerke and the elder Delitzsch accepted this partly original system of De Wette's, but, of course, with some modifications, just to show that they had as much right to be 'higher critics' as he could lay claim to. Lengerke assigned the E document to the beginning of Solomon's reign, and the J to the Assyrian period. Delitzsch had his own equally true and equally creditable opinion, but afterwards he changed it for the two Elohist-theory, Priestly code, etc. While these rationalists were putting the oldest books of Scripture through permutations enough to delight the heart of an algebraician, Ewald, whom Holzinger proudly styles 'der Vater der Ergänzungshypothese,' had seen fit also to alter his theory. He disclaimed any sympathy with the Supplement-Hypothesis and its attempts to solve the Penta-teuchal problem 'in the simplest way possible.' Instead of it he now put forward what Delitzsch has happily called 'the crystallization hypothesis.' It was in reality nothing more than the development of an idea which Ewald had



always held, viz., that in the first four books of the Pentateuch there were many passages assignable neither to E nor J.

The elaborate analysis of the sources whence these passages were derived is to be found in the prolegomena to Ewald's *History of Israel*, a well-known work which contains a veritable mine of philological lore in its abundant notes, but which in point of archæology and comparative chronology has long since been superseded. What however in it concerns us now is its introductory part, and in particular the sections of this which give the authorities made use of in the history, together with copious notices of them, literary, critical and biographical. Every relevant detail connected with these personages is stated with that conscientious thoroughness and completeness which is characteristic of a German professor's knowledge of the literature of his subject. And at the same time, all this is done with such tranquil ease and calm confidence, that a reader whose educational outfit had been supplied exclusively by magazines and periodicals of a certain class, by non-Catholic works on Scripture, etc., and who knew only that Ewald was reported to be a man of prodigious erudition and the greatest Orientalist of his day, would be led to repose implicit faith in his statements. Whatever Ewald wishes to say is said so dogmatically, that the uneducated individual we have been contemplating would certainly think he had some reason for saying it. Such a person would naturally make some reflections such as these:— 'Though I have never heard of these books, the famous Göttingen Professor of Scripture has read them all, and he evidently knows who wrote them, and when and where these authors lived, and it is by means of this recondite information that he is enabled to throw such new and unexpected light on the history of Israel. All the magazines I read are loud in their praise of his book, so its contents shall henceforth be part of my mental system.' Yet if a person who knew only from what he heard as a child that the Pentateuch was written by Moses, spoke in this fashion, he would be surrendering so much truth at the bidding of an impertinent rationalist. Ewald was great as a linguist and

grammarian, but not as a commentator or a historian : in this he resembles Huxley and Mivart, men learned in their own departments where they ought to have remained, but fond of excursions into theology about which they knew nothing, and where they failed. How can men that have not faith, speak rightly about the things of God? Every line in the imaginary books discoursed about by Ewald, exists in the real books which the Jewish and then the Christian Church has guarded for more than thirty centuries. There is nothing new in the introduction to his history of Israel, except the arbitrary divisions and combinations of the Inspired Word, the pseudo-chronology and the list of hypothetical authors, those airy nothings to whom Ewald would fain give a local habitation and a name. None of them was ever mentioned in Scripture, tradition, or profane history : no trace of even one of them, or even of any work written by one of them, is to be found in all antiquity—but, never mind, ‘higher criticism’ will call them from the vasty deep. Ewald is intimately acquainted with their works, of course he was all but personally acquainted with themselves, and only circumstances over which he had no control prevented him from actually looking over the shoulder of the Redactor while that estimable old gentleman was combining his selections from their works, and fusing them into one composition, which ignorant people will persist in attributing to Moses.

1. Let us open the ‘Introduction.’ First of all we are shown by Ewald ‘The Great Book of Origins.’ (At present, if you please, the correct name for it is ‘the Hexateuch.’ It is co-extensive with the Pentateuch and Josue.) In it, the Professor informs us, the only passages from the pen of Moses are the Decalogue, a few poems, and some legal axioms or short *formulae* for the use of judges. None of the more lengthy laws, none of the numerous series of enactments, were written by him. The Great Book contains also some fragments of very early date ; for instance, the list of encampments in Numbers xxxiii. ; the enrolments, Numbers i.-iv. ; the battle of the allied kings and the meeting of Abraham and Melchizidech, Genesis xiv., etc.

2. The Book of the Wars of Jehovah. It is referred to in Numbers xxi. 14. The song of triumph (Exodus xv. 1-18), chanted by the people after the passage through the Red Sea, probably belonged to this book; so, too, did Joshua xiv. 18.

3. The Biography of Moses, written about a century after his death. Only two passages, both of them about his relations with Jethro (Exodus iv. 8 and xviii.) can be referred with certainty to it.

4. The Book of the Covenants.<sup>1</sup> This is the most ancient of the historical books, properly so called. It is Elohist throughout, and its name is due to the description of the covenant made between Elohim and Israel, 'in the sublimest passage of the history' (Exodus xxiv.), and of the covenants made between Jacob and Laban (Genesis xxxi. 41-54), Abimelech and Isaac (xxvi. 28-31), and Abimelech and Abram (xxi. 22-30). Between the ratifications of all these covenants a very remarkable resemblance exists. The work itself began with the history of Abram, and contained what are now fragments in Genesis, from ch. xi. on; in Exodus, among other passages, the collection of laws xxi. 2, xxii. 19—*i.e.*, a part of what is now often called 'the Book of the Covenant'<sup>2</sup>—and fragments in Numbers, Josue, and Judges. It must have been written in the latter half of the period of the Judges, or, to speak more particularly, in

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<sup>1</sup> Error reproduces itself in another form. Spinoza, who had held that Esdras was the author of the Pentateuch, had granted to Moses the authorship of the Book of the Wars of the Lord (Exodus xvii. 14), of the Book of the Covenant (Exodus xx. 22, 23), and of some Book of the Law, which was the foundation of the alleged legislation.

<sup>2</sup> It may not be superfluous to direct some readers' attention to the point that this book of Ewald's is quite distinct from the 'Book of the Covenant' or 'Bundesbuch' (xxi. 22, xxiii.), which later critics are so fond of talking about. Of course, the assumed independent existence of either book is equally chimerical. Ewald's 'Book der Bündnisse' may have suggested to his pupil, Wellhausen, the idea of the 'Vierbundesbuch' (Quatuor Foederum Liber), the symbol of which is Q; but Wellhausen's Q is substantially the E, or the 'Grundschrift.' He himself says: 'Ich habe für die s. g. Grundschrift das Zeichen Q gewählt als Abkürzung für Vierbundesbuch (quatuor) welchen Namen ich als den passendsten für sie vorschlage.' Wellhausen's four covenants, all differing from those selected by Ewald, are the following:— 1. Between God and our first parents (Genesis i. 28-30). 2. Between God and Noah (ix. 1-17). 3. Between God and Abraham (xvii.). 4. Between God and Israel (Exodus vi. 2 ff).



the time of Sampson (*a Danite*), as may be inferred from its words now preserved in Genesis xlix. 16.<sup>1</sup> 'Dan shall judge his people as one of the tribes in Israel.'

5. The Book of Origins. It is the first to contain legislation in detail, and it is Elohist (or uses Elohim to designate God) up to God's manifestation of Himself to Israel (Exodus vi. 2-8), after which it is Jehovist as a rule. It was written within the first twelve years of Solomon's reign by a priest who intended to set forth the origins of what existed in his time, chiefly with a view to religion. He began his work with a description of the creation of the world, and he concluded it with a short narrative of the building of Solomon's temple (Kings viii. 11), now somewhat altered.

Ewald thus states his arguments for the date which he assigns to the Book of Origins<sup>1</sup>:—

Here it is said among other things that Abraham, and likewise Sarah and Jacob, shall become 'a multitude of nations, and that kings shall come out of them.' Now, why should the blessing be so defined and limited to something so special and seemingly so casual as that kings should descend from the Patriarchs? and how is it that such a conception of the divine promise is found only in the demonstrable fragments of this book, and in no other? This question can never be answered, but by maintaining that the work belongs to the first period of the rising monarchy which advanced the true prosperity of Israel, when, in the full sense of the words, 'a multitude of nations' assembled round the throne of the far-ruling king of Israel, and Israel, after the dismal days of dissolution and weakness, could boast with a new pride that it possessed 'kings.' . . . We are brought nearer to a result by a passage on the kings of Edom, in Genesis xxxvi., closely connected with the above-mentioned declarations. When about to enumerate the series of the kings of Edom, the author finds occasion to add that they reigned before there reigned any king in Israel. There was then a king in Israel at the time he wrote this; and the words excite in us the feeling that he half-envied Edom for having enjoyed far sooner than Israel the blessing of an united and well-regulated kingdom. But, further, not only is the last enumerated king in this series described as if the narrator had known him exactly as one of the kings of Israel, but the

<sup>1</sup> N.B.—A *soi-disant* prophecy, according to Ewald.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Israel*, English translation, p. 75, ff.

enumeration of the kings is followed (v. 40-43) by that of the chieftains of Edom, as if after the monarchy the country had returned to the rule of chiefs; this sounds quite as if David had already vanquished the last king of Edom and put the country again under mere chieftains. The Hadad, descended from the blood of the kings of Edom, who at David's conquest fled, very young, to Egypt, may have been a grandson of Hadad, the last king, as the grandson frequently bears the grandfather's name.

But the exactest indication of the period of composition of this work is to be sought in the dedication of the temple of Solomon, 1 Kings viii. 1-11. The account, as we have it, has, indeed, indubitably passed through the hands of a subsequent reviser, who must have altered or added much of it: yet it preserves the clearest traces of having been originally composed by the historian whose work we are here considering; so that we cannot but allow that the author must have finished his work after the great event of the dedication of the temple of Solomon. The main proofs of this assertion are: the use of the word 'nashi,' v. 1, and of the expression 'col adath Ishrael hannodim halaiw' (all the congregation of Israel, that were assembled unto him) v. 5, which all have the peculiar air of the Book of Origins; the perfect harmony of v. 7, ff. with Exodus xxv. 13, ff. 20; xxxvii. 9; Numbers iv. 6, ff; and on the contrary the discrepancy between these descriptions and 1 Kings vi. 23-27; lastly, the remarkable agreement of v. 10 ff. with Exodus xl. 34, ff., the weight of which cannot be made apparent till we treat of the Mosaic time.<sup>1</sup>

Wherever a section begins with the explanation of the origin of any important tribe or family, the author always puts as a kind of title the words, 'These are the origins;' and where the family of the first man, and consequently the proper commencement of this whole work on the history of mankind begins, it is said, 'This is the origin of man.' And, in fact, it can hardly be doubted that in accordance with this superscription, the work bore the short title of 'The Book of Origins.'<sup>2</sup>

This extract is rather long, but it is given in order that our readers may have the opportunity of judging for themselves the strength of the arguments on which Ewald relies.

<sup>1</sup> *History of Israel*, page 80.

<sup>2</sup> Toledoth is the Hebrew for 'origins,' 'generations.' There are in Genesis ten 'Toledoth' sections, or sections commencing with the words; 'These are the generations,' viz. (of heaven and earth). ii. 4; (of Adam) v. 1; (of Noe) vi. 9; (of the sons of Noe) x. 1; (of Sem) xi. 10; (of Thare) xi. 27; (of Ismael) xxv. 12; (of Isaac) xxv. 19; (of Esau) xxxvi. 1; (of Jacob) xxxvii. 2.

Could any more futile and illogical be conceived? His first one tacitly assumes the impossibility of prophecy, and consequently involves a *petitio principii*. The Book of Origins says that there will be kings of Jacob's line, therefore, concludes Ewald, it must have been written at a time when there were already kings in Israel. The fundamental axiom of rationalistic exegesis which underlies this mode of reasoning is directly opposed to the statements in the Book of Origins and to all similar statements in Scripture, for which ostensibly Ewald professes respect. Considerable portions of Scripture, and in the Old Testament all the more important parts, are based on the fact of revelation and prophecy: if they are impossible, those parts of Scripture, and by implication the remaining parts too, are done away with. So much for Ewald's theory. Yet, after all, it cannot be said that he is inconsistent, because considered in itself neither Scripture in general nor the Book of Origins in particular is the object of his belief and respect: but only Scripture and the Book of Origins as edited and commented on by Ewald. The English translator of his *History of Israel*, Russell Martineau, says, with perfect truth in his own introduction: 'Niebuhr and Ewald do not believe the history as it is told; they tell it as they believe.' Of course, this is intended for high praise. Russell means that as Niebuhr took a critical and philosophical view, *e.g.*, of the story about Numa Pompilius, so did Ewald of 'the legends of Israel.' This is, indeed, only too manifest in the history itself; for instance, the chapter on the Levitical instructions comes after the chapter on the monarchy.

In the next place it may be observed that in this argument, Ewald has resorted to a favourite trick of the higher critics. He adroitly appropriates all the texts (Genesis xvii. 6, 16; xxxv. 11) that mention royal descendants of Abraham and Jacob; then he triumphantly challenges his opponents to quote another. In the present instance this was child's play to Ewald, he knew there were only three such passages; but even where there is need of collecting fifty or a hundred instances of the recurrence of a word or of a phrase, and of being certain that every single instance has been extracted



before the opponent is called on to produce an additional one if he can, this piece of jugglery can be done with the assistance of a Concordance; it costs only a little time, and it is found to be highly effective when the critic has to do with uninitiated readers. They are surprised, and, at the same time, deeply impressed by his informing them that a Hebrew verb is employed eighty-three times, and only by J; that it is, in fact, one of J's characteristic words; or, again, that a Hebrew adverb is the exclusive property of the second Elohist, or that a certain construction will never be found outside the Priestly code, or that genealogies are a sure mark of P. In the last case, for instance, how could it be otherwise? All the genealogies in these books have been enumerated accurately, not one has been overlooked; and when the list is complete every genealogy is labelled 'P.' So, too, here Ewald takes the three texts; then he asks is it not wonderful that *all* the texts referring to kings descended from Jacob should be in the Book of Origins (which he has previously so constructed that it includes the three), and then he infers that the book must really exist. Of course, if the texts are part of a book, and are not to be found outside the Book of Origins, then it follows that it is a reality. If the exegetical juggler is allowed to beg the premises, he will in return make you a present of the conclusion.

The same remark applies to what Ewald says about his Book of Origins (see the end of extract). He first collected all the passages in Genesis that commence with the formula 'These are the generations' (or origins, *i.e.*, *Toledoth*; see the twelve passages, *supra*, p. 511). He then directed attention to the significant fact, that his Book of Origins, or of generations, always uses these words as a title of its sections. Was it not wonderful? Ewald's second argument is that the mention of kings that ruled in Edom before there was a king of Israel, shows that the author of Genesis xxxvi. 31 was contemporary with an Israelite monarch. Now if Ewald is acting in good faith, if he sincerely considers his inference to be correct, we can only say that he betrays his ignorance of a Hebrew idiom. At the sametime it must be confessed

that such an excuse for the author of a masterly work on Hebrew grammar is by no means satisfactory. But however this may be, the word used in the text, *lipnei* = 'before,' implies no affirmation such as Ewald attempts to make out. It implies nothing whatever. It tells us only this, that during a certain period, while there was no monarch in Israel, the Edomites had kings. It gives no information about subsequent times, neither does it warrant any inference regarding them. So far as the Hebrew word *lipnei* informs us, we could not say that there ever was an Israelite monarch. Let us take a parallel instance with which we are all familiar. It occurs in St. Matthew i. 18—'Antequam convenirent, inventa est in utero habens de Spiritu Sancto.' Helvidius and other opponents of our Blessed Lady's virginity quoted the evangelist, or rather misquoted him, to prove their blasphemous assertion. But St. Jerome who knew Hebrew replied:—'Quod autem dicitur; antequam convenirent; non sequitur ut postea convenerint; sed Scriptura, quod factum non sit ostendit.' The answer to Ewald's objection also is *non sequitur*. Of course Moses knew that there were to be kings in Israel; not only did he record the predictions referred to above, but he mentions the future fact (Deuteronomy, xxviii. 36), and legislates accordingly (*ib.* xvii. 14-20). Another unwarranted inference of Ewald's is that the author of Genesis xxxvi. 31, almost envied Edom, her kings; but let this pass. It is, however, necessary to remark that several grammatical peculiarities in the passages are missed, or ignored by Ewald. There is, as (Archbishop) Smith points out so well in his work on the Pentateuch, neither a plural nor a collective noun (*king* or *kings*) that might imply an existing dynasty; there is no concrete expression, no definite article, no historical tense, to point to any event, past, present, or to future. The Hebrew phrase is as abstract as it could be. In barbarous Latin 'ante regnare regem in Israel' would be an equivalent. The Septuagint renders it well: *προ του βασιλευσαι βασιλευα εν Ισραηλ* (E). Ewald is wrong, too, in concluding that the passage appears to imply that after the monarchy the land of Edom had returned to the rule of chiefs. There is absolutely nothing to justify this inference.

What is in the passage, Ewald does not mention; and what is not in the passage even virtually, he talks about. He could have seen in Exodus xv. 15 that the chiefs or 'Alluphim' were the contemporaries of a king. Smith makes it very probable that the Alluphim were the hereditary nobility descended from Esau, and the electors of the king. (See also Knabenbauer). Lastly, there is nothing to show that the Hadad who fled into Egypt (3 Kings xi. 14 was the grandson of the Hadad spoken of in Genesis xxxvi. 35. The identity of name is no proof. So far as that goes he might as well have been the twentieth in descent, and Scripture shows he was far removed.

Ewald's last objection is a masterpiece of higher criticism and another *petitio principii*. The chimerical Book of Origins contains the description of the dedication of Solomon's temple simply and solely because Ewald is pleased to put 3 Kings viii. 1-11 into it. Is it not wonderful? His book would also include a description of the dedication of the second temple, if he chose to insert 1 Esdras vi. 15-17; and he would have had just as much reason for doing it.

Lastly, as regards what he calls the main proofs of this assertion, passing by the fact that the Septuagint appear not to have read *nashi* in verse 1, and that some scholars regard it as a gloss, we observe that the word also is found in Ezechiel and Paralipomenon. Why did not Ewald incorporate into his book the passages of these books that contain the word? It may be observed, too, that the phrase, *col edath Ishrael hannodin hailaw*, is used also in the parallel passage 2 Paralipomenon v. 6. Why is this verse not admitted into the Book of Origins, seeing that the phrase confessedly has the peculiar air of that book? In his next proof Ewald is simply trifling with the intelligence or the patience of his readers. What support does the perfect harmony between the statement in 3 Kings and those in Exodus and Numbers afford to his visionary theory? We read in these passages that the Cherubim, with outstretched wings, overshadowed the ark; but surely this argument is not due to the existence of a Book of Origins. The simple reason is that one part of Scripture necessarily agrees with another, and



when Solomon is doing what Moses did, what is more natural than that the words of the first description should reappear in the second? Lastly, 3 Kings vi. 23-27, which gives the dimensions of the Cherubim, is quite intelligible in connection with the other passages.

Ewald thus apostrophises the author of the Book of Origins:—

Lofty spirit! Thou whose work has for centuries not irrationally had the good fortune of being taken for that of thy great hero, Moses himself, I know not thy name, and I divine only from thy vestiges when thou didst live and what thou didst achieve; but if these, thy traces incontrovertible, forbid me to identify thee with him who was greater than thee, and whom thou thyself dost desire to magnify according to his deserts, then behold that there is no guile in me, nor any pleasure in knowing thee not absolutely as thou art.—(Page 96.)

After this rhapsody Ewald proceeds to describe the other personages on whose word he relies—the so-called ‘prophetic narrators.’ As used by him the name has not the meaning we attach to it.<sup>1</sup> In Ewald’s pages it denotes philosophical historians of a certain kind, writers that take intelligent views of the past and deal freely with their materials, combining them so that they shall convey to ordinary readers the meaning which the historians were the first to perceive in them. Describing their influence, Ewald says:—

But more powerful than anything else was the prophetic conception and treatment of history throughout the entire course of these ages; and as this prophetic conception has greater freedom to mould the subject matter to its will, the further the field of the narrative is removed from the present time, and the more it has thereby become already the subject of a higher kind of contemplation, it found in the primitive history the most impressionable soil on which it could combine with historical composition. This is the main cause of the great freedom of repeated narration,

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<sup>1</sup> Our readers will not have forgotten that Ewald rejects prophecy, properly understood. The word ‘prophetic,’ in a Rationalist’s mouth, has no more value than ‘inspiration’ and ‘revelation’ have. They all have lost their meaning. As regards Ewald’s ‘prophetic narrators,’ they appear to have been invented, consciously or unconsciously, in order to serve as prototypes and precedents for himself. They do not believe the primitive history as it is told; they tell it as they believe. In this way Ewald obtains the highest possible sanction for his history of Israel.

which so remarkably distinguishes this work from the Book of Origins and the older books; for all legendary literature will endeavour more to break through old restraints, and will move with the greater freedom the oftener it treats the same subject-matter; but here it was especially the grandeur of prophetic truths, that declared itself by means of the freer exposition thus admitted.

Let us now make the acquaintance of these worthies, about whom Ewald discourses so eloquently.

3. The third narrator, an Ephraimite, who lived either in the end of the tenth or in the beginning of the ninth century, A.C., a contemporary of Elijah or of Joel. He uses Elohim as the name for God in his description of the pre-Mosaic period; many of the Elohist elements in Genesis proceed from him, *e.g.*, chapter xx. (sojourn at Gerar), xxviii. 10-22 (Jacob's dream at Bethel), xxix.-xxxi. (Jacob in Mesopotamia), and much of the history of Joseph, which he must have invested with its present charming dress. Also historical passages in Exodus and Numbers. Ewald gives the finishing touch to the portrait thus:—

The third narrator is far removed from the more artistic representation and bolder painting of the fourth narrator, next to be mentioned. But this narrator's peculiar pre-eminence consists in his uncommonly high and distinct conception of the working of the Divine and prophetic spirit. As narrator of the primitive history he is the best prophet, just as the author of the Book of Origins was the best legislator and national leader.

4. This character makes his debut in the second edition of Ewald's *Geschichte Israels*. He is credited with Genesis iii.-xii. 2, 3; xviii., xix. 1-28; xxii. 18; xxvi. 4; xxxii. 11, 12; Exodus xxxii.-xxxiv. He is stated to have employed earlier narratives largely, to have added much that is new, and to have revised extraneous matter in a prophetic spirit. Ewald says:—‘If we regard closer the truths which are here forced upon us, we shall have to confess that they flow from a height of prophetic activity and advanced national culture totally foreign to the “Book of Origins.”’<sup>1</sup> This narrator is

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<sup>1</sup> Insane as this is, it is not so mad as the notion of Ewald's pupil, Wellhausen, and other higher critics of the present day, viz., that the priestly narrator and the prophetic contradict one another.

rather Jehovist, and he lived about the end of the ninth or the beginning of the eighth century.

5. The fifth<sup>1</sup> prophetic narrator who is Jehovist from the first word he writes, was a native of the kingdom of Judah. He lived in the reign of either Uzziah or Jotham (first half, or middle of eighth century), and it was he put the narratives together. He also composed a good deal. With the exception of a few passages noted elsewhere, he wrote the first four books of Genesis, the end of Deuteronomy, and the book of Joshua.<sup>2</sup> But his work was subsequently enlarged by the three Redactors.

Here again with delightful freedom Ewald repudiated one of his once cherished discoveries; he might well be called the Henry VIII. of higher criticism. According to the first edition of his *History of Israel*, the fragment, Leviticus xxvi. 3-45, must have been inserted by a descendant of one of the exiled inhabitants of Israel, at the end of the eighth or beginning of the seventh century (First Redactor); Deuteronomy i. 1, xxxii. 47, xxxiv. 10-12, during the second half of the reign of Manasseh, by some one originally belonging to the kingdom of Judah but then an exile in Egypt (Second Redactor, who also gave the book of Joshua its present shape), and lastly the blessings of Moses, Deuteronomy xxxiii., added probably in the reign of Josiah (Third Redactor). The second edition of Ewald's history arranges the origin of Deuteronomy differently. The author composed it as an independent work of much greater extent than what now goes by the name because it described the whole course of the Mosaic history. The Third Redactor who inserted Deuteronomy xxxiii. united what he retained of the original Deuteronomy to the other books of the Hexateuch, and, of course, gave Deuteronomy its final form.

This eclectic, bizarre group of hypotheses was intended to be a golden mean between supernaturalism and mythism, the latter of which Ewald held in particular detestation. As is well known, he had a supreme and sovereign contempt

<sup>1</sup> Fourth, 1st ed.

<sup>2</sup> See in proof, all their J passages.



for German philosophy,<sup>1</sup> Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel being abominations in his eyes. Both Baur and Strauss were Hegelians, both of them leaders of the Tübingen mythical school, and both of them abhorred by Ewald. Not only on Scripture but in politics, was he diametrically opposed to them. He believed that there was an intimate connection between their system of mythical interpretation, and the revolutionary excesses of 1848. He himself was an uncompromising conservative, and in consequence of his political opinions was twice deprived of his chair in Göttingen, first in 1837 and then in 1867 (on the latter occasion, because when Hanover was annexed by Prussia, he would not acknowledge William I. as his king). Ewald all along paid more attention to the Hegelianism of Baur and Strauss than to that of Vatke, because the latter's cumbrous involved style deterred people from reading him and because he had little or no following in the German universities at the time. There cannot, however, be any doubt of Vatke's dependence on Hegel. Westphal, one of the historians of higher criticism, and a critic himself, says :—

On pourrait faire une étude fort intéressante sur la parenté philosophique des ouvrages de George et Vatke, avec *La Vie de Jésus* de Strauss, qui parut la même année qu'eux (1835), et dont Ulhorn a dit avec raison qu'elle est née de l'union de la philosophie hegelienne avec la critique.<sup>2</sup>

Ewald's own system gained no adherents, it was represented by himself. This may have been owing to his antagonism to German philosophy. He never tolerated any opposition to his own theories, and he seldom deigned to give a proof for what he said. 'L'interprétation c'est moi.' He was the personification of the dogmatic, autocratic spirit of rationalism. We may mention one act, characteristic of the man. On the occasion of the Vatican Council he addressed to Pius IX. an open letter, published in the newspapers, advising the Pope to turn Protestant.

But to return to the Supplement-Hypothesis. Its period

<sup>1</sup> See his *Lehre der Bibel*, vol. ii., p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Sources du Pentat.* p. xxi.

of popularity was by this time fast coming to an end. Only three or four more critics employed it in their respective attacks on the Pentateuch. The first of them, Knobel (1861), still maintained that E was the 'Grundschrift' (or that the passages in which God is called Elohim formed the basis of the Pentateuch), but he asserted that its author, who lived in the time of Saul, had incorporated into it some written documents of an earlier date, *e.g.*, the lists in Numbers i. and xxxiii. But what Knobel prided himself on was his discovery in the Pentateuch of a 'Rechtsbuch' and a 'Kriegsbuch.' It was to no purpose that another very advanced critic, Kuenen, professor in Leyden, told him that these books existed only in his imagination. Knobel determined to stake on them his hopes to immortal fame as a Biblical critic. Of course the 'Rechtsbuch' was nothing else than an arbitrary selection from the law of Moses, almost identical with what is now styled the second Elohist code. Knobel's theory about it was briefly this: The 'Rechtsbuch' was written after the 'Grundschrift,' from which it differs in two respects. Its statements are not entitled to the same respect, and while the 'Grundschrift' has only theocratic laws, the 'Rechtsbuch' contains besides very much social legislation. Its author was a Levite, who lived in the northern kingdom at a time, as appears from Number xxiv. 20, and Judges xviii. 30, when Assyria had already become a great power. Knobel's other 'independent source of history,' the 'Kriegsbuch, or Book of the Wars,' was 'discovered,' or invented, in the same way. Knobel simply put together the numerous passages about the wars of Jehova. Then he declared that this document is distinguished from both G and R by being the work of a Jehovist, who lived in the Kingdom of Judah in the reign of Jehosaphat, and was apparently a Levite. He is the Supplementer. His additions are taken from legends, popular notions, and from written documents also in his account of the Patriarchs. But the J document never was an original and independent composition, all of it has reference to the E. This is the way the Jehovist worked: He made E the foundation (on which account, sapiently observes Knobel,

almost the whole of E is extant). In order to supplement it, he inserted passages taken from the other two sources, a great many of them being taken from the 'Rechtsbuch, and only a few from the 'Kriegsbuch.' He preserved the words of the originals as far as possible, and harmonized the texts with considerable care and skill. Knobel utterly rejected Stähelin's identification of the Jehovist and the Deuteronomist. His theory was that the Deuteronomist had both the E and J documents before him when writing, and that he was the last contributor to the Hexateuch, because his Hebrew shows that he was a contemporary of the prophet Jeremiah. In England Dean Stanley accepted the Supplement-Hypothesis unreservedly, and Bishop Perowne with some exceptions. Colenzo also partly held the Supplement-Hypothesis, but he contributed nothing deserving of notice to its development. He was a retailer of other rationalists' opinions. One attempt he can, however, claim as his own; he was the first to attack the veracity of the 'Grundschrift.' But this exploit belongs to the history of the Development-Hypothesis.

Schrader comes next. He proposed to combine the three Hypotheses (Document, Fragment, Supplement), especially the first and third, into one harmonious system. According to Schrader, the Pentateuch is the result mainly of two documents, one of which was written by the annalist (first E), the other by the theocratic narrator (second E). A third writer, the prophetic narrator (or the Jehovist), treated both texts very freely, and united them at the same time, making minor additions from written and oral traditions, as he thought fit. The Jehovist is, therefore, both Supplementer and Redactor. A fourth writer, the Deuteronomist, then inserted into this composite work, 'the Law of Moses' (Deuteronomy i. 1, xxxi. 12), the nucleus of which (iv.-xxviii.) was probably an independent treatise; and from that verse on he revised the original history, which certainly extended further, and continued it down to the Babylonian exile. Schrader is good enough to put his annalistic narrator, of the tribe of Judah, into the early part of David's reign, some time before the capture of Jebus; the



theocratic narrator who was an Ephraimite, or, at least, belonged to the northern kingdom, into the period 975-950, or soon after the schism of the ten tribes, 977; and the prophetic narrator, who also belonged to the northern kingdom, into the reign of Jeroboam II., 825-800. Deuteronomy was written a short time before the eighteenth year of Josiah by a man who lived to see the misfortunes of the Kingdom of Judah after the death of Josiah (639-608), and was then able to combine all the parts enumerated above. It is a sincere pleasure to be able to say that Schrader subsequently became conscious of the folly of all this, though he did not renounce higher criticism with all its works and pomps. He adopted Hupfeld's Development-Hypothesis with some differences. But what deserves praise, is that he has applied himself to Assyriology, and is now one of the greatest authorities on this most interesting and useful subject. About four months ago he published part of the third edition of his monumental work, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, the great storehouse of the information afforded by the cuneiform inscriptions in aid of Old Testament exegesis.

As recently as 1890, Klostermann (who is famous among critics for the word he coined, *Heiligkeitgesetz* or *Law of Holiness*, as the name for Leviticus xvii.-xxvi.) made an unsuccessful attempt to revive the Supplement-Hypothesis. He would identify the Redactor with the First Elohist. But the Wellhausen theory was too popular, and Klostermann was handled rather severely by a writer in the *Studien und Kritiken*, and by Professor Driver in the *Expositor*. With him, the ill-starred theory came to an end.

Our readers will have perceived long before this that the Supplement-Hypothesis got its defenders into inextricable confusion. Every one of them had his own original and pet notions, and every one of them failed. Welte, the great Catholic exegete, made many unanswerable objections to these absurd theories. Viewing the Supplement-Hypothesis as a whole, and that is all that can be done here, it is sufficient to point out its two intrinsic and irremediable contradictions. First, its vaunted 'Grunschrift' is not a

continuous narrative, but a series of unconnected statements, as any one that takes the trouble of reading them consecutively may see. Secondly, and still worse, these very E passages frequently refer to or imply what is said only in the J passages. Of course the blame is put on the Redactor ; a paltry subterfuge. It is only making the confusion greater to say that these references, virtual or actual, are Jehovistic interpolations. Once you contradict the authority of the Church and begin to explain the origin of Scripture out of your own head, there is no knowing what you may say.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

GREGORIAN MUSIC IN OUR CHURCHES<sup>1</sup>

THE social and moral influence of music in the world is very generally admitted. But while an instrument for good, it may also be an instrument for evil. Beneath its spell the passions are aroused as well as allayed, and hence the psalmist cautions us in our devotion, for God is honoured in the song of His praises, to sing wisely. Long before Christianity had dawned on the world, God was worshipped, and His praises sung, in the music of the Jewish Temple; and we learn, that in the passage of the Red Sea, so memorable in the history of the Israelites, Mary, the sister of Aaron, sang a song with all the women, of praise and thanksgiving to the Lord, 'Let us sing to the Lord for He is gloriously magnified, the horse and his rider He hath thrown into the sea.' At the time of David and Solomon music had reached its highest perfection among the Hebrews, but after the destruction of Jerusalem, the art was discouraged in the synagogues of the Jews, because it was claimed, owing to a passage in one of their prophets, that music should be dispensed with until the coming of the Messiah. Music, however, was still cultivated among the Egyptians, and from them the Greeks drew their inspirations of that art: and to Athens, and pre-Christian Rome, we are indebted for some of our most beautiful melodies in ecclesiastical chant.

The Church has ever encouraged music in her worship, following the precepts of St. Augustine, and the Fathers, who invariably taught that, through the delectation of the ear, men's minds are raised to pious sentiments and affections. Hence we find, everywhere in the Catholic churches, music is an essential or at least an integral part of the devotions, thus following the inspired counsel, 'Sing praises to our God, sing ye: sing praises to our King, sing ye. For God is the King of all the earth: sing ye wisely.'

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<sup>1</sup> Read at the International Scientific Catholic Congress, Munich, 1900.



Not only on earth, but in heaven God is worshipped through song, for we learn from that beautiful vision vouchsafed to St. John in the Apocalypse, that singing forms part of the devotion and homage of the celestial mansions, 'and they sung a new canticle.'

Just as language, the immediate origin of song is wrapped in some obscurity. Whether it is purely and at once the gift of God, the imitation of musical sounds in nature, or the outcome of a certain state of feeling, all this opens up a field for much enquiry. That it was originally an imitation of the musical natural sounds, seems a very reasonable view. God is honoured and praised in the musical cadences of nature—'Aquae omnes: serpentes et volucres pennatae: omnis spiritus laudet Dominum:' and, hence, man in his adoration and praises of the Deity, through the instrumentality of music, should have found a beautiful exemplar in nature. Be this as it may, music in its original state was very simple. When a strain or air was produced that pleased and charmed the listeners, some means had to be adopted to preserve it and serve as a guide to others. This was nothing more than an occasional line or stroke, to indicate the rises and falls of the composition. In the course of ages, it became more complicated, until in the time of St. Ambrose it was found necessary to considerably simplify the system of the Greeks, who were then the great masters. Among the Greeks, as with ourselves, music was regarded as a great accomplishment, and a training therein, as well as in gymnastics, was indispensable in the young Athenian. This was rather a strange admixture. But accomplishments equally opposite, are, not unfrequently, required in the youth of our time. Centring, as they did, so much importance in the art, it was eventually worked up to a science, and as most sciences by continuous improvement and discovery become too complicated for the average intelligence, so too the musical science of the Greeks had to be modified and adapted to the capacity of all. It was the intention of the great saint, that all could take part in the services of the Church.

St. Ambrose adopted four of the principal scales of the

Greeks, and on these all the Church chant was to be formed. In this system, the notes had not any definite length, and the time was regulated by the prosody of the syllable and the spirit of the composition. Ambrosian Chant originally was very simple, but grace notes were subsequently introduced, so that it lost much of its former simplicity and solemn character. At the close of the sixth century St. Gregory founded a more perfect system, based, however, on that of St. Ambrose, the time and method of singing being in both cases the same. St. Gregory adopted eight scales, four more than St. Ambrose, and on these the compositions were to be formed. He also introduced the letters of the Roman alphabet to indicate the musical sounds. We had not then the Solfeggio, which is now so common and so convenient. The syllables do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si, now so universal in music, in their present form are of recent date, and owe their origin mainly to Guido, of Arezzo, a Benedictine monk of Tuscany. The idea was borrowed from the hymn in honour of St. John the Baptist, written by Paulus Diaconus. It runs :—

Ut queant laxis,  
Resonare fibris,  
Mira gestorum,  
Famuli tuorum,  
Solve polluti,  
Labii reatum.




The adoption of these syllables became soon very general. In the seventeenth century the syllable bi was added, which was subsequently changed into si. Ut was changed into do by the Italians in the last century, as being more convenient and pleasing in sound. I may observe that the hymn to St. John the Baptist, in the *Breviarium Romanum*, is written thus :—

Ut queant laxis resonare fibris,  
Mira gestorum, famuli tuorum,  
Solve polluti labii reatum,  
Sancte Joannes.




Le Maire, to whom we are indebted for the addition of si, probably drew his inspiration from the first syllable of the





Sancte, of the last line. These syllables are adopted in Gregorian music, and found most convenient.

In the system of St. Gregory, we have said, the notes are of equal length, and the spirit of the composition and prosody of the syllables regulate the time. This seems to have been subsequently overlooked, and in the *Directorium Chori*, published by Giovanni Guidetti, the pupil of Palestrina, we find the following instructions:—

Haec nota  vocatur *brevis* : cui subjecta syllaba ita profertur, ut in currendo tempus unum insumatur. Haec  dicitur *semibrevis* et syllaba quae sub illam cadit, celerius est percurrenda, ut dimidium unius temporis impendatur. Haec altera  quae *longa* est paulo tardius proferenda est, adeo ut in cantu tempus unum et dimidium insumatur.

Notwithstanding so eminent an authority, this rule is not commonly observed in our day, and we are seemingly returning to the days of St. Ambrose and St. Gregory. I subjoin the following from directions in the latest edition of the *Vesperale Romanum* :—

Notae musicae in hoc Vespérali adhibitae sunt triplices :   

Ordinarie nota  dicta *semibrevis* minori temporis spatio profertur quam nota *brevis* , *longa*  autem majori. Quae nota *brevis*  per se tempus incertum exprimit, ita ut valor ejus syllaba cui incidit definiatur. Valet ergo regula ; Cantabis syllabas sicut pronuntiaveris.

I take it, therefore, that the Gregorian notes, differently from the ordinary staff notation, have not definite time, and that their value is to be estimated by the spirit of the piece, and the prosody of the syllables. The names here given the notes, I might add, are not universally adopted. I have seen the notes written by very eminent authority, *virga*, *punctum*, and *brevis* respectively, and it is hardly necessary to add that in Plain Chant the name of note, as distinct from any other name, affords no assistance to the performer. A knowledge of the theory of Gregorian music is within the capacity of the dullest. Bearing in mind that the notes have not any fixed time, and that the name of a note is not always an indication of its pitch, we soon come to learn all



that is necessary of the Plain Chant. It is well to know that the two clefs, the do and fa clefs, give their name to all the notes on the line on which they fall, and thus serve as a guide to the names of all the others. But this is more theory than practice. A knowledge of the major and minor intervals is important, and, without this, it would be impossible to sing with any very great degree of accuracy. But the great difficulty consists in taking the proper pitch at the inception. Gregorian music is not always sung as it is written, and hence the pitch note must be taken so as to bear in mind the height to which the composition ascends, as well as the extent to which it falls. At the same time the quality and capacity of the voices engaged must also be considered. The ancients, in this matter, had a very wise rule which, so far as it went, was very practical, but hardly covered the whole ground. 'Nunquam cantus nimis basse incipiatur, quod est ululare; nec nimis alte quod est clamare, sed mediate quod est cantare'; and the *Graduale Romanum* adds: 'Ita ut cantores, aut major pars eorum, acumen et gravitatem cantûs attingere possunt.' The pitch note is also regulated by the mode in which the piece is written; this proves rather difficult for the average student.

There are eight modes commonly in use, although the number has been extended to fourteen. We should bear in mind, the spirit and intonation of the chant depend on the mode in which the composition is written. This is rarely attended to, and although we have the mode as well as the dominant and final indicated at the beginning of most of our pieces in Plain Chant, seldom any attention is paid to the fact. I might here observe the number of the modes had long been a subject of dispute. The question was even referred to Charlemagne, who decided in favour of eight, but we learn when afterwards requested by the Greeks to change this decision, he decided in favour of twelve. After the example of St. Gregory, the Plain Chant, as we have stated, is written in eight modes; but the ninth mode does occur in the Psalm, 'In exitu Israel' when preceded by the antiphon 'nos qui vivimus.' Though irregular, this is one of the most beautifully plaintive and touching of the Psalms.

The mode, therefore, must not be overlooked, and attention to the following lines will be found serviceable in singing :—

Primum tonum hilarem suaviter tange,  
Secundum flebilem et aerumnosum,  
Tertium acerrimum et severum,  
Quartum amorosum et blandum,  
Quintum jucundum et delectabilem,  
Sextum pium et devotum,  
Septimum querimoniosum,  
Octavum magnanimum et felicem.

We have touched upon the essentials of Plain Chant, and we easily infer how intelligible and simple it is. For this reason, among others, it readily recommends itself to the Church, and is now regarded as the only true ecclesiastical chant. The Popes, from the days of St. Gregory to our own illustrious Pontiff, have recognised and recommended it. The Council of Trent strongly counsels the Gregorian music in the churches, and the decision of the Council was warmly encouraged by Popes Pius V., Gregory XIII., and Paul V. ; and we find that Benedict XIV., in an encyclical, 1749, speaks of this chant as more devotional, and better adapted to the religious tone and spirit of church music. Within recent years we have had very remarkable pronouncements by Pius IX. and Leo XIII., which, while not making it the sole chant of the Church, strongly encourage and recommend it. The views of Pius IX. in the Brief, 1873, *Qui choricis*, and that of Leo XIII., 1878, *Sacrorum Conventuum*, are embodied in a recent decree of the Congregation of Rites. This decree is dated 7th July, 1894, and most warmly encourages pure ecclesiastical chant, and at the same time firmly condemns any unauthorised changes. There can, therefore, no longer be any doubt of the mind of the Church on this matter.

The Plain Chant, as collected and arranged in the *Antiphonarium* of St. Gregory, must ever form the basis of true ecclesiastical chant, and the Church recognises every day more and more, that any serious departure therefrom cannot be an improvement in point of devotion. A rivalry between the theatre and the Church is unmeaning.

The contest is unreasonable, and, at the same time, unequal. The theatre has its prima donna, and the falsetto voice, or the male voice made to take the part of the female, is not capable of fully fulfilling that part. We may take it that Rome is the exemplar in ceremonies and church music. Female voices are not employed, nor are women admitted into the singing choirs in Rome. This custom is gradually spreading, and there is reason to believe it shall eventually become very general. We must also take into account the composition is very much different, and the chant of the *Graduale* or *Vesperale* requires much more solemn treatment. For church music the words are always unchanged, whereas each new year brings something novel, and something that can be wielded and modulated to suit the pitch and capacity of the operatic performer. I have not spoken of the evil effect of an attempt at operatic singing in our churches upon the non-Catholic or agnostic. Instinctively they feel it is not inspired by devotion.

The theory of Gregorian music is very simple, but to sing with effect great practice and adaptability are necessary. Strictly there is no instrumental accompaniment, although there is an adaptation which is not always called into requisition. There is no accompaniment in the Sistine choir, nor in St. Peter's, when the Pope is present, and the Papal choir sings. The difficulty of singing without accompaniment is not to be too lightly overlooked, and can only be attempted in public after considerable practice. Greater numbers, too, are required to make out in volume the want of the accompaniment. But experience shows that, in a small church, six or seven well-trained voices can sing the Mass with good effect, and in very pleasing style. Notwithstanding the objections sometimes raised to Gregorian Chant, it must ever be practised in the Church, for it is the sole chant for the missal, and, properly, the Mass and office for the dead. The High Church Party in England have revived the Plain Chant in their services, feeling, as we do, that it is more devotional and better adapted for congregational singing. Rightly the Gregorian should be sung in unison, but it is also harmonised and



sung in parts. This system goes by the name of the 'Falso Bordone.' We have also the system called by the Italians 'Neume d'ornamento,' in which there is an effort to introduce grace notes, or groups of notes to be sung quickly, several to one syllable. This is something of a departure, so that time and again it is necessary for the Holy See to step in and guard against any novelty that might be at variance with the true ecclesiastical chant as constituted by St. Gregory. The system is not, however, condemned.

I may be pardoned, for, even here, making allusion however brief to this remarkable Pontiff, whose name is inseparably associated with Gregorian music, and after whom it takes its name. There have been no fewer than sixteen Popes who took the title of Gregory. Five have been very remarkable: among these is Gregory the Great. This illustrious Pontiff, who must ever have the veneration of the English nation, was born in 540 of a noble Roman family. He held several important civil positions under Justin II, and was even prefect or governor of Rome. This office he held for a considerable time with much *eclat*. He afterwards resigned and became a religious. On the death of his father he became possessed of great wealth, which he freely distributed in founding monasteries. He subsequently became abbot and later Pope. It was about the year 575, while walking the streets of Rome, he beheld some English exposed for sale in the market-place. Struck with their appearance, he exclaimed, 'Non Angli sed angeli'—not English but angels, if they were Christians. He was forthwith seized with the desire of evangelizing that country, and in person. He had even set out some length on the journey when he was recalled by the then Pope, at the many and persistent solicitations of the Romans, who were impatient at the thought of his absence from amongst them. On his elevation to the Papacy he entrusted this office to St. Augustine, who was the immediate apostle of England, and to whom that nation is indebted for the faith. He died in the year 604, rich in honours and graces, and was subsequently canonized. He is, perhaps, best known through the chant of which he is the founder. It is to be regretted the original

*Antiphonarium* of St. Gregory is nowhere to be found. The earliest record of Plain Chant discoverable is in the monastery of St. Gall, Switzerland, probably of the ninth or tenth century.

I have said, I think, enough on the history and theory of this simplest and most devotional chant of the Church to commend it. A few lessons will suffice to learn all that is essential, while, at the same time, it is the recognised ecclesiastical music. It could be taught in our colleges and schools and practised generally in our churches.

D. F. M'CREA, M.R.I.A

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## THE IRISH IN THE UNITED STATES

LONG before European governments found it to their interests to watch, study, and imitate the Republic of the West, as they are doing to-day, the Catholic Church in the United States had attracted the attention of the critics and the collectors. The former class found so much weakness and evil tendency in the Catholic body that conscience forced them to give the world warning; the latter witnessed and profited by a generosity which has induced them to call often and early, and to send others as well. At one time the Irish and their descendants practically made up the Catholic body in the United States, and had to bear in consequence the burden of criticism and of contribution to foreign charity. Times have changed in one respect. Other nationalities and their offspring now form part of the Church in America. In another respect unfortunately times have not changed; the Irish and their offspring have still to bear the financial burden, and to endure the shafts of an ill-informed and ill-natured criticism, pouring in from all sides.

For example, the German critics who appealed to Rome in the famous Cahensly troubles, denounced the American

bishops for their supposed neglect of the German Catholics in their dioceses, and tried to prove the inferiority of faith and Christian practice among the American Irish. At all times the critics of the province of Quebec, French-Canadian critics, have held up the Irish priesthood of the United States as a suspicious and decadent body, and the French-Canadian priests have tried to prevent emigration of their people by describing the poor quality of Catholicity among the Irish. The French critics who have hounded the memory of Father Hecker and demonstrated to their own imaginations the existence of a great heresy in America, have directed their guns against the English-speaking Catholics, who are of Irish blood for the most part.<sup>1</sup> Finally, visitors of all nationalities have gone home to Europe after observing American Catholics, and have written detailed accounts of the wretched condition of English-speaking Catholics in the United States, while coldly praising the fine external appearance which the Church makes before the American public.

The sum of this criticism can be given in a dozen sentences, of which a number were printed not long ago in this Review; for the Irish in America is the road to hell; too many immigrants give up their faith as soon as they arrive in the United States; this is particularly true of the Irish, who assimilate rapidly with Americans; Catholic immigrants of other nationalities are protected from contagion by their ignorance of the English tongue; the Irish, speaking the English tongue, are exposed at once to the contagion of heresy and the corruption of American cities; they become Americanised, which means to become dechristianised; the heresy of Liberalism is rampant among American Catholics using the English tongue; millions have fallen and are falling away from the Church; the proof of this wholesale apostasy of the past and the present

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<sup>1</sup> We expressed our own opinion of 'Americanism' in an article on the Holy Father's Letter to Cardinal Gibbon's when it was written some time ago. We accept responsibility for no other commentary, and we think it only common justice to give an American priest an opportunity of defending his country when it is attacked.—ED. I. E. RECORD.



can be found in the figures of the statisticians ; in particular the proof of apostasy and desertion among the Irish can be found in the same resources ; therefore the glamour which surrounds American labour and American citizenship with false splendour must be torn away, and behind that veil the Irish emigrant in the United States will be too often found Godless, faithless, hopeless, sunk into depths of social misery and spiritual debasement from which there is no arising.

This is a rather fierce and precise indictment from critics who have never been in the country, like the wonderful critics of France and of Quebec, or have enjoyed our hospitality for half a year, like most of the others. Americans listen to this hysterical rhetoric with amusement. Knowing its exaggeration they have not considered its dangers. Convinced that they are masters of the situation, proud of their successes, they have not replied to criticism. They know that the United States is the greatest country of the world and of history, in a sense which no European can understand. Explanation will not do. He must come to this country, live here, and learn its greatness for himself. American Catholics know also that their division of the Church Universal takes rank with any other on the globe in the purity and strength of its faith, and in the enterprise of the Catholic body. Perhaps the time has come to take notice of the critics, at least for the sake of our friends everywhere. It may interest the general public, also, to learn what value we place on the criticism, and in what fashion we reply to it among ourselves. It is only of late that American Catholics have begun to study themselves and to compare their achievements, their methods, and their environment with those of their brethren in other parts of the world. Not only foreign criticism, but also domestic strife has forced them to examine into various matters. What is set down in this essay may be safely accepted as an average opinion, representative of the average American feeling.

Now, let it be observed at the outset, as a most important factor in the discussion, that all criticism of the Church in

America is directed against the English-speaking Catholics of the United States, which really means the Irish and their descendants. All the others, French, Germans, Canadians, and so forth, protected by the barrier of language, are supposed to have kept the faith in its purity, and to practise it to perfection. The foreign critics find firm support for their contentions among the leaders of the non-English-speaking Catholics; in fact from these leaders the critics get their arguments and illustrations. It is not necessary to my purpose to explain this curious fact. In answering foreign criticism all critics will be answered.

The general organisation of the Church in America is complete and very satisfactory. The hundred dioceses are ruled by a competent hierarchy, the legislation of the councils works fairly well, and the twelve thousand priests may rank as mission-workers with any. The parochial organisation is probably the best in the world. The American method of work prevails in the working of parishes, the same enterprise, the same adaptation of means to end, the same determination to get thorough results. In city and country parishes the churches are within easy reach of all parishioners, the Masses are numerous, confessions are heard weekly, and oftener, the census of the parish is often taken, the priests keep in touch with the people both to keep up the spirit of faith, and to preserve a sound financial condition. Relationship with the non-Catholic community is very pleasant. In the East generally, and in well-settled parts, the old hatred of Catholics has diminished or died out entirely. The hierarchy and the priesthood, the monks and nuns, are held in esteem. At this moment and for the last twenty years the Church is regarded with deep respect by millions of non-Catholics. The point I wish to make from these statements is the practical and universal organisation of the Church to meet all wants at every point, and the willingness of non-Catholics to let the Church do that work in peace. Because, if what I have just said be true, what becomes of the statements that for Irish emigrants America is the road to hell, too many lose their faith as soon as they arrive,

and lose it because they have not the barrier of a language to keep them from American corruption? It is impossible for any Catholic immigrant to escape the Church organisation, no matter to what part of the United States he may go. The Church and the priest are at his right hand and his left; the force of universal example is all around him; the current of Catholic life eddies about church and priest in the United States. Only one determined to break away from the fold can possibly escape from immediate and direct contact with religious activity.

There are no workers superior to the bishops of the United States. It would take a volume to recount their labours. For example, in New York city, in the dioceses of New England, in Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, and other centres of commerce, the bishops have not only provided for the needs of the English-speaking majority, but have built churches, and secured priests for ten different nationalities. In New York Germans, Italians, Poles, Bohemians, French, French-Canadians, Syrians, Greeks, Hungarians, and Slavonians have their churches and priests. How many of the critics have any conception of the heroic struggle required to found and continue these parishes? European priests of the nationalities named do not follow their people into exile, and the bishops have had to importune for years before they could interest the bishops of Europe in the work of saving the emigrants. In the beginning these parishes were maintained by the contributions of the Irish. Many of them are so supported until this day, for the continental emigrant has no training in the matter of contributing to the support of a parish. He will not pay a cent to the Church, until he has learned the fitness and necessity of American methods. The establishment of these parishes for Italians and others is an example of what the bishops have done and are willing to do that no soul may be lost to the faith. I repeat here that no immigrant need be a moment without religious ministrations after landing in the United States, unless he has determined to refuse it.

If then it be true in any case, that too many immigrants



give up their faith as soon as they arrive, the explanation of apostasy will have to be made by their leaders at home. The American bishops have provided every opportunity for them to practise their faith, their religion here is held in esteem by all, there is no hindrance in practising it, and even the temptations of the proselytisers are no longer so indiscriminate and so alluring as in earlier days. Personally I do not believe there is any foundation for these reckless statements of wholesale apostasy, even on the part of the Italians, Bohemians, and others. The Italians seem to be the most hopeless of all immigrants. They know nothing of doctrine, have never learned the catechism, and their whole religious duty consists in getting to church on some obscure feast day of a national saint. They contribute not a cent, never go near the sacraments, and are the despair of their priests. But they are not apostates even in the presence of temptation. Their faith is in their blood. However, it is not much to the credit of their pastors in Italy that millions should grow up in ignorance of the simplest doctrines, ignorance as dense and complete as ever was. Let me add that the complaints against all classes of immigrants on this score of ignorance are increasing on every side. I have not investigated them, but I have the declarations of nearly a hundred rectors that this ignorance of Christian doctrine, of the little catechism, among Irish, Italian, and other immigrants, is simply astounding, if one admits that the priests of Europe are doing their simplest duty. Can it be that this lack of common training accounts for the supposed apostasy of so many immigrants, an apostasy all the more terrible that the circumstances make it needless and useless?

In answer to the statement of speedy apostasy on the part of the immigrant, I have shown its unlikelihood from two facts, the readiness of the Church to meet the immigrant, and the lack of temptation from the sects. If ignorance is the parent of apostasy in this case, the responsibility remains in Europe. The statement of Irish apostasy so bristles with possible answers that one is embarrassed in a choice. Let me take the explanation given above, that the

Irish fall away speedily from the faith because the barrier of a foreign language is not present to keep them from American contagion. Does a language keep any Christian from the contagion of heresy? We have battled on that question here for twenty years. It is the contention of the German pastors, of the French-Canadian pastors, of the Polish pastors that only through the special language will they ever be able to keep the faith in their people. This belief brought about the Cahensly riot in the Church. If it be true, then the Germans and Canadians and Poles will all lose their faith, for in spite of their pastors they learn the vernacular, forget the paternal tongue, and fight to get away from all things German, Canadian, and Polish. The children of the immigrants are American to the core, they want to be American in speech, habit, association; they are weary of the bonds thrown around them by their pastors, and they break away as soon as they can. The defenders of Cahenslyism have been at pains to explain their contention that a German or Frenchman who gives up his language also gives up his faith, while the Irish in the same conditions have held to the faith. Their explanation is that English is the language of the Irish immigrant, and opposition to Protestantism a factor in his training; whereas the German, Canadian, and Italian have been brought up in Catholic surroundings, and the adoption of the English tongue and American citizenship together, bringing him into social intimacy with Protestants, is very apt to lead him into apostasy.

This explanation is to the point here, since it contains the admission that the Irish do not lose their faith because they speak the English language. I also maintain that apostasy in other races does not spring from their adoption of the English tongue. The steady use of the German language among the Lutherans in the United States has not saved them from the ravages of American rationalism: neither has their native tongues saved the Jews from the same pestilence. However, there is no need to discuss this point further. Enough has been said to show that the power of a language to act as a barrier against corruption

is disputed. There is no doubt whatever of the power of a language to keep brethren apart when they should be working together in harmony. The Catholics of the United States are divided one against another according to language. It is easier for a Catholic German or Canadian to marry with agnostics and Protestants than to form alliance with the Irish Catholic of the next parish. This is a result of the language barrier which has been entirely overlooked in the public discussions of past years.

The barrier of language is supposed to act against the corruption of the cities and to hinder that Americanisation which is declared to be dechristianisation for the immigrant. I deny the corruption of the cities, and the fact that to become an American means to become an infidel. Very likely the critics have been reading the balderdash of the reform journals, the crazy declarations of Parkhurst, and the lies of Mr. Smalley in the *London Times*. These sources are all discredited in the United States. It is unnecessary to defend the great cities of our land. From every point of view they are superior to anything that Europe has to show in city administration, with perhaps two or three exceptions. Certainly on the score of public morality no city of America has ever yet sunk to so low a level as the capitals of Europe. This is not saying they are without fault. Undoubtedly there is too much wickedness in them, but to find it one must have determination, and to seek earnestly and wilfully in the secret places. While on the other hand these same cities are so well provided with the things of religion, the current of life sets so strongly towards priest, church, and school, that the immigrant need never expose himself to the corruption which hides in the purlieus. The most splendid examples of Christian life are to be found in the cities; the Church has made in them her finest showing, and won her best triumphs. The leakage is least among the city populations from any cause. This is a well-known fact. What then becomes of the charge of corruption? Parkhurst, Smalley, and the politicians are not authorities on anything.

When the critics have the Catholic Americans under



consideration they explain everything nowadays with the word *Americanism*. It has not yet occurred to them that we might retort more effectively with the term, *Europeanism*, a word which to us means much more, because there is a fact behind it, than *Americanism* means to the critics of Europe. Why should the process of Americanisation for the immigrant result of necessity in dechristianisation? The United States is Christian in the Protestant sense at least, and one-fifth of its population is Christian in the Catholic sense. It is truly a Christian land, although the old religion has begun to decay. We are at a loss here to know just what process stands in the imagination of the critics as Americanisation. Do they forget that three-fourths of American Catholics are native born? What is this Americanisation! For an immigrant to become an American involves only a residence of a few years in the country, and the taking of the oath of naturalisation. He may be said to be Americanised when he has fairly shaken off the shackles of Europeanism, shackles that have bound will and intellect for four centuries in terrible bonds, and has begun to appreciate the unutterable freedom of American life. What that freedom is none may analyse, none describe. It is so new and so delightful a thing in the world that no name has yet been found for it.

Critics make a grave mistake when they consign the Christianity of the United States to the limbo of agnosticism. Disintegration of the sects is going on, but another century will still see here a strong, old-fashioned belief in the Divinity of Christ. The leaders of American thought have, indeed, betrayed their people; editors, novelists, essayists, historians, university professors, scientists, and some preachers have all gone the agnostic way. Literature, philosophy, science, politics, shut out Christianity; but the people are still Christian in feeling, in thought, in expression. And in spite of the declarations so frequent in the mouths of the irresponsible on this subject, the consensus of opinion leaves the United States still Christian. Upon what grounds, then, do the critics make Americanisation downright apostasy to agnosticism?

Bottled moonshine, as Carlyle would name it, is the

proper phrase for the vaporings of travellers in America. Of course they provide figures for their statements, as one provides anchors for balloons. The last appeal for the confirmation of all these wild assertions must necessarily be to the statistics, and to the figures the critics appeal with ridiculous confidence. They have been careful to state that statistics concerning the Church in the United States are only approximations. They have not been so particular in stating that the statistics of apostasy do not exist. Their inferences and figures on this point are simply approximations based upon approximations! There are no statistics of character, of scientific value, on the Church in America. We all know how the *Catholic Directory* makes up its items and summaries. Pastors furnish the chancery office of the diocese with the figures of their parishes, and the chancellor sends a summary to the editor of the *Directory*. Three months after the year begins the *Directory* makes its appearance with as many imperfections and as numerous blunders as one could desire. This year the Catholic population is given as 10,000,000 in round numbers. To my mind this estimate is from three to five millions out of the way. What can be expected from statistics made up in diocesan fashion?

The critic accepts these figures, and then proceeds to argue in this manner:—4,000,000 of people left Ireland in the last sixty years; by this time there should be at least 10,000,000 of Irish Catholics in the United States, and the other Catholic races should be 10,000,000 more, but the entire Catholic body is only 10,000,000; therefore 10,000,000 souls have fallen away. How the shade of Mulhall must smile at this manipulation of imaginary figures! The Irish emigrant went to Canada, South America, Australia, and New Zealand, though the majority of emigrants settled in the United States. In that period of sixty years a hundred factors, of which no account is taken by the critic, played their part in the history of the exiles. The disasters of emigration, the scattering of relatives, the distress of settling in new conditions, the early hardships, the catastrophe of the Civil War, all had their influence, and a very large influence, in hindering the natural increase of a fruitful people. These facts

have no place in the estimate of the critic. However, not to draw out this discussion interminably, let it be said that there are no reliable statistics concerning the Church in this country, from which sound inferences might be made ; that there are no statistics whatever for apostasy ; and that the critics have not shown themselves competent to handle even the poor statistics accidentally provided. What becomes then of this vast structure of inference raised amid tears and sobs over the unhappy fate of imagined millions ?

Undoubtedly there has been a heavy leakage from the Church in the United States, and no one is more sensible of the fact than the mission priest. He encounters daily the children of the apostate, of the indifferent, of the lost. We are preparing even now to investigate that leakage of the past and present ; but until a scientific study has been made of the subject we deny to anyone the right to invent figures concerning a matter of which no one knows anything definite. In presenting these figures the critics of all nationalities have had but one aim : to prove how wretchedly the Irish and their descendants, that is the English-speaking Catholics, have upheld the faith in the United States. Yet the people who truly know the situation know well that the enterprising faith, the missionary faith, which nobly and effectively presents the Gospel to the American world, the faith which builds the fort, and organises the foray, the aggressive faith which wakes up outsiders to inquiry, belongs exclusively to the Irish and their children ; or to put it more generously, to the English-speaking Catholics of the country. The Germans, the French, the Canadians of Quebec, the Poles, are shut up in their language, their *Europeanism*, which is nearly as offensive here as at home, and much more harmful. Their contribution to progress is criticism of their hard-working neighbours. It is they who invented the term 'Americanism,' to conceal their own deficiencies, and who have helped the foreign contingent on the Continent in the attack on their English-speaking brethren. They are determined to fix upon us the reproach of heresy, an ancient game of decadent theologians, which cannot be played in this country except at the risk of the decadents.



I hear their intonations in the phrases, 'glamour of American labour,' and 'glamour of American citizenship.' I recognise their spirit in the two sentences, 'America is the road to hell for the Irish emigrant,' and 'Godless, faithless, hopeless, sunk into depths of social misery and spiritual debasement from which there is no arising.' These are the charges and sentiments which the American Episcopate, with a few German exceptions, unsparingly denounced in their protest to the Pope against the Cahensly memorials. They are positive slanders, known as such to all men of America. The conditions of labour here are not celestial, but by comparison with labour conditions in Europe they *are* celestial. American citizenship enjoys the usual deficiencies of human inventions, but by comparison with average citizenship in any other known land it is nearly divine. These expressions will surely sound bombastic to the European ear. I cannot help that. I state the common conviction of the unprejudiced and experienced. This country is the divinely-appointed political teacher of the world. It is a step forward in the progress of government. Americans have no reason to grow conceited over it, since God produced it, not the fathers of the Revolution.<sup>1</sup>

I can appreciate the grief of Irish leaders over the loss of their people, that mournful out-pouring of the best blood of a nation to enrich the fields of the stranger. But if that must continue no other place can compare with the United States as a home for the emigrants. Here the Irish exiles have won their finest and most enduring triumphs. On this grand stage they have proved to the world, and particularly to the English world, their capacity to rule in politics, in business, in manufactures, in war, and in letters. Not only have they built up the faith in the whole country, they have also helped by their lavish contributions to build it anew in other countries. I have no desire to boast, or to minimize the good work of others, but only to show that the various achievements of the Irish emigrant could not

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<sup>1</sup> "Sed quanquam haec vera sunt, tamen error tollendus nequis hinc sequi existimet petendum ab America exemplum optime ecclesiae status: aut universe licere vel expedire rei civilis reiue sacrae distractas esse dissociatasque, more Americano, rationes: Leo XIII. in Letter "*Longinqua Oceani Spatia*."—  
ED. I. E. RECORD.

have been won by a race half apostate, easily overcome by temptation, as the critics would have us believe. The loss of her people Ireland can prevent only by great changes in her economic condition. Misrepresentation of this country will not do. It was tried in Canada, but it did not hinder half a million French-Canadians from settling in New England. The world is pouring into the United States, and even Canada cannot hold its natural increase. Few return to their ancient seats. Why? Because they secure here what is not to be got at home, readier money and a greater variety of opportunity.

Before Canada, Italy, Sweden, Ireland, and all the other countries whose people emigrate to the United States, can stop the flow of emigration, they must make home more profitable to their people, perhaps I might say more endurable. Undoubtedly they can diminish the flow by a good statement of the hardships of emigration. These have proved fatal to thousands. America has become for the European poor a fairy land of prosperity. When this dream meets the cold facts it vanishes into bitter disappointment. One does not pick up work here for the asking any more. It is difficult in the changed conditions of the last twenty years for the immigrant to get a grip. The French settle in the manufacturing towns, the Germans go to the farms, the Irish fix themselves doggedly in the great cities. They take what is offered, what they can get, and often stay where they land. The condition of the less capable becomes wretched, they drift into hopelessness, the saloon takes their small earnings, and in time they join the submerged tenth of the population. Their fate has furnished the critics with dreadful examples. But the true morals of their story is that the emigrants should consider change carefully, study the matter soberly, make shrewd preparations, and not let go of the bird in the hand until quite sure of the two in the bush. It is a point worth considering by the Irish leaders that the letters sent home from America by the successful boy and girl to parent and friend are the real promoters of Irish emigration.

JOHN TALBOT SMITH.

## CATHOLIC DISABILITIES

THE abortive attempt recently made in the English Courts to revive the yet remaining proscriptive enactments existing on the statute book against Catholics in these countries naturally directs attention to the present state of the law upon this subject, and suggests the question as to how far the personal liberty of the professors of that faith is liable to be interfered with. It is the settled belief of a large number of well meaning but not well informed persons, that *qua* Catholic, no disability, actual or possible, attaches to one and that every remnant of the old spirit of persecution and proscription has been legislatively removed and that there exists upon the statute book nothing to warrant the feeling that Catholics, as such, have any reason to complain of the laws. A little light upon this subject may therefore not be entirely uninteresting. The charter of Catholic liberties in England and Ireland will practically be found within the four corners of the 10 Geo. IV., c. 7, entitled 'An Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects,' which received the Royal assent on the 13th of April, 1829. This is what is popularly known as the Catholic Emancipation Act, which was largely due to the agitation successfully and ably led by Daniel O'Connell.<sup>1</sup>

The first section of the Emancipation Act deals with

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<sup>1</sup> The effect of the Act of 1829 had often come up in the course of cases dealing with bequests to the several Orders, and was sought to be availed of in a recent case of *Roche v. M'Dermot*, I. R. 1 (1901), where a bequest 'to the Rector of the Jesuits at Mungret in aid of the school there for the training of pupils intended for the Church' was held not to be invalid as contrary to the policy of the Act (10 Geo. IV., c. 7). In his judgment the Master of the Rolls, with characteristic fairness, stated—'I have very often said that it appears to me to be a crying injustice that a system of law depending upon religious disabilities should be enforced in this branch of the Courts in reference to property and used as an engine for the purpose of defeating the otherwise lawful intentions of testators when it was not directly intended for that purpose and when the enactments themselves have been allowed to become a dead letter for the last eighty-two years. It is said that this College at Mungret is illegal; that the institutions of the Jesuits are illegal; that the members are liable to indictment for misdemeanour by reason of their very existence in this country. There is no statesman or public person dreams of putting this law into force directly, and in the only way specifically contemplated it is to the Judges of the Chancery Division to apply and enforce it in relation to questions of property and questions of charities otherwise perfectly



Acts relating to oaths and declarations against 'Transubstantiation and the Invocation of the Saints and the Sacrifice of the Mass,' and renders them no longer necessary to enable a Catholic to sit in Parliament or to enjoy certain offices, franchises, and civil rights.

The second section renders it lawful for any peer or member of the House of Commons to sit and act as such upon taking and subscribing the following oath instead of the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration:—

I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George the Fourth, and will defend him to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatever which shall be made against his Person, Crown, and Dignity; and that I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against Him and Them; and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support and defend, to the utmost of my power, the succession of the Crown which succession by an Act intituled 'An Act for the further limitation of the Crown and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject' is and stands limited to the Princess Sophia, the Electress of Hanover and the Heirs of her body being Protestants; hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance unto any other Person claiming or pretending a Right to the Crown of this Realm: And I do further declare that it is not an article of my Faith and that I do renounce, reject and abjure the opinion that Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope or any other authority of the See of Rome may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or by any person whatsoever: And I do declare that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome or any other Foreign Prince, Prelate, State or Potentate, had or ought to have any Temporal or Civil Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority or Pre-eminence directly or indirectly within the Realm. I do swear that I will defend to the utmost of my Power the settlement of Property within this Realm as established by the laws: And I do hereby

legal and praiseworthy and thus indirectly to enforce a law which never is and can now be directly enforced.'

Yet, although the policy of the Act is no longer approved of, and is really repugnant to latter-day notions of English toleration, this relic of the age of bigotry and proscription is left upon the statute books—an insult to Catholics and their beliefs; and although incapable of active administration it is retained to irritate by its presence and insult by its continuance.

In a series of learned articles which appeared in the I. E. RECORD during the past few years the Archbishop of Dublin clearly and concisely pointed out how the Act has worked injustice to Catholics and deprived Catholic Charities of moneys left to them by generous testators, whose gifts under the provisions of the Emancipation Act were declared to be invalid and ineffective.

disclaim, disavow and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment, as settled by Law within this Realm : And I do solemnly swear that I never will exercise any Privilege to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb or weaken the Protestant Religion or Protestant Government in the United Kingdom : And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify and declare that I do make this declaration and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this Oath without any evasion, equivocation or mental reservation whatsoever. So help me God.

The oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration referred to in the above were formerly prescribed by the statutes 30 Chas. II., stat. 2, the 13 Will. III., c. 6, and 1 Geo. I., stat. 2, c. 13, and were required to be taken by every member of Parliament. They were the oaths to which O'Connell objected and which he refused to take. By the Catholic Emancipation Act, as was seen, the above oath was substituted, but by the 21 and 22 Vic., c. 48, one oath for Protestant members was substituted for the oaths of allegiance supremacy, and abjuration, and by the 29 and 30 Vic., c. 19, a single oath was prescribed for members of Parliament of all religious denominations which, by the 31 and 32 Vic., c. 72, is now in the following form :—

I, ———, do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Her heirs and successors, according to law. So help me God.

It will be seen that up to 1868 the oath of 1829 endured, and that a Catholic was compelled to take it. More enlightened and tolerant views, however, prevailed, and this restraint was removed, but a review of the other provisions of the Emancipation Act will show that many irritating and annoying disabilities still attach to the profession of the Catholic faith, which, if not enforced at the instance of a prejudiced Protestant, yet exist upon the statute book, and are enforceable by the Crown, and are an insult to the religion of a majority of the Irish people. The Emancipation Act consists of forty sections and a schedule. I have referred already to Sections 1 and 2, and I will only here epitomise some of the others in their order. Section 3 deals with the name of the Sovereign for the time being to be used in the oath. Section 4 makes no Roman Catholic

capable of sitting or voting until he has taken the oath. Section 5 provides that Roman Catholics may vote at elections and be elected on taking the oath. Section 6 enacts that the oath shall be administered in the same manner as former oaths. Section 7 regulates the form of administering the oath. Section 8 enables a Catholic to be a member in Scotland (which I believe he never was yet). Section 9 disqualifies a Roman Catholic priest from sitting in the House of Commons. Section 10 enables Roman Catholics to hold civil and military offices under the Crown with certain exceptions. Section 12 states that nothing therein contained shall extend or be construed to extend to enable any person professing the Roman Catholic religion to hold or exercise the office of Guardians and Justices of the United Kingdom, or of Regent of the United Kingdom, under whatever name, style, and title such office may be constituted; nor to enable any person otherwise than as he is now by law enabled, to hold or enjoy the office of Lord High Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or Lord Commissioner of the Great Seal of Great Britain or Ireland, or the office of Lord Lieutenant or Lord Deputy, or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland, or his Majesty's High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. The law still endures preventing a Roman Catholic from being a Lord Chancellor in England, or from being in Ireland a Lord Lieutenant or a Privy Councillor who, as a Lord Justice, may act in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant. An Unitarian, or a Jew, or an atheist may be such, or one of any form of belief or unbelief, except a Catholic. Since the disability was removed as respects the office of Lord Chancellor in Ireland two of that faith have been Lord Chancellors, namely, Lord O'Hagan and the Right Hon. Lord Chancellor Nash, but the existence of the disability in regard to the office in England is said to have prevented Mr. Gladstone from appointing to that position Lord Russell of Killowen, and obliged him instead to select and appoint a lawyer of the Jewish persuasion, the late Lord Herschell; a Catholic may be Governor-General of Canada or Governor of any of the Colonies, or dependences of the Crown. A Catholic may be, and Lord Ripon was, Viceroy of India, but he may not be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.



By the 9th section no Roman Catholic priest may sit in Parliament, the words being :—

No person in holy orders in the Church of Rome shall be capable of being elected to serve in Parliament as a member of the House of Commons, and if any such person shall be elected as aforesaid such office shall be void, and if any person being elected to serve in Parliament as a member of the House of Commons shall, after his election, take or receive orders in the Church of Rome, the seat of such person shall immediately become void, etc.

The professed ministers of any and every other Church may sit in Parliament except the clergy of the Established Church, because it is such, and they are practically regarded as civil servants in that respect. Methodist ministers, Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Baptist, in fact a minister of the many forms of religious belief in England have sat and may sit as representatives in Parliament, but the Roman Catholic priest cannot sit there because of his religion alone. The same disability attaches to him as a member of any public elective board. A Catholic priest may not be a member of a County or District Council, a Board of Guardians or a Town Board. He may not be a Justice of the Peace. It is not that the Catholic priests are desirous of seeking such honours, but whether anxious for them or not they should not be disqualified simply and solely on account of their being priests—a sacred profession which should not have attached to it in a Christian country a disadvantage and disability not incident to any other religion. All through the Act we find every means taken that ingenuity could devise to still brand the Catholic religion with proscription and disability and insult its professors in every way possible. The day has passed, we should hope, when there was a foolish dread of Catholicism, and surely it might be allowed the same liberty and civil privileges which persons of other religions or of none enjoy without interference.

The 24th section of the Emancipation Act enacts that:—

If any Roman Catholic ecclesiastic, or any member of any of the orders, communities, or societies hereinafter mentioned shall, after the commencement of this Act, exercise any of the rites or ceremonies of the Roman Catholic religion, or wear the habits of his order, save within the usual places of worship of the Roman Catholic religion, or in private houses, such ecclesiastic or other

person shall, being thereof convicted by due course of law, forfeit for every such offence the sum of fifty pounds.

The followers and professors of every other belief may wear the distinctive dress of that religion with impunity. A Mahomedan may so go about, a Parsee or a Brahmin, a Buddhist or a Chinese priest may walk our streets in his distinctive garb, a Salvation Army man may strut or swagger along in his uniform, but it is not permissible for Catholic clergymen to appear in public in any religious dress. Why should this exclusive restriction attach to Catholics, as such, and the prohibition be continued against them alone?

The other sections of the Act up to the 27th are of no immediate interest or relevancy to the question under discussion, but that one is of importance in connection with the recent prosecution and the attempt then and there made, without avail as it turned out, to enforce it. And it reads as follows :—

XXVII. And whereas Jesuits and members of other religious orders, communities, and societies of the Church of Rome, bound by monastic and religious vows, are resident within the United Kingdom, and it is expedient to make provision for the gradual suppression and final prohibition of the same therein. Be it therefore enacted that every Jesuit and every member of any other religious order, community, or society of the Church of Rome, bound by monastic or religious vows, who, at any time of the commencement of the Act, shall be within the United Kingdom, shall deliver to the Clerk of the Peace of the County, or place where such person shall reside, or to his deputy, a notice or statement, in the form, and containing the particulars required to be set forth in the schedule to the Act annexed . . . and in case any person shall offend he shall forfeit and pay to His Majesty for every calendar month during which he shall remain in the United Kingdom without having delivered such notice or statement as hereinbefore required, the sum of fifty pounds.'

The particulars required in the return are the name of the party, his age, place of birth, name of the order, community, or society, whereof he is a member, name and usual residence of the next immediate superior of the order, community, or society, usual place of residence of the party.

By section 29 :—

If any Jesuit or member of any such religious order, community, or society, as aforesaid (that is every member of a religious order, community, or society of the Church of Rome,

bound by monastic or religious vows) shall, after the commencement of this Act, come into this realm, he shall be deemed and taken to be guilty of a misdemeanour, and being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be sentenced and ordered to be banished from the United Kingdom for the term of his natural life.

By section 30 it is provided that :—

In case any natural born subject of this realm being at the time of the commencement of this Act a Jesuit, or other member of any such religious order, community, or society, as aforesaid, shall, at the time of the commencement of this Act, be out of the realm, it shall be lawful for such person to return or come into this realm, and upon such his return or coming into the realm, he is hereby required within the space of six calendar months after his first returning or coming into the United Kingdom, to deliver such notice or statement to the Clerk of the Peace, or the county, or place where he shall reside, or his deputy, for the purpose of being so registered and transmitted as hereinbefore directed, and in case any such person shall neglect or refuse so to do, he shall, for such offence, forfeit and pay to His Majesty for every calendar month during which he shall remain in the United Kingdom, without having delivered such notice or statement, the sum of fifty pounds.

By section 31 :—

A license in writing may be granted to any one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, being a Protestant, granting permission to any Jesuit to come in and remain for such period as he may think proper not exceeding six months ; and they can be revoked before the expiration of the period if thought proper, and the person so licensed shall within twenty days depart from the United Kingdom, or if he do not he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour and liable to be banished for the term of his natural life.

By section 32 :—

A return of such licenses shall be laid before Parliament.

By section 35 :—

In case any Jesuit or member of any such religious order shall, after the commencement of this Act, within any part of this United Kingdom admit any person to become a regular ecclesiastic, or brother, or member of any such religious order, community, or society, or be aiding or consenting thereto, or shall administer or cause to be administered, or be aiding or assisting in the administration or taking any oath, vow, or engagement purporting or intended to bind such religious order, community, or society, every person offending in the premises in England or Ireland shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour and in Scotland shall be punished by fine and imprisonment.



And by section 34 :—

In case any person shall, after the commencement of this Act, within any part of this United Kingdom be admitted or become a Jesuit or brother or member of any other such religious order, community, or society, as aforesaid, such person shall be taken to be guilty of a misdemeanour, and being lawfully convicted shall be sentenced and ordered to be banished from the United Kingdom for the term of his natural life.

And by section 35 :—

In case any person sentenced and ordered to be banished under the provisions of the Act shall not depart from the United Kingdom within 30 days after the pronouncing of such sentence and order it shall be lawful for His Majesty to cause such person to be conveyed to such place out of the United Kingdom as His Majesty by advice of his Privy Council shall direct.

By section 36 :—

If any offender who shall be so sentenced and ordered to be banished in manner aforesaid shall, after the end of three calendar months from the time of such sentence or order hath been pronounced, be at large within any part of the United Kingdom without some lawful cause, every such offender being so at large as aforesaid on being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be transported to such place as shall be appointed by His Majesty for the term of his natural life.

There is a proviso in section 37 that nothing in the Act shall extend or be construed to extend in any manner to affect any religious order, community, or establishment consisting of females bound by religious or monastic vows.

The remaining sections provide that penalties may be recovered as a debt due to his Majesty by information to be filed by the Attorney-General in the Exchequer Court.

Such are the laws at present existing and capable of being enforced against Catholic religious orders in Great Britain and Ireland—showing that legally they reside in the country by sufferance, and that the badge of proscription is still on their religion. It would be only fair that Catholics should be no longer subjected to such insults as are to be found in those laws, and that the English people should carry out to their logical conclusion their boasted love of personal liberty, and remove from their statute books restrictive laws worthy of a bygone age of persecution and ignorant prejudice, and no longer compatible with the sense of freedom now understood

to be enjoyed. In these days of progress, enlightenment, and liberty, it would be well for the English people to clear their statute books of laws which are indefensible in principle and so obsolete and opposed to the spirit of the times that no one but the most fanatic dreams of their enforcement. Yet they remain an insult to the persons and beliefs against which they were directed originally. Either the laws are necessary or they are not, and when by universal consent they are no longer needed, or are ever likely to be, it is full time to remove these disabilities and have them no longer attach to the Catholic religion alone. When every other form of belief and practice is tolerated there seems no reason for continuing to have those penal provisions against Catholics exclusively as part of the laws of the Kingdom, and until and unless they are removed Catholics cannot be considered as in the enjoyment of the full privileges of citizenship and subjects of equal consideration with the rest of the community. Catholics with reason complain of the words used in the Coronation Oath, and they may, with equal grounds of justice, complain of the provisions of the Emancipation Act which still find themselves upon the statute book—innocuous possibly so far as their being applied no doubt, but insulting so long and as long as they form part of the laws of the country.

That the Act is not wholly inoperative and obsolete as is asserted by the apologists for its continuance as part of the laws of the realm and might be made, in the hands of a prejudiced and narrow-minded person, an instrument of irritating annoyance not to say of oppression, is evident from the proceedings before the English Courts recently. The case of the *King v. Kennedy*, as fully reported in the *Times* Law Reports 18, page 557, is instructive reading. An attempt was made to enforce the Act against some Jesuit priests, and Mr. Kennedy, a London Police Magistrate, was asked to grant a summons. He refused to do so on the main grounds that the Act was obsolete and was not enforceable by an individual. An appeal was taken from his decision, and last month (April) it came before the Divisional Court, consisting of the Lord Chief Justice (Lord Alverstone), Mr. Justice Darling and Mr. Justice Channing. The case

was fully argued on both sides, and the 'note' recording the decision reads as follows :—

Upon an information under section 34 of the Roman Catholic Relief Act, 1829, against certain persons charging them with having been admitted and become Jesuits within the United Kingdom, the Magistrate in the exercise of his discretion refused to grant a summons taking into consideration the fact that the penalties imposed by the Act had never been put in force, that the object of the Act was to get the Jesuits out of the country and not to punish criminally individual Jesuits, and that it was a matter in which, in the circumstances, proceedings should be instituted by the Crown and not by a private individual. Upon a mandamus to the Magistrate to hear and determine the application for a summons the Court refused to interfere with the exercise of the Magistrate's decision.

The judgment of the Lord Chief Justice is very interesting in this matter, and the concluding sentences explain the grounds of his decision :—

But in such a case as this he thought the Magistrate might take into his consideration that the fact of his refusal of the summons would not prevent the preferring of an indictment. The fact was that this was a very special Act. No practice had arisen under it which could be regarded as *expositio contemporanea* of it and therefore the considerations the Magistrate should apply to it were necessarily different from those arising in an ordinary case. In his opinion it would be no legal bar to proceedings under the Act that they were taken by a private prosecutor; and if the Magistrate had proceeded upon the ground that proceedings could not be taken by a private individual he thought he would have been wrong. But he came to the conclusion that the real substance of the matter was that the Magistrate exercised his discretion. The Court ought not therefore to interfere and the rule must be discharged.

It is clear from this that if the magistrate in the first instance had not exercised the discretion vested in him in the broadminded and liberal manner he did, but had granted the summons, that other consequences might have ensued. The Court, on appeal, decided, not that he did right absolutely in the matter and that therefore his decision was not capable of being reversed, but that he exercised his discretion and having done so they would not interfere with such exercise of discretion. The Act remains capable in the hands of a narrow and prejudiced Justice of being oppressively used and turned into an instrument of irritable and irritating interference with Catholic civil liberty.

RICHARD J. KELLY.



# Notes and Queries

## THEOLOGY

### CAN AN 'UNAPPROVED' PRIEST ABSOLVE FROM VENIAL SINS?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Some time ago I happened to say Mass on the first Friday of the month in a country church. A number of persons who were 'making the nine Fridays' requested me to hear their confessions before Mass. No other priest was available, and they were very unwilling to interrupt the series of their nine first Friday Communions. I had neither jurisdiction nor approbation in the place. However, I heard the confessions, absolved those who had to confess only venial sins or mortal sins already remitted, and admitted them to Communion. I did so on the ground that it is at least a probable opinion that jurisdiction and approbation are necessary only for the absolution of mortal sins not yet sacramentally remitted. Was I justified in hearing the confessions, and for the reason assigned?

NEO-CONFESSARIUS.

There may be room, as we shall see, for doubt about the *validity* of the absolutions given; but regarding their *lawfulness* there can be no second opinion. It would be certainly unlawful, in the circumstances described, for a priest without approbation or jurisdiction to attempt to absolve even from venial sins, or from mortal sins already directly remitted in the Sacrament of Penance.

I. Our correspondent, as well as his penitents on this occasion, seems to have been under the impression that confession and absolution before each of the nine communions are essential conditions of this devotion of the nine Fridays. We are not aware that this view is well-founded. No doubt, those who are burdened with the guilt of mortal sin, not yet directly remitted in the Sacrament of Penance, must receive sacramental absolution before they approach the Holy Eucharist. But, on the one

hand, there is nothing, *per se*, to prevent persons who are not burdened with mortal sin from receiving communion without going to confession. And, on the other hand, it would seem that the promises attached to this devotion of the nine Fridays are asserted to be contingent, not on nine confessions and communions, but on nine communions merely. If, therefore, the persons following this devotion had been previously instructed to take this view, or if our correspondent could have prudently enlightened them, the subsequent difficulty regarding the validity and lawfulness of the absolutions could not well have arisen.

II. Towards the end of his letter our correspondent seems to claim that it is probable that a priest requires *no* jurisdiction to absolve from venial sins and from sins already sacramentally remitted. This theory found some supporters among the older theologians. In modern times it is universally rejected; and rightly, because, in the Sacrament of Penance, the remission of sin is effected *per modum judicii*, and, therefore, it always presupposes jurisdiction. Very probably our correspondent does not mean what his words seem to convey. No one now thinks of holding that any sin—mortal or venial—can be sacramentally remitted without jurisdiction. What many theologians did teach, and what our correspondent possibly had in mind, was that *every* priest *at his ordination* received jurisdiction to absolve from venial sins and mortal sins already sacramentally remitted.

III. Assuming, for the moment, that the opinion just referred to is probable, and that the absolutions given by our correspondent were *valid*, were they also lawful? No, they were certainly *unlawful*. For Innocent XI., 12th February, 1679, expressly forbade bishops to allow priests to absolve even from venial sins without approbation. ‘Non permittant [Episcopi] ut venialium confessio fiat simplici sacerdoti non approbato ab Episcopo aut ordinario.’ And though it may be contended that this decree of Innocent XI. did not *eo ipso* deprive priests (*simplices sacerdotes*) of any jurisdiction that they may be supposed to have got at their ordination, yet universal custom and the authority of theologians make it quite certain that, at the present time, the

prohibition insisted on by Innocent XI. is everywhere in force. It follows, therefore, that our correspondent was not justified in absolving even from venial sins.

IV. Were the absolutions *valid* though unlawful? On this point authorities are divided. Some hold, and rightly, we think, that, at his ordination, a priest receives no jurisdiction whatever—not even over venial sins.<sup>1</sup> For, as they contend, it would be unreasonable to assume that the Church grants a jurisdiction which, since the time of Innocent XI., at all events, she forbids the priest to use.<sup>2</sup> Others, however,<sup>3</sup> maintain that, in ordination, priests still receive power to absolve from venial sins and mortal sins already sacramentally remitted; that Innocent XI. directly, or through the bishops, forbade the exercise of this power to unapproved priests, but that the jurisdiction itself was not withdrawn. According to this opinion, which is supported by Ballerini,<sup>4</sup> Noldin,<sup>5</sup> and Genicot,<sup>6</sup> among recent writers, the absolutions given by our correspondent to penitents confessing only venial sins or mortal sins already sacramentally remitted, would have been valid.

In view of the fact that the validity of such absolutions was commonly admitted by the older theologians, and that it is still upheld by modern writers of repute, we do not venture to call that opinion improbable which asserts that a *simplex sacerdos* can *validly* absolve from venial sins or mortal sins already directly remitted in the Sacrament of Penance.

V. Lastly, we may remark that our correspondent does not state how he provided for the possibility that some of those who presented themselves for confession might have mortal sins to confess. Did he, before hearing any of the confessions, give such persons a general warning that he could do nothing for them? Or, did he hear the confessions of all and dismiss these persons without absolution? Either

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<sup>1</sup> Conf. Lehmkuhl, *Theol. Moralis*, ii., n. 370.

<sup>2</sup> Conf. St. Alphonsus, *De Poenitentia*, n. 542.

<sup>3</sup> *Vid.*, v.g., Suarez, *Disp.* 26, sect. 5, n. 2, 10; Lugo, *Disp.* 18, n. 44.

<sup>4</sup> *Opus Theol. Morale*, v., n. 555.

<sup>5</sup> *De Sacramentis*, n. 336.

<sup>6</sup> *Theol. Moralis*, ii., n. 329.



course would be surrounded by difficulties that in themselves should have restrained our correspondent from hearing *any* confessions on the occasion referred to.

#### ABSOLUTION FROM EPISCOPAL RESERVED CASES

REV. DEAR SIR,—Absolution from Papal censures and reservations in cases of urgent necessity has been rendered comparatively easy by the modification of the law in 1886. But episcopal cases are of much more frequent occurrence, and give confessors more trouble. May a confessor follow the Papal method of procedure in regard to episcopal cases? Has there been any special legislation in this matter in Ireland? J. B.

The procedure introduced in 1886 for the purpose of providing for cases of urgent necessity applied to Papal cases only. Of course it is competent for bishops to adopt a similar method of procedure in reference to their own reserved cases. How far individual bishops in Ireland may have adopted the Roman practice we are not in a position to state.

D. MANNIX.

### LITURGY

#### THE FIRST OF THE PAPAL PRAYERS AFTER MASS

THE *Ephemerides Liturgicae* of February, 1902, p. 110, announces that there has been a new issue of the Papal Prayers after Mass. Two slight changes have been made in the first Prayer. 'Joseph' has been substituted for 'Josepho.' This is more in accordance with Liturgical precedent, the indeclinable form of the name being always used to designate the Spouse of the Blessed Virgin.

The second change is in the conclusion, 'eundem' being introduced before 'Christum.' This, too, is more in keeping with precedent. For instance, in the Missal the two first of the '*Orationes diversae*' have precisely the same mention of Our Lord as the Papal Prayer—'Intercessio Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae,' and 'Intercedente . . . Dei Genitrice Maria'—and conclude 'Per eundem,' etc. The same is true of the 'Concede, misericors Deus'—the Prayer of the 'Ave, Regina,' and all similar prayers.

The *Ephemerides* states that it has authority for declaring that either the old or new version may be used. Of course, no change should be made without the sanction of the bishop of the diocese.

#### THE 'ORATIO IMPERATA LOCI'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Is the *Oratio imperata loci* to be said by a bishop celebrating in *Aliena Dioecesi*?

It is. A bishop says Mass as a simple priest, except in so far as a different arrangement is made expressly by the Rubrics or the Decrees of the Roman Congregations. A priest saying Mass in *aliena dioecesi*, must say the *Oratio imperata loci*, according to a Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, 5 Mar., 1898 :—

. . . Postulatum fuit.

Utrum Sacerdotes alienae Dioecesis obligentur etiam ad dicendam Orationem praescriptam ab Episcopo loci, ubi celebrant; an potius sint liberi ab hac Oratione imperata?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio . . . proposito dubio respondendum censuit.

'Affirmative, ad primam partem; Negative, ad secundam.'

#### 'ME INDIGNO SERVO TUO'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Does a bishop, celebrating in *Aliena Dioecesi* say in the Canon '*Et me Indigno Servo Tuo*'?

The Rubric is :—

'Si celebrans est Episcopus . . . Omissis praedictis verbis, eorum loco dicit: *Et me indigno servo tuo.*'<sup>2</sup>

There is no exception made, De Herdt, Martinucci, Bernard, Vavasseur, etc., simply make the general statement of the Rubric. Merati expressly says :—

'Sed hic notandum occurrit, quod non solum Episcopi et Superiores Praelati sed etiam Cardinales propter dignitatis eminentiam, ubicunque celebrent, orant pro seipsis, non pro loci Episcopo, . . . Sicut igitur Episcopi non orant pro aliis Episcopis, etc.'

O'Callaghan teaches the same.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dec. Authen.    <sup>2</sup> Rit. Celeb., Tit. viii., n. 2.    <sup>3</sup> In Gay. De Can. Minae.

<sup>4</sup> *Sacred Cerem. of Low Mass*, p. 129.

## PLENARY INDULGENCE ON FIRST FRIDAY

REV. DEAR SIR,—What is the authority for the statement in the *Ordo*, p. viii., that a Plenary Indulgence may be gained on the first Friday of every month?—Yours etc.,

SACERDOS.

The authority is that of the *Raccolta* of 1898 approved by Pope Leo XIII. We give the English version of the 'New *Raccolta*,'<sup>1</sup> which is a faithful translation of the Italian.

'His Holiness, Leo XIII., by a rescript of the S. Congr. of Indulgences, Sept. 7, 1897, has granted to the faithful who, on Friday, after Confession and Communion, shall meditate for some time upon the infinite goodness of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and pray according to the intentions of the Sovereign Pontiff.

'A PLENARY INDULGENCE, on the first Friday of every month.

'AN INDULGENCE OF SEVEN YEARS AND SEVEN QUARANTINES on all the other Fridays of the year.'

The Decree of Sept. 7, 1897, referred to above is as follows :—

Guillaume Pifferi, Evêque de Porphyre, prosterné aux pieds de Votre Sainteté, fait humblement la demande qui suit : Les Pontifes Romains ont déjà accordé une indulgence plénière pour le premier Vendredi de chaque mois, à tous les membres de la Confrérie du Sacré-Cœur de Jésus : et dans le désir d'accroître encore davantage cette dévotion, on supplie Votre Sainteté de vouloir bien étendre la même indulgence à tous les fidèles, qui le premier Vendredi de chaque mois, sans appartenir à la susdite Confrérie, après s'être confessés et avoir communiqué, méditeront un peu sur la bonté infinie due Sacré-Cœur de Jésus, et prieront selon les intentions de Votre Sainteté ; en outre, de vouloir bien leur accorder une indulgence partielle de sept années et sept quarantaines pour tous les autres vendredis suivants du mois.

C'est la grâce, etc.

SSmus. Dnus. Noster Leo PP. XIII. benigne annuit pro gratia in omnibus juxta preces. Præsenti in perpetuum valituro absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romæ, ex Secretaria S. Congregationis Indulgentiis et SS. Reliquiis præpositæ, die 7 Septembris, 1897.

Fr. H. M. Card. GOTTI, *Praef.*

Pro R. P. D. A. Arch. ANTINOEN., *Secret.*

JOSEPH M. Can. COSELLI, *Subst.*

P. O'LEARY.



## CORRESPONDENCE

## ETHICS AND RELIGION—A REJOINDER

120, PEMBROKE-ROAD,  
DUBLIN, 3rd April, 1902.

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the current issue of the I. E. RECORD there appears, under the signature of Rev. Simon Fitzsimons, an article entitled ‘ Shall we Return to Pagan Ethics ? ’ which purports to be a criticism, not to say a refutation, of certain views concerning the relation between Ethics and Religion which I had the honour to lay before the readers of that journal in the issue dated September of last year. I am glad of the opportunity of offering something by way of vindication and elucidation of the views I formerly advanced, and which subsequent reflection has only tended to confirm, however much I may regret the fact that my able and courteous critic should have curiously misapprehended the purport of my argument, and so compelled me to devote a considerable portion of my rejoinder to personal explanation instead of expanding and developing my original conception. To the latter task, I hope, however, with your kind permission, to be able to address myself before very long.

In the first place, then, Father Fitzsimons’s argument is a good example of what logicians call *ignoratio elenchi*. He refutes positions which I never maintained, and quietly ignores the avowed purpose of my paper and the conception of ethical theory for which I contended. The very title of his reply is misleading. I put forward no plea for a return to ‘pagan ethics’ in Father Fitzsimons’s sense of the words. By pagan ethics he understands the positive morality (or immorality) of Greece and Rome, and he points out at great length—what surely needed no telling—that the Greeks and Romans did some things which the enlightened moral consciousness of Father Fitzsimons rightly condemns. But of all this there was no question in my paper. I was concerned solely with the theoretical basis of morality, what Kant calls the metaphysic of morals, and the point of my appeal to the scientific moralists of Greece—and *not*, be it noted, to the standard of morality prevalent among the Greeks at large<sup>1</sup>—was, that by

<sup>1</sup> If I cared to argue *ad hominem*, I might well urge against Fr. Fitzsimons that the average standard of morality in Greece was at least as high as that

confining themselves to the purely rational or philosophic basis of human conduct they were able to give a coherent account of the principles upon which all morality is in the last analysis founded.

Again, Father Fitzsimons assumes that I was speaking of the moralist in his hortatory function as engaged in moral persuasion, as a preacher, in fact. Nevertheless, I expressly declared (page 213) that 'the hortatory function of the moralist is limited in the extreme'; and the whole drift of my argument tended to shew that I was treating of the theoretical as distinguished from the practical side of Ethics. Indeed I took occasion to point out at the start that the question I was discussing was at bottom 'a question of method,' though none the less important on that account. I tried to shew (what I am convinced is the fact) that Catholic Ethics, so far as theory is concerned, is in a hopeless muddle. Father Fitzsimons replies by pointing out that Ethics, as I conceive it, will not be effective in making men moral. I doubt this, for reasons which will appear in a moment, but meantime is that any answer to my contention? In fact, throughout his long and rambling paper, Father Fitzsimons never once grapples with the real question at issue. I asserted that morality and religion must be kept distinct and separate, basing my argument on the facts (which I endeavoured to prove), first, that Ethics as currently formulated furnishes no real *rationale* of human conduct, and, secondly, that such *rationale* may be discovered if we keep to the purely rational or philosophic standpoint, as did for example Aristotle, who for that very reason was able to work out a consistent Theory of Ethics. Now, as to the *de facto* unsatisfactory condition of Catholic Ethics (or if he pleases of the metaphysic of morals which passes current amongst Catholics) Father Fitzsimons

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which prevails in modern 'Christian' communities. Surely the morals of Athens in the time of Pericles compare very favourably with those of modern London, Paris, or Chicago? On this point I am glad to find myself in agreement with such an authority as Mr. A. W. Benn, every line of whose article on the 'Ethical Value of Hellenism' in the current (April) number of the *International Journal of Ethics* my own studies lead me to endorse. The subject is not one that can be fittingly pursued in the pages of the I. E. RECORD, and I must content myself with referring Fr. Fitzsimons to Mr. Benn's paper for some facts which may induce him to modify his sweeping condemnation of Greek morality. I may add, however, that in this connection, in addition to his crase misconception of Epicurean Ethics, Fr. Fitzsimons has been guilty of at least one error of fact. So far is Epictetus from being, as Fr. Fitzsimons asserts, an apostle of 'free love' that he preaches the same standard of conjugal fidelity as was recommended by Plato, (*cf. Laws*, 839-40), and moreover inculcates ante-nuptial chastity for men as well as for women. (See especially, *Encheirid*, xxxiii. 8.)

has not a word to say. The fact is, indeed, beyond dispute. And if Father Fitzsimons is dissatisfied with the remedy I propose, and which, I would again remind him, is a remedy which would leave practical issues exactly as they stand, why does he give us no hint of a better? With regard to the second point, Father Fitzsimons is more explicit, and waxes quite triumphant over his exposure of my 'insanities' and 'inconsistencies.' I contended that on the assumption that the doctrine of Eudaemonism is well-founded, a consistent body of ethical theory may be worked out, and Father Fitzsimons proceeds to enquire what kind of happiness is to constitute the goal of human activity. Writing in a Catholic magazine, and having just made profession of my adherence to Aristotelianism, I should have thought the sense in which I understood the word would have been obvious enough. If Father Fitzsimons wishes for more definite information, I am willing to tell him that I am entirely of the 'pagan' Aristotle's mind when he declares<sup>1</sup> that ἡ θεωρία τὸ ἀριστον καὶ ἡδιστον and that, with the equally 'pagan' author of the Eudemian Ethics I conceive the end of man to be τὸν θεὸν θεραπεύειν καὶ θεωρεῖν<sup>2</sup>—to glorify God and enjoy Him for ever. But even this assurance is quite beside the point. For stated abstractly and in the baldest way, my view comes to this, that morality (rightness or wrongness) is an attribute of human actions regarded in their relation to an end, this end being vaguely designated 'happiness,' and morality being thus regarded as the 'felicific' character of certain classes of actions. Surely this abstract relation of means to an end is intelligible in itself, and may be applied without further ado to human conduct in such a way as to afford a starting-point for ethical theory, leaving the concrete conception of the end to be more fully determined by means of subsequent inquiry. Similarly, the casuistical question as to what is right and what is wrong, cannot 'be settled dogmatically in advance,' though this does not prevent us from conceiving of the abstract notion of morality in the sense explained above. In this way the 'inconsistency' of which Father Fitzsimons makes so much (page 327) disappears. The other 'amusing inconsistency' referred to on the preceding page is easily explained. In the first quotation the word morality is equivalent to what I may call positive morality, and the statement made therein is easily verified. In the third, I speak of

<sup>1</sup> *Met.* xii., 7, 1072b. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Eth. End.* 1249b. 20.



moral *precepts*, which on my shewing are, of course, purely religious affairs. As to the second, I should have thought that Father Fitzsimons would have been the first to appreciate the distinction between 'religion' and 'true religion.'

From all this it will be plain, I imagine, that in writing my paper I had no desire to cry up the 'paganism' or 'agnosticism' of which Father Fitzsimons speaks so glibly. It appears, indeed, upon examination, that he completely fails to apprehend the theoretical problem which occasioned my remarks. The truth is that Father Fitzsimons himself in the article which he has done me the honour to devote to the discussion of my views affords a glaring instance of the prevailing confusion of theoretical and practical standpoints towards the dissipation of which I laboured, apparently in vain, in the first instance. As a priest, Father Fitzsimons is interested in the preaching and practice of morality, and believing that unless enforced by an appeal to religious sanctions his preaching is likely to bear little fruit, he is scandalised at the notion of a non-religious theory of ethics, without at all understanding what it is that the moral philosopher has to do, or why the appeal to religious conceptions is quite foreign to his purpose. And having no arguments to bring against the conception of Ethics here advocated, Father Fitzsimons is perforce driven to adopt the cheap and rather obvious device of labelling it with the opprobrious titles of 'paganism' or 'agnosticism.' Thus, too, for no apparent reason, Father Fitzsimons is pleased to assert that I am 'a utilitarian in disguise,' and, presumably to avoid the vagueness of which I am supposed to be guilty, he is so bold as to describe the exact form of utilitarian doctrine which I embrace, and to proclaim me a disciple of Mr. Herbert Spencer! I do not profess to be able to discover how Father Fitzsimons reaches this conclusion, but it certainly affords 'amusing' evidence of the completeness of his failure to grasp my position. An adherent of the 'greatest happiness' principle I most emphatically am not. Utilitarian in a certain sense I may be, but so and in the same sense are Aristotle and S. Thomas Aquinas, company good enough for me, if not for my kindly critic.

There is one further point upon which Father Fitzsimons lays great stress, and to which, in conclusion, I must briefly refer. Dealing with an *obiter dictum* in the course of my paper to the effect that the continuous spread of agnosticism tends to render the recognition of a non-religious ethic every day of more importance,

Father Fitzsimons proceeds to take me severely to task, and he constantly returns to the subject throughout his lengthy criticism. But what, after all, would Father Fitzsimons have? Does he mean to deny the fact that religion is no longer the potent factor in men's lives that it once was, or that agnosticism, or atheism, or indifference (the name is of small moment) really is continuously on the increase? Here in Ireland, where the old faith is still lively as of yore, one might be pardoned for doubting these facts, but in the United States, whence Father Fitzsimons hails, the case is different. Let Father Fitzsimons read, for example, the Pope's recent Encyclical, and then deny (if he can) that agnosticism is making strong headway amongst the so-called Christian nations. We may deplore the fact as we will; but that does not alter it or minimise its importance. Now, assuming that morality, as currently understood, is inextricably bound up with religion whether natural or positive (and as to this, of course, Father Fitzsimons and myself are quite at one), then it seems to me plain that the spread of irreligion will inevitably tend to bring about the decay of all morality. 'So much the worse, then,' Father Fitzsimons would exultingly declare, 'for those who, from whatsoever cause, relinquish dogmatic beliefs.' I cannot but think that the 'conspicuous absence of Christianity,' which Father Fitzsimons deplores in my paper, is far more 'conspicuous' in his own callous and bigoted attitude. Father Fitzsimons is quite content to leave 'agnostics' to their own devices; mere immorality is thus a matter of indifference to him. And yet One who spoke with authority, in telling us that He came to save not the just but sinners, has deprecated in advance the attitude Father Fitzsimons so warmly professes. Putting the question on a lower plane, is it to the interest of humanity at large that men who abandon Religion should be driven by Religion's adherents to abandon morality as well? And would Father Fitzsimons seriously deny, in the name of orthodox Christianity, that there is a true natural morality common to all men, Catholic, Protestant, and 'agnostic' alike—a natural light that enlighteneth every man who cometh into the world? Does he not recognise a distinction between justice and injustice founded on natural reason, and a notion of right and wrong immanent in every conscience? Can he forget that free-will itself has its roots in reason: *totius libertatis radix est in ratione constituta*? If Catholic theology considers natural and rational ethics to be practically insufficient without divine assistance, it

nevertheless regards it as necessary and fundamental. It is on the basis of reason and conscience that faith is built; the 'reign of grace' for S. Thomas and Bossuet, as for Leibniz, is the complement of the 'reign of nature.' This admitted, a philosophy of morals, such as I endeavoured to sketch in outline, is demonstrably possible, independently of all religious profession, and the statement is supported by the highest religious authorities themselves. The working out of the metaphysical basis of such natural morality is the business of the moral philosopher as distinguished from the preacher or practical moralist, and it would be a good thing for ethical theory if those whose concerns are wholly practical, and who have but scant conception of the subtle and complex philosophic issues which have to be mooted in the formulation of such theory, would be content to leave to the moral philosopher the discussion and criticism of notions with which they have no immediate concern.

It remains to speak of the dilemma on the horns of which Father Fitzsimons endeavours to pin my argument (page 322), and which might at first sight appear formidable. In reality, however, its plausibility results from the failure to distinguish between the metaphysic of morals and practical efforts towards moral persuasion. What I maintained, and despite Father Fitzsimons's criticism, still maintain, is, that ethical theory can, and indeed must, be formulated quite apart from all religious considerations, though it may be allowed that as a practical matter the counsels of the moralist find useful reinforcement in the appeal to religious sanctions. It is plain, therefore, to all who allow any validity to metaphysical enquiry, that to clear up the philosophic basis of all moral action is not 'superfluous' even for 'those who cling to religion.' It is, perhaps, natural for Father Fitzsimons, in his eagerness to come to practical conclusions, to minimise the importance of the philosophic propaedeutic to ethics; his under-estimation need not, however, greatly concern those who have the interest of scientific theory at heart.—I remain, Rev. and dear Sir,  
**your obedient servant,**

W. VESEY HAGUE, M.A., B.L.



## DOCUMENT

## GREGORIAN MUSIC IN OUR CHURCHES

[DECREE REFERRED TO IN THE ARTICLE ON 'GREGORIAN MUSIC.']

What St. Augustine and other fathers have frequently taught with regard to the beauty and utility of ecclesiastical chant, viz., that through the delectation of the ear it should be the means of raising the mind to pious affections,<sup>1</sup> that the Roman Pontiffs, in the exercise of their authority, have always considered it their duty to carry it out perfectly and in its entirety. Hence Gregory the Great devoted so much attention to this department of the Catholic liturgy, and took such pains with it that the sacred chants even borrowed their name from him. However, in process of time, other Pontiffs, conscious that the dignity of divine worship should be duly maintained, following in the footsteps of their immortal predecessor, continually took care not only to restore the Gregorian Chant to its received and most approved form of rhythm, but also to reduce it to a better and more suitable typical form. Notably after the decrees and regulations of the Council of Trent, and the emendation, by the precept and authority of Pius V., of the Roman Missal, which was most diligently examined, the solicitude of Gregory XIII., Paul V., and others for the promotion of the liturgical chant became daily more marked, for they considered it most desirable and important that, to preserve the beauty of the liturgy intact, the uniformity of the chants should everywhere correspond with the uniformity of the rites. In this matter the efforts of the Apostolic See were considerably strengthened by entrusting the *Graduale*, which had been carefully examined and provided with simpler melodies, to Giovanni Perluigi da Palestrina, in order that it might be improved and beautified by him. Now, he learnedly performed his task, and in a way worthy of a man zealous in the discharge of his duty; and such was the industry of this celebrated master

that the reform of the liturgical chant was satisfactorily carried out, the genuine characteristics being preserved in accordance with the most judicious standards. By the desire of the Pontiffs this highly important work was then undertaken by distinguished disciples of Perluigi da Palestrina, following his excellent training and principles, in order that it might be printed at the Medicæan Press in Rome. Nevertheless it was reserved for our age to crown these attempts and efforts ; for Pius IX., of holy memory, being most anxious to bring about in a favourable way the unity of liturgical chant, appointed in Rome a special commission of men exceedingly skilled in Gregorian Chant, selected by the Congregation of Rites, and under its guidance and auspices ; and submitted to its examination the edition of the *Graduale Romanum* formerly printed at the Medicæan Press, and approved by the Apostolic Brief of Paul V. This edition had so far been prepared in a very servicable manner, but was now revised with like diligence and the introduction of suitable emendations, in accordance with standards prescribed by the commission ; and Pius IX. repeatedly expressed his entire satisfaction, not hesitating to declare it authentic by Brief dated May 30th, 1873, the purport of which is as follows :—‘ We particularly commend this edition of the said *Graduale Romanum* to the Most Rev. Ordinaries and to all who have the care of sacred music. We do this the more earnestly because We are anxious that as in other things pertaining to the sacred liturgy, so also in the chant, one and the same system should be observed, in all places and dioceses, as is used by the Roman Church.’ Our Most Holy Father Pope Leo XIII. deemed it important to confirm and extend the approbation of his predecessor by a decree ; for by Apostolic Brief dated November 15th, 1878, he gave a special commendation to the new edition of the first part of the *Antiphonarium*, containing the day hours, which was excellently and intelligently revised, as might be expected from erudite musicians, by those deputed by the Sacred Congregation of Rites ; and, wisely addressing the bishops and all cultivators of sacred music, he made use of these words : ‘ We therefore, approve of the aforesaid edition, which has been revised by men well skilled in ecclesiastical chant, and deputed by the Congregation of Sacred Rites ; and declare it authentic, and strongly recommend it to the Most Rev. Ordinaries and to others who have the care of sacred music, Our main purpose being that, in all places and dioceses, as in other cases pertaining to the

sacred liturgy, so also in the chant, one and the same system should be observed, as is used by the Roman Church.'

But just as, after the Pontifical Brief of Pius IX. respecting the *Graduale*, many controversies arose and obstacles were raised, with the object of throwing doubt on the approbation itself, on account of which the Congregation of Sacred Rites, on the 14th of April, 1877, found it to be a duty to defend the authenticity of the edition, and to confirm it by its decision, so, too, after the Apostolic Brief of Leo XIII., instead of an end being put to contention, some persons thought themselves at liberty to neglect the ordinances and decrees in regard to ecclesiastical chant approved by the theory and practice of the Roman Liturgy. In fact, after the appearance of the Choral Books of the Church, and after the whole matter had been brought to a successful issue, disputes increased; and at a congress of cultivators of liturgical chant, held at Arrezzo in the year 1882, the severe censures passed filled with grief those who, rightly and properly, think that as regards the uniformity of the ecclesiastical chant, the Apostolic See is alone to be obeyed. Moreover, as those who had contended about this matter at Arrezzo not only published their resolutions or requests, but even brought them in set form before our Most Holy Father Leo XIII., the Holy Father, moved by the importance of the matter, and with the view of consulting for the unity and dignity of the sacred chants, especially the Gregorian Chant, referred these resolutions or requests to the examination of a special body of cardinals of the Congregation of Rites, selected by himself. After carefully weighing everything, and having obtained the opinions of eminent men, they, without any hesitation, decided to decree as follows:—'The resolutions or requests emanating from the Congress of Arezzo last year, and laid before the Apostolic See, in reference to bringing back the liturgical Gregorian Chant to ancient tradition, cannot, as they are worded, be received or approved of; for, although it always has been, and ever will be, open to cultivators of ecclesiastical chant, for the sake of erudition, to inquire as to the ancient form of that chant and its various phases, just as learned men, in a very praiseworthy manner, have been accustomed to discuss and investigate the ancient rites of the Church and other parts of the sacred liturgy, nevertheless that form alone of Gregorian Chant is to-day to be regarded as authentic and legitimate which has been ratified and confirmed, in accordance with the regulations of the Council



of Trent, by Paul V., Pius IX., of holy memory, and our Most Holy Father Leo XIII., and by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, in the edition recently brought out, which alone contains the form of chant used by the Roman Church. Therefore, respecting its authenticity and legitimate character, there can be no further doubt or question among those who sincerely wish to respect the authority of the Apostolic See.'

However, in these latter years, owing to various causes, the old difficulties have again appeared, and there have been fresh disputes, by which it has been sought to invalidate or to assail vigorously the genuineness of the edition itself and of the chant contained therein. There were also some who inferred, from the earnestness with which the Supreme Pontiffs Pius IX. and Leo XIII. had commended uniformity in ecclesiastical chant, that all other forms of the chant, even when long in use in particular churches, were entirely forbidden. In order to remove these doubts, and to prevent all ambiguity for the future, his Holiness decided to refer the matter to an ordinary meeting of all the cardinals of the Congregation of Sacred Rites; and they in sessions held on the 7th and 12th of June last, having again gone into all the points, and maturely weighted others submitted to them, unanimously decided as follows:—'The enactments of Pius IX., of holy memory, in the Brief *Qui choricis*, dated May 30th, 1873; of our Most Holy Father Leo XIII. in the Brief *Sacrorum Conventuum*, dated November 15th, 1878; and the aforesaid prescriptions of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, hold good.' As regards the liberty, however, according to which particular churches can retain a form of chant legitimately introduced and still in use, the same Congregation exhorts all local Ordinaries and other cultivators of ecclesiastical chant, for the preservation of uniformity in the chant, to take care to adopt the aforesaid edition in the sacred liturgy, though, in accordance with the prudent mode of acting on the part of the Apostolic See, it does not insist upon its adoption in every church.

The undersigned Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Rites having faithfully related all this to our Most Holy Father Leo XIII., his Holiness, on the 7th of July, 1894, ratified and confirmed the decree of the same Sacred Congregation, and ordered it to be published.

CAJETANUS Card. ALOISI-MASELLA, *S.R.C. Præfectus*.

L. ✠ S.

ALOISIUS TRIPEPI, *S.R.C. Secretarius*.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

STUDIA SINAITICA. Cambridge University Press.

THE importance of this series can hardly be overrated. The contents of the ten volumes already published are of exceedingly great value to the student of Liturgy or of Scripture, as well as to the Orientalist. Even a cursory glance through the pages reveals some of the many treasures of the library of the ancient monastery of St. Catherine's, Sinai. A few years ago a Doct. Phil., in a continental university of world-wide fame, expressed his astonishment that England possessed ladies competent to decipher and to annotate Syriac and Arabic texts, and we are sure that all who read these volumes will share the professor's admiration of the scholarship displayed by the two editors, Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson.

I. The first number contains a descriptive Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the Sinai Monastery—where liturgical, Scriptural, hagiological and homiletic literature are well represented. This volume gives in photographic facsimile some pages of these MSS., including the Palestinian Lectionary. (Several pages of other MSS. are photographed in the succeeding numbers.) Besides this, there is an Appendix containing quite a number of valuable fragments. Among them, perhaps the most interesting to the Biblical student are the fragment of what is probably the oldest Arabic version of the New Testament, and a fragment of a Greek MS. (seventh century?) in which the concluding verses of St. Mark's Gospel occur in the form of a double alternative, known to us from Codex L. (*i.e.* Regius). The double alternative here spoken of is what we call the Long Conclusion (Deuterocanonical part, v. 9-20), and the Short Conclusion which is found with it in some MSS., and in the margin of the Harkleian Syriac. St. Jerome mentions (*contra Pelagium*, ii., 15) that it was found also in some Greek MSS.

II. An Arabic version of the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, and a part of that to the Ephesians. The MS. belongs to the ninth century, but there is evidence to show that the version is still older. While on the whole it is remarkably faithful, it is clear that some idiomatic turns in Greek were unintelligible to the translator. The present edition in which wherever

necessary modern orthography is substituted for the obsolete and difficult forms of the original, will be found very useful by students of Arabic. In her preface, Mrs. Gibson mentions that this codex contains also an Arabic version of Ecclesiasticus. Let us hope that it will be published in some number of the *Studia Sinaitica*. This is not too much to desire, considering that Mrs. Gibson, and her equally learned sister, Mrs. Lewis, were the first to bring to Europe a leaf of the original Hebrew of this inspired book, which St. Jerome read, but which no living person thought he would ever see before the surprising discovery of 1896 was announced. Now that about half of the long-lost Hebrew text has been recovered, it would be most interesting to compare the Arabic version with it.

III. Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts. There are more than six hundred in the library, and all these are enumerated and their contents indicated. The Scripture codices come first, then martyrologies and other liturgical books, followed by homilies of the Fathers (among whom we notice that St. John Chrysostom, St. Basil and St. Ephrem are favourites), and lastly numerous lives of Saints, etc.

IV. A tract of Plutarch: 'On the advantage to be derived from one's enemies.' It is edited with translation and notes by Professor Nestle of Maulbronn, to whom we owe a similar edition of the Syriac version of Eusebius, a compendious Syriac grammar, etc. This tract of Plutarch is but one of the number of philosophical writings in Greek which had such a charm for the Syrians. Not only various works of Aristotle, but moral treatises and, in particular, collections of the pithy sayings of the philosophers were most popular. The interesting tract before us has been altered and improved with a view to making its contents still more acceptable to Christian readers.

V. Apocrypha Sinaitica. Seven are given, the first of which the 'Anaphora Pilati,' one of the numerous sequels to the Acta Pilati (or Gospel of Nicodemus), is the account of the miracles and death of our Divine Lord, alleged to have been sent by Pilate to the Emperor Tiberius. We all know that St. Justin and then Tertullian refer to an official report of such a kind, so there can be no doubt of its existence at one time, but it must have been very different from the apocryphal document which now usurps the name. In this one there is indeed nothing contrary to the Gospel history, nor unworthy of the subject, but it is nevertheless the work of a Christian who combined details taken from the



Evangelists with imaginary embellishments. The Greek text of which the Sinaitic Syriac is a version was considered by Tischendorf to belong to the second century, whereas Battifol would assign it to the fourth. An old Armenian version was published in the *Mechitarist periodical*, Vienna, 1894. Mrs. Gibson gives three recensions (Syriac and Arabic). This work is followed in her volume by the *Recognitions of Clement* (Arabic: two versions, *Sinai* and *British Museum*, which differ considerably). This apocryphal tale is one of those proscribed by Pope St. Gelasius. Everyone knows that it gets its name from Clement's recognizing his parents and his brothers. The account of the Saint's martyrdom, which in the B. M. codex follows the *Recognitions*, contains three interesting episodes, the truth of which is vouchsafed for elsewhere: the miracle of Socinius, and that of the submerged boy, in the ancient frescoes of San Clemente, Rome,<sup>1</sup> and the miracle of the lamb indicating where water would be found, in the Roman Breviary (Nov. 23). The 'Preaching of Peter' and the remaining three legends contained in this volume bear the characteristic marks of orthodox apocrypha.

VI. If we are not mistaken, to most readers this will be the most interesting number of the whole series, which is saying a great deal. Eusebius tells us that before the capture of Jerusalem the Jewish Christians quitted the doomed city and retired across the Jordan to Pella. A Vatican evangelarium, written either in Antioch or Jerusalem (A.D. 1030), is believed to represent the use of this ancient community. There was also in Egypt at some unknown period a colony of Palestinian Christians to whom we owe the *Lectionary* (from Genesis, Kings, Amos, and Acts), which has been published by Margoliouth under the title of 'The Liturgy of the Nile.' Then there are the fragments preserved in London, St. Petersburg, and Oxford, that have been published by Land, Gwilliam, Burkitt, and Stenning. Now comes the MS. owned by Mrs. Lewis, which contains more lessons than do all the previous publications put together. A unique interest attaches to the dialect which the Palestinian *Lectionary* exhibits. As the erudite editor observes, 'It is generally conceded that the dialect is probably that which our Lord spoke, and that which bewrayed St. Peter.' Those acquainted with Syriac will find its study most interesting, though of course they will have to take an

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<sup>1</sup> See Rev. J. Mullooly, O.P., *St. Clement and his Basilica*.

additional step in order to acquire a knowledge of its peculiarities. It will not however be difficult for them to do so with the assistance provided here. There are notes by Nestle, and a glossary by Mrs. Gibson. Nestle adds critical notes on the underlying Greek text, *i.e.*, that from which the lessons were translated. He maintains that each lesson was translated for this Lectionary, and that it did not previously form part of a complete version, either of the Old or of the New Testament. His argument is that some passages which occur more than once differ; they must therefore be either different translations of one Greek text, or translations of different Greek texts. Gwilliam and Stenning are, however, of the opposite opinion. They think that several of the lessons which they edited belong to the sixth century, because the use of Lectionaries began in the seventh. In the Old Testament the present Lectionary rests on a text dependent on that of Origen. The arrangement of the Lectionary is that proper to the Byzantine rite. There are lessons for Sundays, Christmas, Theophany (Epiphany), Ash Wednesday, Fridays in Lent, Holy Week, Easter Week, etc., and a Hymn in honour of SS. Peter and Paul.

VII. An Arabic version of the Acts of the Apostles (from vii. 37) and of the Catholic Epistles, with a treatise on the Triune Nature of God (Arabic), together with its translation by Mrs. Gibson. The editor says the MS. is the most ancient specimen of Arabic calligraphy to be found in the Sinai library (eighth or ninth century). Mrs. Gibson also mentions that Dr. Gwynn of T.C.D. came to the conclusion that the Acts and the three longer Epistles (St. James, 1 St. Peter, and 1 St. John) were translated from the Peshitta, and the remaining four Epistles from the unrevised Philoxenian. The treatise on the Trinity is orthodox, that is all that can be said in its praise. It does not display any profound theological knowledge, the author was neither an Athanasius nor an Ephrem. Indeed the greater part of the treatise consists of a summary of Bible History. It is noticeable that the writer puts twelve hundred years between Noe and Abraham, thus exceeding the Septuagint (even its highest variant).

VIII. Apocrypha Arabica. The first is the so-called Book of the Rolls. We read in its introductory paragraph 'this is the sixth of Clement's books treasured up in the city of Rome since the time of the Apostles.' The spurious Apostolic Constitutions are sometimes reckoned as the sixth, but they are quite unlike this Book of the Rolls, so, too, is Mgr. Rahmani's second book, in

his lately published *Testamentum D.N.J.C.* The book before us bears a general resemblance to the first book of the Tübingen Ethiopic MS. published by Dillman in the *Göttinger gelehrten Anzeigen*, 1858. It contains a rapid sketch of history (chronology often incorrect) from Adam to the Blessed Virgin. We notice in it the interesting statement, that the ark rested on the Kurdish mountains. The Chaldean Genesis (line 142) says that the ship went aground on the mountains of Nizir—which according to some authorities is a chain of hills lying at the foot of the Kurdish mountains. An Assyrian tablet (Records of the past X.) puts Nizir in the land of Gutium, *i.e.*, east of Ninive. On the other hand, the Peshitta and St. Ephrem would indicate Jebel Judi as the mountain in question. The second apocryphal work printed in this volume refers to Aphikia, the alleged wife of Siracides. There is nothing noteworthy in this fanciful tale except the anachronism it contains. The story of Cyprian and Justa (Arabic and Greek) is interesting.

IX. Select narratives of holy women from the Syro-Antiochene or Sinai Palimpsest.

X. Translations by Agnes Smith Lewis. We should like to be able to treat of these lives in detail, but we have already taken up much valuable space. Suffice it then to say that Mrs. Lewis' admirable Introductory Notes give full information about these servants of God—Thecla, Eugenia, Pelagia, Mary, Euphrosyne, Onesima, Drusis, Barbara, Mary, Irene, Euphemia, Sophia and Justa (with an appendix containing Theodosia, Theodota and Susanna)—all of whom, with the exception apparently of Onesima, are honoured by the Greek or by the Latin Church, or by both. Ornamental additions have in some cases been added to the facts of history, indeed the 'Acta Pauli et Theclae' were proscribed by Pope St. Gelasius.

R. W.

#### THE LIVES OF THE POPES OF THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES.

By Rev. H. K. Mann. London: Kegan Paul. 1902.

It has often been said that the lives of the Roman Pontiffs are the best compendium of the ecclesiastical history of their respective times. So true indeed is this, that we always find that from their biographies most light is thrown on the great events that have happened during the many centuries of the Church's



existence. How much for instance has been made clear and intelligible by Pastor's *Lives of the Popes*?

What Pastor has accomplished for Martin V. and his successors, Father Mann is now doing for the Popes down to the period at which Pastor begins. It will be a boon to have an uninterrupted, or almost uninterrupted, series. The first volume of Father Mann's work contains the history of no less than twelve Popes, from St. Gregory the Great (590-604) to St. Eugenius I. (654-657). As St. Gregory was by far the greatest man of his time, of his life it is especially true that it reflects as a mirror the chief contemporary events in Christendom. We could, indeed, hardly get a better view of the state of things in the last part of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh than that which we find in Father Mann's pages on the subject. As might be expected, his style is more flowing than Pastor's. This elegance, however, has not been secured at the cost of accuracy and thoroughness. On the contrary, the volume before us bears evidence of the close and careful study of all the best sources of information, such as the *Liber Pontificalis*, the *Regesta Romanorum Pontificum*, etc.

We hope that it will be widely read, for as Leo XIII. said when the author presented him with a copy, 'Bisogna far conoscere i Papi.'

F. R.

[We are compelled to hold over various questions in Theology and Liturgy till next month. In reply to several questions regarding attendance at the King's Coronation in Westminster Abbey, and the dispensation from fast and abstinence on the same occasion, we must refer our correspondents to approved authors, and if they still have any doubts, to their respective Ordinaries.—  
ED. I. E. RECORD.]

# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

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CENSOR DEP.

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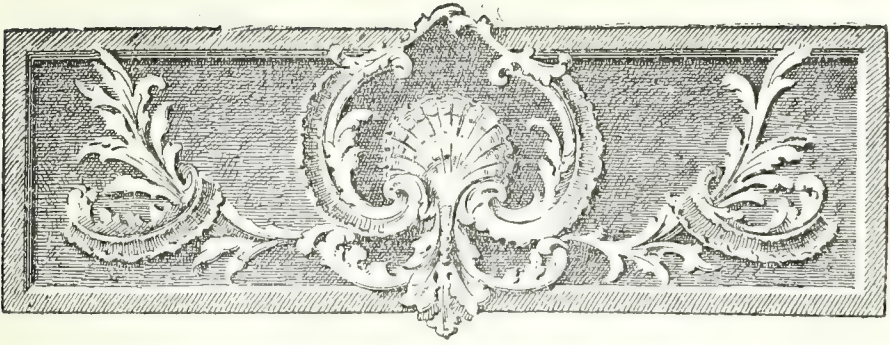
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## THE JOYS OF THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE

'Contemplatio vera et perfecta, est collectio affectionum, et omnium virium animæ, ad cognoscendum *cum delectatione* mentis, aliquid de natura divina.'—*St. Albert Mag.*

'Contemplativa vita diligenda est, quia pulchra, quia tuta, quia quieta, quia *jucunda*.'—*Hugo. Car.*

THERE is scarcely anything more difficult to measure than degrees of happiness. Nobody can accurately compare one person with another in this respect. In the first place the sources of happiness, as well as the capacities of enjoyment are so multitudinous and so varied; and in the second place, every age possesses a distinctive happiness of its own. The self-same exercise that affords extreme pleasure to one person, will prove insipid to another, and would be a source of veritable pain to a third. Even the same person will find happiness in certain occupations or amusements at one period of his life, which will be utterly distasteful and even annoying at a later stage. That which will amuse and fully occupy a child of six, will by no means satisfy a boy of sixteen; while the sports and pastimes that will delight and possibly enthrall a boy of sixteen, will retain little or no attraction for him, when he has reached the age of sixty.

It is a profound mistake to suppose, as many of us are apt to do, that a man must necessarily be wretched, because he does not possess that which we know is essential to our own peace and contentment. Our nearest neighbour, nay, even our most intimate and bosom friend may live for years—or all his life—in an Eden of enjoyment and delights, of whose very

existence we suspect nothing, and arising from sources which, to us, would yield no sort of consolation. Again, we are far too ready to judge by appearances and by external and indirect signs. Yet this is a great mistake, for though the coarser and commoner joys are usually discernible and palpable enough, yet, speaking generally, the higher and intenser forms of pleasure are not so easily detected, and grow less and less perceptible to the casual observer as they increase in depth and intensity.

We are naturally struck by what most easily affects our senses. We imagine that the rich trader or merchant, whose golden wand can release so many sealed fountains of pleasure, must be really as happy as he looks. We gaze with admiring eyes at his lordly mansion, at his broad acres, his exquisite gardens, his statues, and terraces, and fountains, and rare exotics, and at all else with which he has surrounded himself, and we believe him to be happy. Or we watch the typical 'jolly huntsman,' flying after the wiley fox, on the finest and fleetest of horses, with his company of friends, and his pack of hounds. His gay attire, his rosy face, his intent and excited look, all help to impress us with a strong belief in the joyousness of his life. We see unmistakable signs of it; we recognise it; we read it in his very countenance and expression, as in a book. And of course I am not saying we are wholly mistaken. He is really enjoying himself. But another man—a man of a different character, and cast in a different mould, will find his happiness—and possibly a vastly greater happiness—in such hidden sources, that the world can discover no evidences of it whatsoever.

The huntsman winding his horn, as he gallops tra-la! tra-la! tra-la! through the forest, may deem none so blithe and cheery as he, and least of all the poor pitiable pale-faced book-worm of a philosopher as he burns the midnight oil, and keeps steadily on the trail—not indeed of a fox, but—of some intricate problem, or scientific secret; or the astronomer, forgetting food and sleep, in his eagerness to extract some answer from the starry skies.

Physical pleasure, the pleasure arising from the exercise of body and limbs and muscles is known to all, but those only



who have actually experienced them can form any true conception of the acuteness and the intensity of the pleasures of study and research.

It is not the noisy, boisterous, loud laughing society man, with his shooting and hunting, and his dining and dancing; and his horses and carriages, and retinue of flunkies that has the monopoly of happiness. He may have great outward show of it but sometimes very little else. Often there is a more intense, as well as a purer and nobler delight experienced by the solitary student, whose thoughts are absorbed by his science or his philosophy, than by the 'gayest man about town.'

How charming is divine philosophy!  
Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,  
But musical as is Apollo's lute.  
And a *perpetual feast* of nectar'd sweets,  
Where no crude surfeit reigns.—*Milton*.

It is quite certain that mental joys are more enduring and of a nobler and more refined character than those which are purely physical. It is equally certain that a fairly educated person may derive more solid and genuine pleasure from some unpretentious little book, rescued from a dust-heap, than could be afforded him by the costliest banquet, where the choicest wines and the rarest dishes are spread to tempt his jaded appetite. 'Who,' asks a modern writer, 'that has revelled in the opening extacies of a young imagination or the rich marvels of the world of thought, does not confess that the intelligence has been dowered at least with as profuse a beneficence as the senses?'

The society of our fellows is one of the most obvious sources of pleasure. That 'it is not good for man to be alone,' is admitted even by Holy Scripture. The first years of married life, in the case of well-matched couples, are said to be full of delight. Yet, in spite of this, human society is not an essential condition of true or even of great happiness. The mind may act, and exert its energies, and find all that it needs apart from its fellows. It has limitless fields of truth, and beauty, and interest lying all around it, in which to wander, to revel, and to rejoice. If we often hear worldlings bemoaning

the solitude of the 'gentle hermit of the dale, or perhaps expressing their pity and commiseration for the 'holy recluse shut out from all the joys of life!' we may come to see, when we are more experienced and matured, that such pity is misplaced, and wholly uncalled for, inasmuch as the man of thought and study and reflection often drinks deeper and more abundantly of the torrent of delights, than the man of action.

I shall not easily forget certain observations an elderly religious in Rome once casually let drop in my presence, long years ago when I was preparing for the priesthood. He was referring in general terms to our obligations of gratitude to God, and waxed eloquent on the innumerable gifts and favours which we had received and are continually receiving from Him. Then he grew more earnest and confidential, and spoke of his own personal experience. 'You can hardly imagine,' he said, 'how much pleasure and happiness I find in my work, and yet, I have this advantage that no one envies my happiness. When the populace see the king dash by through the city, with his equipages, and his soldiers and outriders and the rest, they are filled with envy. When they read the accounts of the regal banquets, the state receptions, and the great balls and pageants to which all the *élite* of the city are invited, and where they exhibit their finery and display their charms, men grow envious of the power and influence and wealth of the king, and feel discontented with their own lowly lot. And so of countless others. But no one envies me! The fact is, that though indeed they see me, and wonder as they watch me pouring over my books and musty folios, they do not see my enjoyment and interior delight. Hence they pass me by with a shrug of pity, or even contempt, and perhaps, crossing themselves, pray to be saved from so humdrum and so deadly dull an existence. Little do they suspect the hidden delights and the secret joys that often fill my soul. The truth is I read and reflect, and converse with the greatest minds and the loftiest intelligences through the medium of their writings, and live on familiar terms with heroes and saints, and seem to almost hear them speaking. The wonders of the world, in almost every department of

science are opened out to me ; and I can, by means of my books, transport myself to any part of the earth, and can live, for the time being, in any place and in any age I please. Theology and philosophy are my chief delight ; but even the less abstruse and less spiritual branches of learning are like exquisite gardens, in which I can stroll at will, feeding my mind all the while with the most delightful mental food. Consider astronomy. I am quite satisfied in my own mind that I have derived more true pleasure, and have felt my heart as well as my mind inundated with intenser happiness, while occupied in the study of that one science, than the ordinary man of the world could draw from all his country sports and pastimes. To contemplate the beauty of the heavens, to watch the famous astronomers revealing its wonders, and mapping out its parts, and calculating the untold distances and the intricate, yet lightning-like rapidity of the movements of the countless heavenly bodies, makes me almost tremble with a sort of delicious consciousness and realization of the immensity of the creation, till this little earth of ours seems to shrivel up into a most insignificant particle, floating on the boundless sea of being, just large enough to bear us and our destinies through the allotted confines of space and time. I envy no one his splendour and material wealth—a vast estate would simply be in my way, even if I had it—and if the rich and prosperous do not rather envy me, well, it is only because they do not know nor even suspect the peace and satisfaction that fill my heart while I give myself up, though most of the day alone, to my favourite studies and my choicest authors.’

In these, or equivalent words, he warbled on in a joyous, cheery strain, his countenance all the while reflecting the gratitude and pleasure that filled his soul.

The words of the old man, uttered with so much earnestness and simple eloquence, impressed me much. Perhaps it would be unfair to quote his case as a fair illustration of the delights of pure science or mere study, for he was something more than a student, however enthusiastic. He was a priest and a religious, and a really holy man, who could see God in all His works. Still his example will help one to realize how



much quiet joyousness may be found in purely intellectual pursuits. And if this be true in more ordinary cases there ought to be no difficulty in admitting the yet greater happiness experienced by those who have turned their backs on the world, and even on the society of their fellows, to dedicate their whole time and mind—not to profane studies, however absorbing—but to the contemplation and to the earnest consideration of heavenly and divine things. Most persons who trouble themselves to think of the matter at all, are wont to marvel greatly at the lives of the Carthusians and other contemplatives, whom they imagine to be cut off from all pleasure, and from every source of consolation. To worldly-minded men, and to persons of no supernatural insight, they seem indeed to be leading dreary, dull and dismal lives. But the fact is, none can understand their secret joys, their pure and spiritual delights, and their almost celestial peace and tranquillity of soul, but such as have, in some measure, actually experienced them. Many are the springs of refreshing water, at which they may drink and slack their thirst, which are unknown to us. They derive consolations where we should scarcely even turn to seek for them, while the very conditions and character of their lives dispose them for joys which have never entered into our own experience.

The proof of this is manifest. Its truth is apparent from their very history. The Carthusians live their lives of almost absolute solitude, speaking but once in the week, and that only for a few hours. Yet the Order has gone on, generation after generation, for over eight hundred years. They have prospered in a most extraordinary manner; most of their members have reached exceptionally great ages; and if they have never been reformed, it is, as has so often been remarked, because they have never needed reforming. Now, no man, or at all events no great body of men could follow such a life of solitude, unless aided by some spiritual consolations. The human mind cannot wholly withdraw itself from all human intercourse and from all human society, for years together, except on one condition, except, in a word, it can fix and rivet itself on the supernatural, and find its consolations there. The soul that deliberately and resolutely denies itself every earthly

solace, every social joy, and almost every innocent recreation, and that refuses itself even the most ordinary pleasures of this life, prepares itself in a wonderful degree to receive divine and heavenly favours. It seems to be the rule, that to enjoy divine consolations, we must deny ourselves such as are purely earthly. The more closely the soul closes its ears to all earthly voices, and the deeper and profunder the silence which it makes in its heart, the more does it dispose itself to hear the divine whispers, and to enjoy the divine visitations. The Carthusian is not wholly solitary. He is solitary only in relation to this world. Though the world of man is indeed far from him, the world of spirits—the world of angels and of saints—is all around him, and he will often grow intensely sensible of its presence, though we, who are less spiritual, perceive it not. As Milton says:—

Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth unseen,  
Both when we wake and when we sleep.

There is no doubt but that the saints loved their solitude. But if they loved to be silent with men it was not exactly that they might be absolutely silent, but rather that they might converse more familiarly and more unrestrainedly and more sweetly with God. St. Augustine was wont to exclaim, in sublime paradox, that he was ‘never less alone than when alone,’ and the same idea, formulated in other words, has been expressed by hundreds of saintly lips.

Not only spiritually-minded men, but all men of depth and judgment and true insight, have understood the advantages of solitude. La Bruyère goes so far as to affirm that almost all our ills arise from our unwillingness to be alone. ‘*Tout notre mal vient de ne pouvoir être seuls ; de la, le jeu, le luxe, la dissipation, le vin, les femmes, l’ignorance, la mefiance, l’envie, l’oubli de soi-même et de Dieu.*’ On the other hand, solitude prepares the way for a thousand consolations of which the world little dreams. Our Lord has actually promised not only eternal life in another world, but a hundred-fold also in this, to those who have left all things to follow Him. ‘Now what,’ exclaims St. Peter Damien, ‘is this hundred-fold, if not the consolations, the visits, and the caresses, of the Holy

Spirit, far sweeter than honey! What, but the delights of God's friendship, clearly realized indeed by those who have experienced them, but which no human tongue can possibly describe to such as have never enjoyed them.'

The solitude, the silence, and the hardness of life; the fasts and watchings, and the mortifications of all kinds practised by contemplatives, are recognised, even by the least Christian of men, as conferring many advantages on the mind, and as sharpening very considerably the intellectual faculties. In this connection I may quote W. R. Greg, who observes that:—

Nourishing food clouds the mind; ample physical exercise brings inevitable somnolence; the soul is, as it were, clogged by the rude health of the body; the animal nature begins to encroach upon the spiritual, or, to speak more correctly, to insist upon its dues.—*Enigmas of Life*, p. 145.

Again, the same author seems to be paying an unconscious compliment to the wisdom of the Carthusian rule, when he writes:—

Thought, insight, sound clear vision of the Truth, wisdom at once piercing and comprehensive, the noblest and divinest achievements of the reason, demand serenity of soul as their imperative condition. Passion clouds the mental eye, and emotion disturbs the organ of discovery. As the astronomer can rely on his nicest and loftiest observations only when the air is still, and the telescope is isolated from all the tremulous movements of terrestrial surroundings, so the thinker can see justly, and penetrate far, only when all that can agitate his spirit is buried deep, or laid eternally to rest.<sup>1</sup> (*Id.*, p. 155.)

In yet another passage the same writer observes:—

The conquest of the remoter and profounder realms of reason demands not only the concentrated devotion of the whole intellect, but a calmness and serenity of soul which is *unattainable by those who still breathe the atmosphere of the domestic hearth*, and are liable to be swayed and perturbed by emotions inseparable from the love of the earthly, the perishable, and the imperfect. (*Id.*, p. 153.)

<sup>1</sup> Consult also the following:—'Para la contemplacion de las cosas Divinas, aprovecha mucho la soledad, porque no se puede hazer bien la oracion donde ay rúdo, y desassosiego defeura, y à penas puede et hombre vér, y óir muchas cosas, sin que pierda algo de la pureza, y entereza del coraçon. Y por esto, procura siempre estàr en el desierto con Christo.'—Words of St. Bonaventure, quoted by Fray Luis de Granada, p. 320.



Mr. Greg, though not a Catholic, nor even a Christian, could appreciate the wisdom that prescribes a solitary, mortified, and abstemious life, for all such as wish to exercise their intellectual faculties in the highest possible degree. He had in view, no doubt, the contemplation of secular and profane truth, but his argument gathers rather than loses force, if we apply his principles to those holy men who purpose to spend their years in the contemplation of divine and supernatural things. But the testimony of saints and religious themselves is perhaps still better worth having. Listen, then, to what the great St. Bruno says, in a letter addressed by him to his friend, Ralph le Verd, afterwards Archbishop of Reims:—

As to the blessing and sweetness of solitude and silence, let those who have chosen them tell their charm, for those only who have experienced these joys can speak of them worthily. It is there that generous men can enter into themselves, can dwell with God alone in the very centre of their souls, can cultivate the germs of every virtue, and enjoy a foretaste of Paradise. It is there where we can acquire that purity of heart and serenity of expression which wounds the Heart of the Divine Spouse, and unites us to Him in the pure love which contemplates God alone. It is there that perfect rest accompanies labour, and action hurts not the peace of the soul. It is there that, in return for their brave conflicts, God gives to His stout warriors the reward they have desired—that peace which the world knows not, and the joy of the Holy Ghost. It is there they find the beautiful Rachel, so much more beloved by her husband than Lia, although Lia was the wife who had borne him many children. I am speaking here [he continues] of the contemplative life; and although its sons are less numerous than those of the active life, yet, like Joseph and Benjamin, they are infinitely dearer to their father.<sup>2</sup>

The much dreaded ‘loneliness’ of the contemplative life is not felt as a strain to the true religious. In fact it is not, if properly understood, loneliness at all. In support of this view suffer me to make one more extract from the volume just quoted, about a couple of hundred pages further on, viz., p. 242:—

When you are by yourself in your cell, remember that you ought not to feel lonely. You are never less lonely than when you are alone, if only you are really what you ought to be.

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<sup>2</sup> Quoted in the *Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln*, p. 30.

Are you lonely when retiring into the sanctuary of a pure heart, detached from all earthly things, and closing fast the door against them, you pray in secret to your Father, who is in secret? Are you lonely when, rising on the wings of love, and of an understanding supernaturally enlightened, all vain and earthly thoughts are laid aside, and the spirit roams free through the splendid mansions of those heavenly beings who continually behold the face of the Father? Are you lonely when your soul, illuminated and enraptured, soars up among the patriarchs, through the midst of the prophets, into the Senate of the Apostles? Etc., etc.

Alvarez de Paz, quoted by M. l'Abbé Lejeune, gently scoffs at the very idea of the contemplative life being dull or disagreeable. And he asks with some surprise:—

Est-ce que la conversation de notre Dieu serait désagréable? Est-ce que son charme serait trop faible pour attirer les âmes, ou pour les retenir? Nullement. 'Sa conversation n'a pas d'amertume, et son commerce familier n'engendre pas l'ennui, mais la joie et le bonheur' (Sap. viii. 16). En vent-on la preuve? C'est que ceux qui ont commencé à goûter de la contemplation quittent tout pour ces communcations intimes avec leur Dieu; et l'amour de leurs proches suffit à peine à les arracher aux doux embrassements de l'époux de leur âme<sup>3</sup>

The figure employed by this mortified and holy man, viz., 'les doux embrassements de l'époux de leur âme,' suggests the strength and tenderness of the affection that unites the contemplative with his God, and the spiritual delights that must often attend the intimate intercourse that is carried on between them. St. Teresa and other contemplative saints bear testimony to the same truth, and refer to it not merely as their own individual experience—which might lead us to associate it with their heroic sanctity, rather than with their mode of life—but as the supernatural, yet ordinary reward of all those who have left the world for a life of solitude and prayer, and whose ambition it is to pass from ordinary contemplation to a state of union.

God [says St. Teresa] gives Himself to those who give up everything for Him. . . . He admits the soul to the understanding of His secrets, and of His mighty works. The joy of this is *so far above all conceivable joys*, that it may well make us loathe all the joys of earth: for they are all dross; and it is

an odious thing to make them enter into comparison, even if we might have them for ever.<sup>4</sup>

As P. Crasset says:—‘The mind labours in meditation, the heart sighs in affection, and both mind and heart rest in contemplation.’ And again:—

The soul is first a servant, and fears its Lord ; then it becomes a daughter and respects its Father ; finally, it becomes a spouse and loves only the Bridegroom. . . . It is during the (spiritual) night, when the doors of the senses are closed, that the Bridegroom enters the heart of His spouse, whence she wots not how or by what means He has entered ; albeit her heart is buried in profound (spiritual) darkness, she knows that the wedding feast is celebrating, and that the cold insipid water of her devotion is changed into delicious wine. At times she feels in the depth of her soul, if we may so speak, operations of the divinity *so intense, so penetrating, so delicious, that she finds no human language adequate to express them.* . . . She quaffs, or rather she is inebriated with the wine of consolations, so that she appears to those who have not assisted at these divine nuptials, as bereft of her senses. . . . To attain to this union, *which creates a Paradise on earth*, great mortification and recollection are necessary : mortification to detach the heart from creatures ; recollection, to unite it with God.

Such mortification and recollection are surely nowhere so encouraged or so experienced as in such of the strictly contemplative orders as have maintained in full the spirit of their institute. We are surely justified, therefore, in inferring that the members of such orders know, even better than worldlings, what true happiness means,<sup>5</sup> and that while others seek to slack their thirst in the muddy and filthy streams of earthly and sensual pleasures, they drink deep of the purest and limpidest fountains flowing from the throne of God Himself.

As I began with a quotation from a great saint, I will also end with one:—

Nihil [observes St. Bernard] in hac vita dulcius sentitur, nihil avidius sumitur, nil ita mentem, ab amore mundi separat, nil sic animam contra tentationes roborat, nil hominem ita excitat, et adjuvat ad omnem laborem quam gratia contemplationis.<sup>6</sup>

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

<sup>4</sup> Page 214, *Life*.

<sup>5</sup> *Conf.*:—‘Y no tenga nadie esta manera devida por melancolica, y triste, porque antes es tanto mas alegre, y deleytable, quanto es mas dulce la compania de Dios, que la de los hombres. Por lo qual dezia S. Geronimo: Sientan los otros lo que, quisieren, porque cada uno tiene su gusto, mas de mi os sè dezir, que la Ciudad me es carcel, y la soledad Paraiso.’—Fray Luis de Granada, p. 322.

<sup>6</sup> St. Bernard, *In libro Medit.*, cap. 7.



## IRELAND AND AMERICA

### NOTES OF A MISSION TOUR IN THE STATES

#### III.

AT the close of my last paper in the I. E. RECORD, I remarked that the purely American or Anglo-American race element in the States was fast disappearing, and that a new ethnic product was certain to supplant the descendants of the grim old Puritans who fled from persecution at home to inflict it abroad. So far back as fifty years ago there was a bitter cry of complaint that in Massachusetts and some other States, foreigners had very much larger families than natives; and the fear was expressed that if the birth-rate of the latter did not improve the whole country would be ruled by a foreign population. No improvement has taken place and the expected has happened. The 'native' birth-rate is abnormally low, and is becoming lower every year. In these mere notes of travel, elaborate statistics would be entirely out of place, and I therefore pass by the array of facts and figures which might easily prove the statement I have just made. Still I may be permitted to give the following extract from a speech made by Dr. Walter Lyndley, at a meeting of the Medical Society held at Los Angeles in 1895:—

It is a fact that the American family with more than two children is the exception. . . . In Massachusetts the average family numbers less than three. In 1885 the Census of Massachusetts disclosed the fact that 71.28 of the women of the State were childless. The Census of New York for the same year show 25 per cent. childless, 50 per cent. averaging less than one child, and 75 per cent. a trifle over one child.

The doctor very bluntly declares the causes of this infecundity, whilst he adds significantly that the Malthusian malpractices to which he alludes are not to be found amongst Catholics. Does not this exemption of Catholics, who form so large a part of the population of Massachusetts and New York, show very clearly that the American birth-rate in these States is so

reduced as to be scarcely worthy of notice. I could quote others who take a still gloomier view of the subject, but Dr. Lyndley's very plain statement is quite sufficient for my purpose.

While the purely American population thus dwindles away, the Irish element in the States increases with marvellous rapidity. It is a proof of the moral and physical soundness of the race. According to the census of 1890 (I have not been able to procure any later returns) there were in the States 1,870,000 persons of Irish birth. At the same period nearly 10,000,000 of the population had either an Irish father or an Irish mother, that is, of course, a father or mother whether living or dead, who had been born in Ireland. What would be the strength of the Irish element if we went back two or three generations and reckoned as Irishmen the descendants of those who emigrated, say since 1845? In round numbers the answer has been given as 20,000,000, and if we looked into the various census of the States for the last half century we should find that the estimate is by no means extravagant. Other foreigners and the descendants of either a foreign father or a foreign mother must amount to over 30,000,000. While leaving on one side the 400,000 Indians, Chinese, and Japanese, there is a negro population of over 10,000,000. By a very simple exercise in addition and subtraction one very easily discovers the real strength of the purely American element in the 76,000,000 which is the actual population of the United States. In the face of these figures do not the English shibboleths of the last few years become a little ludicrous! I refer to such cries as 'our kith and kin,' 'blood is thicker than water,' 'hands across the seas,' 'our re-united race.' These touching interjections come from that same 'mother' country which forty years ago desired so ardently to have Solomon's judgment executed upon her poor little infant, now happily grown into the stature and strength of a giant.

I have diverged into these remarks in proof of my contention that the Irish could have risen to a great if not a predominant position in America, if, instead of allowing themselves to be fused into the heterogeneous masses around

them, they had clung more loyally to their Irish nationality and to their Catholic faith.

I come now to a still more formidable stumbling block to Catholics in America—the State system of education. The system is wholly undenominational or, as we are accustomed to call it in Ireland—godless. Speaking generally, the State holds itself completely neutral in its attitude towards all forms of religion, theoretically, at least, recognising no distinction between Catholic and Protestant, Christian and Jew, Mahomedan and Buddhist. It endows no church or sect, and cannot constitutionally show more favour to one religious body than to another. The public schools, you are told, are for all, and the conscience of the atheist must be respected quite as scrupulously as that of the Christian. In the training of children, therefore, there must be no such word as God or Christ, or heaven or hell, or angel or demon. This surely is a very mutilated sort of education. To educate means not so much the imparting of knowledge, as the discipline of the intellect, the regulation of the heart, the moulding of the character, the direction of the child's energies and activities into the proper channels. How is it possible, therefore, to educate a child and leave him in ignorance of the most important and vital of all subjects—religion and the duties which it implies to God, to ourselves, and to our fellow-men? The fruits of such an education are selfishness, self-indulgence, self-worship, naturalism, animalism. The ultimate results are lawlessness, socialism, anarchy, nihilism. The wonder is that American statesmen, as well as French and other politicians, will not see it. It is a matter that concerns the State from the material point of view quite as much as it does the Church from the spiritual. Sow the dragon's teeth and in due time you will have a crop of men armed against all legal restraint and against all social order.

Whilst this godless education plays havoc with the faith of thousands upon thousands of Catholic children, it involves a grievous and a glaring injustice to the ten or eleven million Catholics in the country. Education is of course compulsory, whilst you are quite free to send your child to any school, secular or religious, godless or Catholic, that comes up to the State standard of efficiency. But no matter how excellent the



education you give in a Catholic school, no matter how well you fit your pupils to become good, useful, industrious, and wealth-producing citizens, you do not receive one cent of public money. To endow no sect or religion, you are told, is one of the great principles of the American Constitution. But to pay the Catholic schoolmaster for the purely secular education of a child is surely no more endowing the Church than is the payment of his fee to the Catholic doctor or lawyer, or of his wages to the Catholic artizan. The system is so manifestly vicious and unjust that it is hard to understand how Catholics endure it. It is penalising them for their religion. It is imposing on them a double instead of a single school tax. The principle is nearly as bad as that of the old Protestant Established Church in Ireland. The Catholic is forced by law to contribute to a system of agnostic education which he abhors, whilst he feels bound in conscience to support the schools of his own faith. The public school board has practically a blank cheque from the ratepayers, and may expend all the money it pleases on the erection of palatial school buildings, on every educational appliance however costly, on the payment of the very best teachers. The Catholic school must depend entirely on the generosity of the faithful and every dollar spent upon buildings, school furniture, and teachers, has to be carefully considered. In the race for efficiency and success, therefore, the Catholic school is most unfairly handicapped, and the wonder is that it is not left altogether behind by its favoured rivals. Apart from this one instance of flagrant injustice, I believe, that there is not in the world a government that holds the balance more evenly between the various sections of its people than that of the United States.

One naturally asks why Catholics, who are about one seventh of the population do not agitate against this very serious grievance. I have again and again put the question in America without receiving a very satisfactory answer. American politics are a puzzle to the foreigner, and it would need a veritable Oedipus to unravel them. We may think that it would be very easy to ask a candidate for the State Legislature or for Congress, whether he would, if elected, vote for educational equality. But say so to an American priest and

he will smile good naturedly at your Old World freshness. 'That is not how we manage things in this country.'

Sometimes I received a more definite, if not a more satisfactory answer to my question. Catholics, I was sometimes told, are not all of them quite of the same mind as to their educational policy. Many of the bishops and priests of the present day have been brought up in the State schools and they are none the worse for it; and what is good enough for the officers ought to be good enough for the rank and file.

There is, I think, an obvious answer to this plea, and it is that while the future cleric is translated at once from the elementary school into the genial climate of the ecclesiastical seminary, the future layman is thrust suddenly into the chilling atmosphere of irreligion and unbelief.

No doubt, the evils of the godless schools are in many ways mitigated, or we should not find so many good and devoted Catholics in favour of the system. In very many of these schools there are Catholic teachers; and although they never refer to religious topics, they must, even though unintentionally, influence their pupils for good and prevent much of the mischief arising from an irreligious training. I add with much pleasure that nothing could exceed the zeal on the part of the clergy to undo the evil of the week's education by the religious instruction of the Catholic children on Sunday. I have in my mind one particular parish that had no Catholic school, and with regard to the children of that parish, I have no hesitation in saying that I never met children who were better instructed or who could give a more intelligent exposition of the catechism. Such cases, however, no matter how numerous, cannot be taken as a reason why the system should be tolerated by Catholics. In recent years the bishops and priests generally, have become more resolute than ever in providing Catholic schools throughout the country. The work is enormous and demands a great pecuniary sacrifice on the part of both clergy and laity. In the American Catholic Directory for 1901 I find the number of churches and missions in the States was 10,427, while the number of parishes with schools was 3,812. With the splendid pluck and energy that characterize American Catholics, I have no doubt that this number will go on rapidly increasing until by-and-bye every church will have its

natural pendant—the Catholic school. This spread of Catholic education will fill up one of the widest gaps by which so many of the lambs of the flock are now escaping from the fold of Christ.

In 'notes' one has a sort of licence to ramble from the direct road which he had mapped out for himself. I have been using this licence somewhat largely, and I may therefore wind up this portion of my subject by saying that my chief purpose in this and previous papers, has been to account for the great and deplorable leakage that has taken place and still takes place in the Church in America. The causes of this leakage I have taken to be: (1) the lack of any supernatural faith in the great bulk of the people; (2) the consequent corruption of morals; (3) the speedy absorption of Catholic immigrants, and particularly of Irish Catholic immigrants, into the irreligious and unbelieving masses, and lastly, the godless system of education which is alone favoured and supported by the State.

I now turn from the religious to the social position of our countrymen in America. On this, as on the religious question, you encounter in the States many and widely divergent views. You meet some people who represent the Irish as forming a very undue proportion of what we are accustomed to call the 'submerged,' whilst others represent them as the most active and the most thriving element in the country. Some will tell you that considering how the Irish immigrant laboured under the greatest disadvantages from the beginning, especially by want of capital and of education, his success in the race of life has been really phenomenal; while others assert that as the Irishman was the first in the field, he ought before now have reached a much higher position than he holds. The statistics of the country do not give us any very precise information on the subject, and these statistics refer only to the Irish born in Ireland. In the census returns of 1880 I find the following returns of natives of Ireland:—

Labourers (generally)	...	...	225,000
Agricultural labourers	...	...	24,000
Farmers and planters	...	...	108,000
Railroad employés	...	...	33,000
Miners	...	...	25,000
Traders and Dealers	...	...	32,000



Another return gives us the following statistics as to the employment of our countrymen at the same period:—

Engaged in Agriculture	...	140,000
Personal and Professional	...	415,000
Trade and Transportation	...	138,000
Manufacture, Mines, &c.	...	284,000

The above returns appear in the census of 1880, and excepting the fact that the number of Irish labourers is probably not now as large as it was then, the information may be taken as affording an approximate estimate of the social position of Irish men and women in America. The unskilled labourers amongst the Irish are, as I have intimated, growing less, partly because the Irish immigrant of the present day being better educated than his predecessor, is able to command less servile employments, and partly because he has been ousted by Italians and others, who can work for a much lower wage, and who are content with cheaper food and clothing and housing. The heading 'Personal and Professional,' it must be borne in mind, includes not merely clergymen, doctors, lawyers, and journalists, but also domestic servants, barbers, shoe-blacks, and very many others. There is no doubt that amongst the purely professional classes, the Irish in proportion to their numbers are more largely represented than any other race. (I speak now not only of Irish immigrants but of their children born in America). In every little town even you will find the Irish doctor, the Irish lawyer, the Irish pressman, and, needless to add, the Irish priest. But in the great trades of the country, in shipping, railways, banking, broking, brewing, wholesale merchandise, fire and life insurance, there are, I fear, comparatively few Irishmen. In these departments of the nation's workshop the Germans seem to be more prominent and prosperous. Nor amongst the Irish do you count very many millionaires, though Irish thrift is vouched for by such facts as that Irish money amounts to about £450,000,000, whilst during the last sixty years the Irish immigrant has remitted about £40,000,000 to his friends in Ireland.

In deciding whether the Irishman has made the most of the chances given to him in the New World, we have to remember that the full tide of emigration from our shores

began in the worst possible circumstances. In that terrible famine year, the mention of which still makes us shudder, our people rushed madly to our sea-ports, hardly thinking whither they were going, only anxious to set the ocean between them and the noise of the crow-bar, and the crackling of the roof-tree, and the shrieks of the evicted, and the wailings of the hungry and the fever-stricken, and the heartlessness of an alien government. Without education, without capital, without any more clothing than they wore, without friends, often without health or strength, utterly unequipped for the new conditions of the life before them, they were pitchforked into the great cities of America, with every chance of settling down amongst the lowest dregs of the population. In this terrible year, too ('47-'48) the Irish immigrant in thousands of cases brought with him to America the terrible typhus fever which was the direct result of starvation or unwholesome food. He was, therefore, shunned as a leper; nobody would speak to him, or work with him, or hold any relations whatever with him; his advent was looked on by many as a greater calamity than the landing of an invading army. I think it was the distinguished writer, R. Waldo Emerson, who called this exodus from Ireland *the black vomit*.

Religious bigotry sharpened the hostility of the native Americans towards the new arrivals. The Americans of sixty years ago believed everything that was black and devilish not only of the Church and her doctrines and practices but of every individual Catholic also. The horrible obscene lies of persons like Maria Monk were held to be as true as the Gospel. We know of the cowardly brutal attack made on a convent of defenceless ladies and children at Charlestown in 1843, and we know that similar attacks would have been made on every church and Catholic institution throughout the country if two or three Irish-born bishops had not plainly intimated that such tactics would lead at once to a disastrous civil war. It was in the teeth of this fierce intolerance that the Irish Catholic immigrant had to struggle for his daily bread. Weighing all the circumstances, therefore, I think that on the whole the Irish have achieved a marvellous success in the New World; and that they are an ever standing disproof of the calumnies so

freely spread abroad as to their indolence and thriftlessness. It has been repeated constantly that the Irish gravitate very unduly to the ownership of liquor stores. Perhaps it is so ; but I could see no evidences of the fact. For one Irish name on a public house, I think I could count at least a dozen German names. One thing is certain, that our people can select no more unfortunate calling, nor one for which they are more utterly unfitted. Indeed, the liquor business is looked on by a large portion of the community not only as a degrading, but as an infamous trade.

The Methodists, who, after the Catholics, are numerically the most powerful religious body in the country, exclude from their membership all who are connected with the manufacture or the sale of drink ; and this strong measure they would not take unless they were supported by public opinion.

Like her brother immigrant the Irish girl has somewhat diverted from her old employment in the States. She used to be a domestic servant—always trusted and highly valued by her employers—now she has in a large measure ceded her place to the Swede and the German. She prefers to work as a mill or factory hand, and she has bettered by the change. She has higher wages, and she enjoys more freedom and more home life.

As to the wage-earners generally, they are from a material point of view much better off in some respects than we find them in Ireland or England. As long as they can find work they receive good wages. They are well fed, well clothed, and, with some reservations, well housed. Men as well as women feel it a duty to be well dressed, and the sexes vie one with the other in the display of gold ornaments. One day in Boston I noticed about two hundred young girls walking quietly along the streets at the dinner hour. I took them to be students of some high school, but to my surprise I was informed that they were factory hands, and that they were most of them Irish.

But not all is gold that glitters. Appearances are too often misleading. There are shadows deep and dark in the bright pictures of American labour and labourers. If wages are comparatively high, so is the cost of living. If the working



man, and especially the working man with a young family, has paid all his bills at the end of the year, he will have very little to put aside. Happy is his lot if he is able to meet the heavy calls made on him by butcher and baker and grocer and tailor and tax-gatherer. To imagine that everyone can become wealthy in America is a delusion akin to madness. The man who does make money mints it out of his sweat and his blood. Nowhere in the world does a man work harder than in America; nowhere are the conditions of labour more stringent or more severe. Again and again you are assured by Irish immigrants that if they had worked half as hard in their own country they need never have condemned themselves to exile. Here, they tell you, we are veritable slaves, though they call us, no doubt in mockery, the uncrowned kings of the commonwealth. Our souls are not our own. It is work, work, work, all the day long, often all the night long; work for weeks and for months with only a few hours out of the twenty-four for absolutely necessary sleep. Hardly a day of domestic happiness with one's family; not an hour very often on the Sunday to think of God or one's soul. The man is merely regarded as a wealth-producing machine, and the machine is strained to its very utmost capacity. If forced to the breaking point it is flung aside and another taken in its stead.

Usually Irish immigrants live in the great cities where the working man cannot have a house of his own, and where the sacred privacy of family life can hardly exist. In one great rookery (flats) you have as many as twenty families herded together, living in conditions that are necessarily insanitary and breathing an atmosphere that is necessarily impure. Some years ago Archbishop Ireland stated in a public lecture that infant mortality in the workmen's flats of New York reached the appalling figure of 75 per cent.—a state of things only surpassed in the South African concentration camps.

Is life worth living in such circumstances? Money's value after all is measured by the comfort and happiness it brings one. Where is the wisdom in sacrificing to Mammon one's health, one's freedom, one's happiness, and the health and life of one's children? I have often thanked God for His

goodness to our poor people as I contrasted the life even of our most impoverished labourer with the condition of the miner or the navy or the dock worker in America or England. If I had to choose between the two I should undoubtedly prefer to live on fifteen shillings a week in a little cottage, sweetened by God's air and light on an Irish hill-side, than lead the life of a labourer, skilled or unskilled, in the States, earning my fifteen or twenty dollars a week. I am not altogether singular in this view. I met men in Ameirca who had laid by their 'pile,' and they assured me, sometimes with tears in their eyes, that the unluckiest day of their lives was that in which they beheld 'the last glimpse of Erin,' and that they would be happier on a fare of potatoes and salt in Ireland than they were amid the comforts and comparative luxuries of the United States.

Another illusion exists largely in the minds of our peasantry, and it is that in America labour is plentiful as well as remunerative. 'They say there is bread and work for all' might have been all right in Lady Dufferin's time. Things have changed much since. The fight for existence is as keen in New York and Chicago as it is in Dublin or Cork, and the weak go to the wall. I have come across scores of even strong healthy industrious men in some of the great cities who assured me that they had often to spend weeks searching for work, and searching in vain. Eight years ago it was publicly declared that in Chicago alone there were 100,000 men out of employment; while 3,000,000 men throughout the country were in a similar lamentable condition. How many of these unfortunate men are Irish immigrants? How many of them are steeped in misery and degradation such as they never could have experienced at home? How many of them, mixing with the off-scourings of all European nations, sink at last to the deepest depths of depravity?

As to some of our immigrant Irish girls, their fate is alas! unspeakably worse. Their degradation is a thing too deep for tears. No doubt our Irish girl is not now beset with such dangers on landing in New York as brought almost certain ruin to the immigrant of years gone by. She need not, if she does not deliberately wish it, become a prey to the land-sharks

that would devour her more cruelly than the ravenous monsters of the ocean. On entering New York harbour she finds a temporary home in the Mission of Our Lady of the Rosary, now in Ellis Island. There she will find not only a safe shelter, but the good, fatherly, affectionate and enlightened counsels of the true Soggarth Aroon. Some two or three thousand Irish emigrant girls pass every year through this home on their way to their several destinations in the States. This means that the Home has been the saving of thousands upon thousands of our Irish maidens. Ireland surely owes an eternal debt of gratitude to the noble-hearted priests who have given their services to this great work of charity—to Fathers Riordan, Callaghan, Brosnan, Henry, as well as to a lay gentleman, Mr. Patrick M'Cool, who has devoted his great talents and his tireless energy to the success of the Mission.

But in spite of the many safeguards afforded by the Mission, no one can deny that the country is full of pitfalls for the Irish girl immigrant. I have read somewhere of certain morasses that are so covered over with turf and wild flowers as to appear solid ground. Scarcely, however, has the traveller ventured a few yards on the surface when he finds himself sinking down helplessly; in a moment he is hidden away for ever beneath the shifting bog and the treacherous mosses.

Our Irish girls fear no danger, for they know no sin, and their very ignorance of evil brings them into evil. In the police reports of Chicago we are informed that of the girls between fourteen and eighteen who are reported missing, 20 per cent. are never heard of. All these are lamentable facts, and facts that it is necessary to burn into the memories and minds and hearts of our young people who are bent on emigration, and upon the parents who encourage their children in the too often suicidal design. The moral of it all is: stop the emigrant. Keep the people rooted in the soil in which God planted them and which He made able to support them. It will be better, unquestionably, for their souls, and better, I will say without hesitation, for their material happiness.

But how stem the fatal stream that for sixty years has been flowing westward in such tremendous volume? It is



for wiser heads than mine to answer the question. But this we all know : the thing can be done, ought to be done, and must be done speedily if Ireland is not to perish as a nation, and if the Catholic Irish Celt is not to become as extinct as the *Megaceros hibernicus*. An Irish Parliament elected by the people, in touch with the people, responsible to the people, could, no doubt, end the evil much more speedily and effectually than could any alien government, no matter how honest its purpose or how sincere its sympathies, or how vast its resources. But we cannot afford to wait for an Irish legislature. We must be up and doing at once if we are to keep in Ireland a people to be legislated for. As I end these 'notes' hundreds of our young men and women are madly rushing away to America as from a plague-stricken country, and the huge transport boats from Liverpool and Queenstown are unable to stow away half the human freight that presses for accommodation. Our bishops at their late meeting in Maynooth have sent forth a fresh cry of alarm on the spiritual and temporal evils of emigration, and their clarion notes ring at this moment throughout the length and breadth of the land. Will their wise and patriotic counsels produce the desired effect? Will our people pause in their mad onrush to the visionary El Dorado beyond the seas? Is the work of depletion for ever to continue? Is Ireland through the criminal folly of her children to go on bleeding from every pore until her heart and veins are emptied of every life-drop? Questions like these, as their lordships suggest, are to be answered not by words, but by deeds.

M. F. SHINNORS, O.M.I.

## TEMPUS VERUM VERSUS TEMPUS MEDIUM

### IN CERTAIN ECCLESIASTICAL FUNCTIONS

THERE are few subjects with which we all have more to deal, few of which we know less, than *time*. We may content ourselves with a homely definition that *Time is a measured portion of indefinite duration*. To measure it at all, we must get at something fixed, and how little fixity there is in this mobile world of ours.<sup>1</sup> However, we may say that any thing or any event which takes place at equal intervals, may become a measure of time. But the great *standard* of time for the inhabitants of this earth of ours, is the period of its revolution upon its axis, which, by the most scientific observations, is found to be always the same. Before we attempt to discuss the title of this paper, the reader will have to be exercised in no small degree of patience; and the preamble to the solution, though somewhat dry, and, to some, at least, elementary, can hardly be dispensed with for an adequate grasp of the whole subject.

With this apology, we propose to offer a few *prae notae*.

I. The word *meridian* (so much employed in chronology) signifies the vertical plane at any place that contains, or is parallel to, the earth's axis, and so passes through the celestial pole, called also the plane of the meridian. *In time*, it is when the sun crosses the celestial meridian.

The intervals between two successive returns of any fixed point on the sphere to the meridian is called the *sidereal day*. Hence a sidereal day is the *exact* time it takes the earth to make one revolution on its axis, and which may be best determined by a star in the heavens. Hence again its name. Now this space of time or sidereal day is found to be 23 hrs. 56 mins. 4 secs. of a mean solar day, which is always

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<sup>1</sup> It may be said that the only events whose succession is regular, constant, and uniform, are some astronomical phenomena,

reckoned of 24 hours' duration. The sidereal day is practically an exact measure of time ; in fact the most exact measure known. But clocks and chronometers regulated to *sidereal* time are only used by astronomers. For ordinary (civil) purposes (as we shall see) *solar* time is used. Here, then, another measure of time is introduced ; the stars are discarded, and our great luminary is chosen to measure days, hours, minutes, and seconds of time.

2. *Solar Time* is regulated by the diurnal motion of the sun<sup>2</sup> ; and solar time or the *true* time of the sun is employed both in astronomical observations, as well as in civil life. We shall show presently that the solar day is a longer day than the sidereal.

Formerly solar time was made to conform absolutely to the motion of the sun ; that is, it meant noon (12.0 p.m.) whenever the sun was on the meridian of any given place ; and the hours (or time) were always those that would be indicated by a sun-dial. The very instant the sun reaches its greatest height (its zenith) above the horizon, it is true mid-day ; in other words, when the sun is exactly over the meridian of any place, it is there 12.0 noon *by the sun*. Hence it is called *True Solar time*, though for reasons we shall soon discuss, it is often called *apparent* time. A solar day is not of the same length as a sidereal day. The earth, in its diurnal revolution, moves fifteen degrees in an hour of sixty minutes ; and consequently, we pass over one degree in every four minutes. The result of this is that, after we have made one complete revolution, it will take us four minutes to overtake the sun. Hence the solar day is about four minutes longer than the sidereal day.

To suit the ordinary purposes of society, it is considered more convenient to reckon the solar day as being exactly 24 hours and throw the fraction into the sidereal day : hence

	hr.	min.	sec.
Solar Day	= 24	0	0
Sidereal Day	= 23	56	4.1

This is what is meant when we say that a sidereal day is

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<sup>2</sup> It may be more correct to say that solar time is regulated by the diurnal revolution of the earth with regard to the sun.



*part* of a solar day.<sup>3</sup> However, impress well upon your mind that scientifically speaking, sidereal time is the fixed and invariable time, while solar time is a varying quantity. So little is solar time a constant quantity, that mid-day is sometimes as much as 16 mins. 18 secs. sooner, and at others 14 mins. 28 secs. later, than 12.0 noon by what is called *mean* time: but we are anticipating. Solar noon at any particular place may be always obtained by a *transit* instrument.

And, as we have said, you may reckon 4 minutes in time for every degree of longitude; or 1 hour to every 15 degrees.

$$360^{\circ} \div 15 = 24 \text{ hours or one day.}$$

3. It will now be easy to understand why we have ceased (in civil matters) to use this true solar time (*tempus verum*). For, as we have intimated, the solar day, *i.e.*, the successive returns of the sun to the meridian of a place does not furnish a uniform or invariable measure of time, owing to several causes; principally to the slight variable *velocity* of the sun's motion and to the inclination of its orbit to the equator.

On this account clocks of precision would actually indicate a more correct *uniform* time than the sun itself. To meet this difficulty, *i.e.*, to avoid the disparity constantly arising between clock and solar time, an

4. *Imaginary Sun*—a fictitious sun—is introduced, supposed to be moving with *uniform velocity*. In other words, an average is struck of the true sun's variable velocity; and this imaginary sun, to distinguish it from the true sun, is called *The Mean Sun*, and the time derived from it is therefore called *mean time*. Every place, then, will have its *own* mean time—never varying; because the fictitious mean sun, always travelling at the same average uniform velocity, will always be over the meridian of every spot on the globe exactly at the same time in its diurnal revolutions.

The irregular time, depending on the variable motion of the true sun (*i.e.*, solar or sun-dial time) is now therefore called *apparent* (although true) time; while the time given by an *imaginary* sun (called the mean sun) is rightly called *mean* time.

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<sup>3</sup> The earth rotates at the rate of 17.366 miles per minute at the Equator. To change Mean time into Sidereal, see *Whittaker's Almanac*, p. 623, for 1900.

5. The exact difference of time between these two suns, viz., between the *real* sun and the *fictitious* (mean) sun, is called the *Equation of Time*.

This difference or equation of time is never very considerable; the maximum at any period of the year not being more than 16 minutes (No. 6). Sometimes the two suns or rather their time exactly coincide (No. 6). When once you get true solar time, by the equation of time you can always strike mean (or clock) time, either by addition or subtraction (No. 6).

The *sidereal* day is 3 mins. 56 secs.\* less than the *mean solar* day. About the 15th April, the sidereal and mean clocks would agree, but from that day the divergence would be increased each day.

6. *The true and imaginary sun's periodical relation:*

On Feb. 10 the true solar time is *slower*<sup>4</sup> than the *mean* solar (clock) time by 15 minutes.<sup>5</sup>

On April 15 both suns or times *coincide*.

On May 14 the true solar time is *faster* by 4 minutes.

On June 14 they again *coincide*.

On July 25 the true solar time is *slower* by 6 minutes.

On August 31 they again *coincide*.

On November 2 the true solar time is *faster* by 16 mins.<sup>6</sup>

On December 24 they *coincide*.

Hence *four times* a year there is no difference between true solar and mean time.

Bear, therefore, well in mind that an *imaginary* sun is introduced—called the mean sun—which is supposed to be moving with a uniform velocity, *i.e.*, with an *average* velocity struck from the annual velocity of the real sun; and that the difference between these velocities or times constitutes *the equation of time*. And that the time of the true sun shows *true solar time* (though called 'apparent' time); while the time indicated by the *imaginary* or *mean sun* is called *solar mean* or equal time, and is the time generally kept by clocks and watches for civil and commercial purposes. In future we shall refer to these different times as *true solar* and *mean solar* time.

<sup>4</sup> The maximum of slowness throughout the year.

<sup>5</sup> We are here discarding odd seconds. \* To be exact, 3 min. 55.91 sec.

<sup>6</sup> Maximum of fastness throughout the year.

The object, therefore, of the introduction of this imaginary or mean sun is to furnish us with an *average rate* of motion of the true sun; and, in this sense, the *mean* sun is a corrective of the *true* sun's *variable* velocity. In technical language, the mean sun is conceived to be moving with a uniform velocity in the Equator with the true sun's motion in right ascension.

7. Now as clocks and watches are regulated to mean solar time, they will show 12.0 p.m. (noon) sometimes *before* and sometimes *after* the true sun has reached the meridian of the place in question, as is evident from the above table of variability (No. 6).

Mean time cannot, of course, be obtainable by observation, like true solar time; but can easily be deduced from the *equation of time*, by either addition or subtraction. Consequently, once given the equation of time, *i.e.*, the difference between the *true* and *mean* solar times of any place, and you can always find what is the true solar time from your mean solar clock or watch. For instance, suppose you want to find out what is the true solar time at Greenwich on, say January 1st, 1904 at noon by the clocks. Now, the equation of time at that instant is 3 minutes 11.11 secs.: therefore, if you subtract the 3 minutes 11 seconds from the clock (or mean time) you get the true solar time, *viz.*, 11 hr. 56 min. 49 sec.; in other words, on this date, the *mean* sun had passed the meridian of Greenwich so much *previously* to the true sun, and consequently, it would not be 12.0 noon by true solar time, until the clocks registered 12 hr. 3 min. 11 sec.

8. For reckoning time, then, according to our modern system, we must first ascertain, in every instance, the distance (in time) of the sun from the meridian of Greenwich or what is called the corresponding Greenwich time; and this is evidently equal to the given time under the assumed meridian, increased or diminished by the equation of the two meridians, according as the mean meridian is to the westward or eastward of Greenwich. The same rule applies to other places such as Dublin; the universal rule being: 'whenever the true sun is slow, it passes the meridian *after* mean noon, and consequently the clock (or mean time) will be *faster* than the sun (or sun-dial); whenever the true sun is fast, it passes the



meridian *before* mean noon, and consequently the clock (or mean time) will be *slower* than the true sun (or sun-dial time).' (See No. 11).

Every place has, of course, its own meridian and therefore its *own mean time* as distinguishable from the mean (standard) time, which may have been adopted by the capital—*v.g.*, London (or Greenwich) time for England, etc.; Dublin (or Dunsink) time for Ireland; Paris time for France, etc. The reader will now observe that we are introducing a second species of mean time, which we call *Standard Mean Time*.

9. This *standard* mean time is nothing more than a general mean time adopted for a country to obviate the variability that would affect our clocks, where they always regulated to the actual mean time of each individual place. We have seen (No. 8) that the mean time of one place will differ from the mean time of every other place not on the same meridian, according as a place is east or west. Just as true solar time has its inconvenience on account of *its* variability at different periods of the year; so, if our clocks were regulated to the mean time of each place, we should suffer from a similar inconvenience. In fact, every time we travelled our watches would be in disagreement with nearly every place we touched.

To obviate this difficulty a *uniform* mean time is often introduced into a country or region; and this mean time is rightly called *standard* mean time. Thus you have 'Greenwich' time for England (and for many other places), and Dublin ('Dunsink') time for Ireland.

To distinguish these two kinds of 'mean' time, let us call the fixed uniform time, *standard* mean time, and the *actual* mean time of each individual place, *local* mean time. Of course, at the meridian of the place where the standard mean time is struck, such as Greenwich, Dunsink, etc., the two mean times coincide. Apply this then, to Ireland. The local mean time of Cork will evidently differ from the mean time of Dublin, because the two cities are not on the same meridian. However, the clocks in Cork register *the same time* as Dublin. Why? Simply because they are regulated to the Dublin *standard* mean time. Now the difference between these two cities (in time) is 8 minutes 35 seconds; so that when it is

midnight in Dublin<sup>7</sup> (by the clocks), it actually wants 8 minutes 35 seconds of midnight in Cork, by its own *local* mean time, though the clocks there are striking midnight *with* the Dublin clocks. It would also differ again from *true* solar time, as is clear (No. 5). *En passant*, we may remark that while the *local* mean time of Cork will always, and at all times of the year, be 8 minutes 35 seconds *slower* than the clock (*standard*) time, the true sun time will be sometimes faster, sometimes slower, *according to the time of the year* (No. 18).

The equation of time between the standard and local mean times is easily ascertainable by a longitudinal calculation (No. 11).

Meantime clocks could be regulated by the stars instead of by the sun; for, as we have said (No. 1) the motion of the earth with regard to the sidereal sphere (fixed stars) is *uniform*, and a fixed star will always appear at the meridian 3 minutes 56 seconds sooner than it did on the preceding day. (Nos. 1 and 2). And the reasons (when change at all was made) that the stars were not preferred to the sun to strike and keep a mean time are by no means self-evident.

#### IRELAND'S MEAN TIME.

10. The standard mean time for Dublin and all Ireland is regulated at the Dunsink Observatory, a few miles from Dublin city. Just as the meridian of Greenwich is selected to strike the *standard* mean time for London, England, etc., so all Ireland keeps the Dunsink *standard* mean time. This time is considerably *slower* than the English (Greenwich) time.

London is about  $51\frac{1}{2}$  deg. North Latitude (see No. 12); while Dublin is  $53^{\circ}.21'$ . N. Lat. and Dunsink  $6^{\circ}.20'.16''.5$  W. Long. The exact difference (equation) of time between these two standard times is that *Dunsink is 25 min. 21.1 sec. slow of Greenwich*.<sup>8</sup> So that when it is noon (12 o'clock) by Irish

<sup>7</sup> And also by the Cork public clocks.

<sup>8</sup> A very general mistake is made about this exact equation. On the *pages* of chronological works as well as on the *faces* of pretentious public clocks you may read—'Dublin time slow of Greenwich—25 min. 22 sec.' The writer of this article consulted the Royal Astronomer of Ireland on this important question, and received the following reply from the Dunsink

time, it is already 25 minutes and 21 seconds past noon by English time. Hence in all the calculations in this paper, they are based on the 25 min. 21 sec., and not on the erroneous 25 min. 22 sec.

11. To find the equation of time we must (1) see how many degrees of longitude the meridian of the place is, either east or west of the other place (meridian), which has a known fixed time. Then (2) allowing 4 minutes for every degree, which we add to the time (if the place be east) and subtract (if it be west), we get the actual local mean time. The difference (in time) between the two meridians will be the equation of time. For instance, suppose you want to know the equation of mean time between Cork and Dublin. Ascertain the longitude of Dublin, and then of Cork. Subtract one from the other and you have the difference in degrees. Convert the degrees into *time*, as said (No. 8), and you get the equation of time.

Let us now apply this broadcast over the world. Suppose you want to find (approximately at least) the time in Calcutta, when it is noon in Greenwich. Now a good map will show you that Calcutta is about 90 deg. *east* of Greenwich. Divide the 90 degrees by 15, because 15 degrees of longitude are equivalent to 1 hour in time (No. 2)—the quotient will be 6. Hence, when it is noon at Greenwich it will be about 6.0 p.m. in Calcutta, because Calcutta being to the *east* of Greenwich the true sun will have passed over the Calcutta meridian all those hours before. This is a rough approximation. You can get an exact one by getting the actual longitude or from a published table of equations, some of which we shall now furnish.

## ENGLAND.

12. Difference between Greenwich (standard) and actual (local) mean time.

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Observatory : 'The difference between Greenwich and Dunsink time is 25 m. 21.1 sec. Dublin time is really Dunsink time. The decimal of the second is frequently neglected.—C. J. JOLY.'

Yes, the tenth of a second may be immaterial; but one *full* second (to nautical captains) might spell shipwreck.



LONDON.

So large is the area now constituting London that the local meridians are very appreciable; and as all its districts are *west* of Greenwich, the true local time will be *slower*. Spital Square, 17 secs.; Stoke Newington, 20 secs.; St. Paul's, 23 secs.; Muswell Hill, 29 secs.; Highgate, 35 secs.; Clapham Observatory, 35 secs.; South Kensington, 41 secs.; Hampstead, 43 secs.; Fulham, 50 secs.; while Harrow on the Hill is 1 min. and 20 secs. slower.<sup>9</sup> Greenwich itself is in latitude 51° 28' 40" north, and in longitude, of course, zero.

IN THE COUNTIES.

<i>Slow with Greenwich.</i>		<i>Fast with Greenwich.</i>	
	mins. secs.		mins. secs.
Birmingham	... 7 36	Folkstone	... 4 36
Cardiff (Wales)	... 13 0	Deal	... 5 36
Chester	... 11 36	Eastbourne	... 1 20
Crewe, about	... 9 40	Ipswich	... 4 40
Guernsey (Ch. Isl.)	10 22	Maidstone	... 2 10
Holyhead	... 18 36 <sup>10</sup>	Margate	... 5 32
Liverpool, about	... 12 0 <sup>11</sup>	Louth (Lincolnshire)	0 0 <sup>12</sup>
Manchester	... 8 52	Ramsgate	... 5 40
Plymouth	... 16 30	Sheerness	... 2 59
Penzance	... 22 10	Yarmouth	... 7 0
Portsmouth	... 4 24	Hythe (Kent), about	4 0
Sheffield	... 5 50		
Southampton	... 5 36		
Stafford	... 8 30		

SCOTLAND.

Aberdeen, 8.20; Dundee, 11.52; Dumfries, 14.24; Edinburgh, 12.44; Glasgow, 17.10; Greenock, 19.1; Inverness, 16.54; Leith, 12.36; Perth, 13.46; and Stirling, 15.40 mins. and secs. *slower*.

*Obs.* Many of these and other longitudes will be found in Spon's *Former Clock and Watchmakers and their Work*, by F. J. Britten, Esq., which we have consulted for this article, along with the *Cyclopædias*.

<sup>9</sup> Rees's *Cyclop.* on *Long*.

<sup>10</sup> Difference therefore with Dublin, 6.45 faster.

<sup>11</sup> Difference therefore with Dublin, 13.21 faster.

<sup>12</sup> Therefore on same meridian as Greenwich.

## IRELAND.

13. Dublin or Dunsink time *slow* with Greenwich; also showing places fast or slow with Dublin *standard* time.

*With Greenwich.*

*With Dublin.*

	mins.	secs.		mins.	secs.
Dublin <sup>13</sup>	...	25 21.1	<i>slow.</i>	...	0 0 *
Belfast	...	23 46	,,	...	1 35 <i>fast.</i>
Cork <sup>14</sup>	...	33 56	,,	...	8 35 <i>slow.</i> <sup>14</sup>
Downpatrick	...	22 52	,,	...	2 29 <i>fast.</i>
Drogheda	...	25 20	,,	...	0 1 ,,
Dundalk	...	25 30	,,	...	0 9 <i>slow.</i>
Enniskillen	...	30 40	,,	...	5 19 ,,
Galway	...	36 12	,,	...	10 51 ,,
Kilkenny	...	29 0	,,	...	3 39 ,,
Limerick	...	34 30	,,	...	9 9 ,,
Lisburn	...	24 8	,,	...	1 13 <i>fast.</i>
Londonderry <sup>15</sup>	...	29 30	,,	...	3 59 <i>slow.</i>
Queenstown	...	33 0	,,	...	7 39 ,,
Waterford	...	28 30	,,	...	3 9 ,,
Wexford	...	25 26	,,	...	0 35 ,,
Wicklow <sup>16</sup>	...	24 8	,,	...	1 13 <i>fast.</i>
Youghal	...	31 24	,,	...	6 3 <i>slow.</i>

*Obs.* To compare Dublin time with the *local* time of any other place in Ireland, if the place is East of Dublin (meridian), subtract its time from the Greenwich equation (25 21); if West of Dublin, subtract the Greenwich equation from it.

## FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

*Fast or slow with Greenwich.*

14. The *Nautical Almanac* tells us that the Australian Colonies have adopted a standard time based on the meridian of Greenwich, thus:—

Western Australia—120 deg. east = 8 hours earlier than Greenwich.

South Australia—135 deg. east = 9 hours earlier than Greenwich.

Queensland, New South Wales, and nearly all Victoria—150 deg. east = 10 hours earlier than Greenwich.

Tasmania—10 hours earlier than Greenwich.

New Zealand—11½ hours earlier than Greenwich.

<sup>13</sup> As we have said in the footnote to No. 10—this is the Dublin correct equation. Rees, in his *Cyclopædia on Longitudes*, gives Dublin longitude as 6° 17' 0" and time 25 m. 8 sec. W; while for the Dublin Observatory he gives, long. 6° 20' 30" and time 25 m. 22 sec. W. \* See footnote 31, page 43.

<sup>14</sup> Rees gives 33.53, *i.e.*, in time, slow 8.32 instead of 8.35.

<sup>15</sup> Another authority gives 28.59.

<sup>16</sup> Another authority gives 24.4.

The following is an approximate (in hours) difference in actual local times:—

Adelaide, over 9 hours <i>fast</i>	with Greenwich.
Alexandria, nearly 2 hours <i>fast</i>	„
Athens, over $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours <i>fast</i>	„
Auckland, over $11\frac{1}{2}$ hours <i>fast</i>	„
Barbadoes, about 4 hours <i>slow</i>	„
Berlin, 53 mins. 35 secs. <i>fast</i>	„
Bombay, nearly 5 hours <i>fast</i>	„
Boston, U.S.A., over $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours <i>slow</i>	„
Brisbane, over 10 hours <i>fast</i>	„
Buenos Ayres, nearly 4 hours <i>slow</i>	„
Cairo, about 2 hours <i>fast</i>	„
Calcutta, over $5\frac{1}{2}$ hours <i>fast</i>	„
Canton, over $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours <i>fast</i>	„
Cape Town, 1 hour 13 mins. 54 secs. <i>fast</i>	„
Chicago, nearly 6 hours <i>slow</i>	„
Constantinople, nearly 2 hours <i>fast</i>	„
Jamaica, over 5 hours <i>slow</i>	„
Japan may be reckoned about 9 hours <i>fast</i>	„
Jeddo, over 9 hours <i>fast</i>	„
Jerusalem, 2 hours 20 mins. 56 secs <i>fast</i>	„
Madrid, 14 mins. 45 secs. <i>slow</i>	„
Madras, over 5 hours <i>fast</i>	„
Melbourne, over $9\frac{1}{2}$ hours <i>fast</i>	„
Mexico, over $6\frac{1}{2}$ hours <i>slow</i>	„
Montreal, nearly 5 hours <i>slow</i>	„
Moscow, over $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours <i>fast</i>	„
Naples, 56 mins. 59 secs. <i>fast</i>	„
Natal, over 2 hours <i>fast</i>	„
New York, nearly 5 hours <i>slow</i>	„
Paris, 9 mins. 21 secs. <i>fast</i>	„
Pietermaritzburg, 2 hours <i>fast</i>	„
Pekin, about $7\frac{3}{4}$ hours <i>fast</i>	„
Philadelphia, over $5\frac{1}{2}$ hours <i>slow</i>	„
Quebec, about $4\frac{3}{4}$ hours <i>slow</i>	„
Rangoon, nearly $6\frac{1}{2}$ hours <i>fast</i>	„
Rome, 49 mins. 51 secs. <i>fast</i>	„
San Francisco, over 8 hours <i>slow</i>	„
Shanghai, over 8 hours <i>fast</i>	„
St. John's, N.F., over $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours <i>slow</i>	„
St. Petersburg, over 2 hours <i>fast</i>	„
Suez, over 2 hours <i>fast</i>	„
Sydney, over 10 hours <i>fast</i>	„
Vienna, over 1 hour <i>fast</i>	„
Washington, over 5 hours <i>slow</i>	„
Wellington, N.Z., over $11\frac{1}{2}$ hours <i>fast</i>	„



15. *Obs.* To compare Dublin mean time with the above foreign equations, you must add the equation 25 min. 21 sec. to all places (fast) east of Greenwich, and subtract both equations from all places west (slow). Examples: suppose you want to know the difference of time between Dublin and Sydney. Sydney is east of Greenwich and *fast* by 10 h. 5 min. *Add* the Greenwich equation, 25 min. 21 sec. and you get 10 h. 30 min. 21 sec. p.m., which will be the time in Sydney when it is 12.0 noon in Dublin. Suppose again you want to know the time in New York, when it is noon in Dublin. New York is west of Greenwich and *slow* by 4 h. 56 min. *Subtract* the Greenwich equation 25 min. 21 sec., and you get 4 h. 30 min. 39 sec. before noon; then subtract this from 12.0; hence the time in New York will be 7 h. 29 min. 21 sec. a.m., when it is noon in Dublin.

A few other examples may be very useful.

16. When it is 12.0 noon in Dublin it will be (about)—12 h. 25 min. 21 sec. p.m. at London; 12 h. 34 min. 42 sec. p.m. at Paris; 1 h. 15 min. 15 sec. p.m. at Rome.

17. At New York, nearly 7½ o'clock a.m.; at Washington, about 7¼ o'clock a.m.; at San Francisco, about 4¼ o'clock a.m.; at Melbourne, about 10 o'clock p.m.; Sydney, 10½ o'clock p.m.; Tokio, 9¾ o'clock p.m.; at Cooktown about 10 o'clock p.m.; at Calcutta, about 6 o'clock p.m.; at Shanghai, about 8½ o'clock p.m.

#### MEAN *versus* TRUE TIME.

18. Table showing the true solar time, when it is 12.0 noon by the standard mean time in Dublin, at different periods of the year.

*Obs.* The Solar seconds are not taken into account.

From January 1st to February 10th the sun steadily loses in comparison with the mean (clock) time, until on the latter date he is 15 minutes<sup>17</sup> behind the clock.

From February 10th the sun relatively\* gains till April 15th, when his time overtakes and coincides with mean time.

Hence, on April 15th, when the Dublin standard (clock) time is noon, the sun-time will be at the following places:—

Dublin.	London.	Belfast.	Cork.	Limerick.	Galway <sup>1</sup>
h. m. s.	h. m. s.	h. m. s.	h. m. s.	h. m. s.	h. m. s.
12 0 0	12 25 21	12 1 35	11 51 25	11 50 51	11 49 9

<sup>17</sup> The maximum of slowness throughout the year.

\* *Observe well.*

From April 15th till May 14th the sun continues to gain upon mean (clock) time, when his time at the following places will be : —

Dublin.	London.	Belfast.	Cork.	Limerick.	Galway.
h. m. s.	h. m. s.	h. m. s.	h. m. s.	h. m. s.	h. m. s.
12 4 0	12 29 21	12 5 35	11 55 25	11 54 51	11 53 9

From May 14th the sun relatively\* loses till June 14th, when again the two times coincide, hence : —

Dublin.	London.	Belfast.	Cork.	Limerick.	Galway.
h. m. s.	h. m. s.	h. m. s.	h. m. s.	h. m. s.	h. m. s.
12 0 0	12 25 21	12 1 35	11 51 25	11 50 51	11 49 9

From June 14th till July 14th the sun steadily loses upon mean (clock) time, when he is about 6 minutes behind ; and then relatively\* gains until August 31st, when the two times again coincide and are as given above for April 15th and June 14th.

From August 31st till November 2nd the sun steadily gains upon mean (clock) time, when he becomes 16 minutes<sup>18</sup> faster. Hence, when it is 12 noon in Dublin, he will be in the following places : —

Dublin.	London.	Belfast.	Cork.	Limerick.	Galway.
h. m. s.	h. m. s.	h. m. s.	h. m. s.	h. m. s.	h. m. s.
12 16 0	12 41 21	12 17 35	12 7 25	12 6 51	12 5 9

From November 2nd the sun relatively\* loses till December 24th, when the two times again coincide, and will be at the above places the same as on April 15th, June 14th, and August 31st.

From December 24th the sun steadily loses until February 10th, when again he is at his maximum of slowness, viz., 15 minutes.

Hence, true sun-time and standard mean-time coincide *four* times in the year, viz., on April 15th, June 14th, August 31st, and December 24th ; whereas at all intermediate dates the sun is either gaining or losing on the clock time. To find, then, how much true solar time is faster or slower than the mean time at any place, you have only to add or subtract the amount it is fast or slow to or from the mean time.

19. Now from all we have said the reader can easily draw a few conclusions which will materially aid in the due consideration of the title to this article.

Firstly, we may distinguish, at least, *four* distinct times, to which every spot of our terrestrial globe is subject, viz.—(1)

<sup>18</sup> His maximum of fastness throughout the year.

\* *Observe well.*

sidereal time, or the time of the stars ; (2) true solar time, or the apparent time of the sun ; (3) standard mean solar time, or the regular average time of an imaginary sun ; (4) local mean solar time, or the actual mean time of each particular place. The first (sidereal) is used chiefly by astronomers ; the second (true solar) is given by sun-dials, and not now employed for civil purposes, on account of its variability ; the third (standard mean) is the clock time often adopted by nations for national use ; the fourth (local mean time) derivable from the meridian of each place and generally ignored.

Secondly, all places on the same meridian have the same time, whether it be sidereal, true or mean solar time.

Thirdly, all places to the east of the meridian selected by a country to furnish a standard mean time, (such as Greenwich for England, etc., and Dunsink for Ireland) will be *fast*, while all places to the west will be *slow*, of the standard time.

Fourthly, true solar (called apparent) time coincides with mean time *four times* in the year and on fixed dates (see No. 6) ; while on all other days the sun is either 'slowing' or 'fasting,' as compared with the standard mean time. Every day it varies some seconds. On the table given at No. 18, we have only taken account of minutes ; the precision of seconds could hardly be expected in a general article like this.

20. We are now prepared to discuss the title of this article, namely, 'Solar *versus* Mean Time in Certain Ecclesiastical Functions.'

Let us say at once, those functions are two-fold, viz., time for the recitation of the Divine Office and for observing the fast obligatory upon communicants. And the question is, which time *may* or *must* be followed in these cases ?

To put it concretely : sometimes when the clock proclaims 12.0 midnight, the true time of the sun is considerably *slower* ; hence, for instance, might one partake of food or drink during that difference of time ? On the other hand, sometimes the true time is *faster* than the clock ; must then the time limit be restricted ?

Take, for instance, February 10th in Dublin. When midnight strikes on the Dublin clocks, it will be a quarter to



twelve by true solar time ; could a communicant eat or drink within those fifteen minutes without breaking the natural fast ?

Again, on November 2nd in Dublin, when midnight strikes on the clocks, true solar time is already 16 minutes past (if it happened to be a Friday) could a person eat meat when the time was ten minutes to twelve by the clock ? (Examples between standard and local mean times are given on page 34.)

We have now got into practical ethics.

It will be retorted, perhaps, by churchmen ; on this subject, *Roma locuta est*. Verily ; *sed in quonam sensu ?*

Let us quote the Decrees ; for there are more than one bearing on this question.

21. The general Decree best known runs thus :—

Die 29 Novembris, 1882.

Hac sub die S. Tribunali S. Pœnitentiariæ Apostolicæ sequens propositum fuit.

Dubium.

Utrum, ubi horologia adhibentur, tempori medio accommodata, ipsis sit standum, tum pro onere divini officii solvendo, tum pro jejunio naturali servando ; vel debeat quis, aut saltem possit uti tempore vero ?

Sacra pœnitentia huic dubio respondit : ‘ Fideles in jejunio naturali servando, et in officio divino recitando, sequi tempus medium posse, sed non teneri.’<sup>19</sup>

‘ Posse sed non teneri ’ *medium tempus sequi*.<sup>20</sup>

Yes ; but which *tempus medium* ? Have we not distinguished *two* mean times, which we have called *standard* mean time and *actual local* mean time ? Yes ; and we may even add a third under the name of *legal* mean time. Let us here quote one of the most modern and up-to-date moral theologians—Edward Genicot, S.J.

22. In recitatione Officii divini, speciatim in anticipando Matutino, et in recitatione Vesperarum, unicuique liberum est sequi (1) *tempus verum* (quod horologiis solaribus indicatur) ; —vel (2) *tempus medium* (quod, deficienti speciali conventionē,

<sup>19</sup> I. E. RECORD (Third Series) vol. iv., p. 469.

<sup>20</sup> Vide Sabetti No. 700-1° ; *Acta S. Sedis*, vol. xv., p. 445 ; Lehmkuhl, Tom. ii., n. 159.

indicare solent horologia artefacta);—vel *tempus legale* (quod, ubi viget specialis conventio, indicant eadem horologia).<sup>21</sup>

Here it is evident Genicot introduces, beside the mean time, a time which sometimes the clocks of a region may give and which he calls *legal*. A standard time such as this was introduced into the United States, within certain degrees of longitude.<sup>22</sup> The States are divided into three belts or zones, called the eastern, western, and middle zones, and within the limits of each a conventional fixed (mean) time is observed.

Now, it may often happen, as it does in Ireland, that the adopted standard mean time is also the conventional and therefore *legal* time. Thus the Dunsink standard mean time and the legal time are one and the same. How far *legal* it is, we may gather from a fact worth relating. A gentleman in England some time ago wanted to start on a journey from a wayside station to catch an express on the main line. His business was very urgent; but on arriving at the station, he found the train had started some minutes *before* the scheduled time. He immediately demanded a *special*: and the Company, knowing that they were *legally* responsible, granted it in preference to a law-suit.

23. Hence arises the leading question, are we free (*posse*) to select and follow *any* one of these different times? Genicot evidently answers in the affirmative, for after the text quoted above, he continues:—‘Constat e pluribus responsis Romanis.’ Moreover, he interprets the above Decree of 29 Nov., 1882 in this sense, for he writes:—‘*Sic* S. Pœnitentiaria, 29 Nov., 1882.’<sup>23</sup> He also refers to a later Decree, which, being particular, more directly applies to the *legal* time (the species of time concerning which doubt could arise after the general Decree). This Decree he dates 23 July, 1893. Thus, ‘et S. C. Conc. Episcopo Trevirensi respondit posse clericos in persolvendis Horis sequi tempus *legale* nuper in Germaniam invectum, quod spatio semi-hora *tempus locorum medium* superet.’<sup>24</sup>

Again, without quoting a Decree, he adds:—‘Ideo in

<sup>21</sup> Genicot, vol. ii., n. 56, vii. 56.

<sup>22</sup> See I. E. RECORD (1884), vol. v. pp. 329 and 463.

<sup>23</sup> Genicot, vol. ii.

<sup>24</sup> Genicot, *ibid.*

Belgio satisfaciet qui matutinum recitare incipit 17 momentis ante horam secundam *legalem*, cum jam adsit hora secunda, juxta tempus medium computata.<sup>25</sup>

This author in his tract on the Eucharist also alludes to the same liberty, when he writes:—‘Hora autem duodecima noctis computari *potest* secundum tempus *verum*, *medium* vel *legale*.’<sup>26</sup>

Lehmkuhl makes no mention of tempus *legale*; but he is clear and most generous in his interpretation of our liberty, and refers to two decrees, viz., to the one quoted above of 29 Nov., 1882, and to another of 18 June, 1873.<sup>27</sup> And his interpretation seems strikingly confirmed by a passage to be found in the *Acta S. Sedis*, vol. vii., page 400 (nota), where the editors distinctly teach that this liberty applies to the mean time which is of a meridian *foreign* to the local meridian.

‘Haec<sup>28</sup> locum quoque habentur, si tempus medium signet (horologia) non *proprii* meridiani sed *alieni*, quamquam hoc tempus magis discrepat a tempore vero.’

Perhaps we shall be doing a service by reproducing this Decree in question, or rather the response to a Dubium, which arose when the municipality of Naples ordered all the Neapolitan clocks (with the exception of some private ones) to adopt and indicate the standard mean time of Rome. Of course it happened that the mean night differed from the true night, not only by reason of the different meridians of the two cities (Rome and Naples), but even to such an extent that sometimes the difference was as much as a quarter of an hour. Whereupon the Cardinal Archbishop of Naples proposed the following *dubium* to the Sacred Penitentiary:—

His rebus consideratis, *possintne* fideles Neapoli in servando naturali jejuniis aliisque Ecclesio obligationibus, *sequi* horologia horas indicantia *juxta tempus medium Romanum*, an potius ea horologia sequi debeant, quæ *verum* tempus Neapolitanum signant?

The response was as follows:—

S. Pœnitentiaria mature perpensis expositis, Rmo in Christo

<sup>25</sup> Genicot, vol. ii.

<sup>26</sup> Genicot, vol. ii., n. 199, p. 206.

<sup>27</sup> Vide *Acta S. Sedis*, vol. vii., p. 399.

<sup>28</sup> Explained further on.



Patri S. R. E. Cardin. Archiep. Neapolitano respondet : Ad primam partem, *affirmative* ; negativè ad secundam.

Datum Roma in S. Pœn. die 18 Junii, 1873.

Here again we find the liberty.

But on this question, Lehmkuhl emphasises the double liberty, when he writes :—

Media nox sumitur secundum horologia publica regionis, etsi non accurate verum tempus referat. Nimirum illud tempus cuique licet saltem sequi, *etiamsi multum discrepat à tempore sive vero sive medio* : ita S. Pœnitentiaria, 18 Junii, 1873. Attamen illud tempus sequendi *non est obligatio* : ita S. Pœn., 29 Nov., 1882 (as quoted on page 39 ‘Fideles in jejunio . . . sequi tempus medium posse, sed non teneri.’) (Scilicet in distinctione à tempore vero.)<sup>29</sup>

24. This last quotation from Lehmkuhl raises the question of how far obligation or liberty enters into the observance of any of these different times ?

Now, firstly, it is evident that there is every liberty to follow true solar time (*tempus verum*), inasmuch as the question only first arose and was mooted in reference to the lawfulness of following the modern introduction of mean time of *some sort*. In other words, the liberty accorded by the Decrees to follow a mean time does not detract from the liberty to follow the true solar time. But, as we have seen, though there is liberty, there is *no obligation*, otherwise how could we be free to follow a different time ?

However, this liberty is hardly likely to be availed of on behalf of true solar time, on account of a double inconvenience. For, firstly, as clocks in our days seldom register the true solar time, it would give no inconsiderable trouble to be making out the variable time of the sun, as is seen at No. 18. Secondly, as we shall see later on, if we adopt sun-time when *slow* of mean time, should we not have consistently to follow it when *fast* of mean time ; and hence we should find it like a sword that cuts two ways ?

Secondly, it is equally evident from the Decrees that a liberty is granted to follow *mean* time—some mean time—*posse* ; and it is equally certain that we are not obliged—*sed non teneri*. (29 Nov., 1882).

<sup>29</sup> Lehm., vol. ii., n. 159, *explicatio*.

Now here we have a manifest advantage ; for mean time is the time indicated by our clocks and watches ; we have it, then, always at hand and it is a constant quantity, requiring no re-adjusting for time or seasons.

Thirdly, the liberty seems to extend to *either* of the afore-said mean times, viz., *tempus medium* or *tempus legale*. Genicot<sup>30</sup> writes :—‘ *Hora autem duodecima noctis computari potest secundum tempus verum, medium vel legale.*’

This would mean (presumably) that we are at liberty (*posse sed non teneri*) to follow, either—1° *true* solar time, as registered by sun-dials ; or 2° the *standard* mean solar time of the country (such as Greenwich time for England, Dublin (Dunsink) time for Ireland) ; or 3° the *local* mean solar time ; *i.e.*, the actual mean time of the place one is in, ascertainable by the difference of its meridian with the meridian of the standard mean time (equation of time) ; which is also a fixed quantity, though not registered by the clocks.

25. Now, it is here there truly arises a certain convenience. This local mean time is always either faster or slower (according as the place is east or west) than the standard mean time, adopted by the country and which is registered by the clocks.

Thus, as we have said (No. 18), when the clocks of Cork city are striking midnight (by the standard mean solar time of Dublin), the correct mean time of Cork *actually* wants 8 min. 35 secs. ; in other words, the meridian of Cork would give 11 h. 51 min. 25 secs., while the *true* solar time (sun-dial time) would be of a variable quantity. In Dublin, of course, there would be no advantage, as far as *mean* time is concerned, inasmuch as in Dublin the *standard* mean time and the *local* mean time are nearly identical ; they are also the *legal* time.<sup>31</sup>

All things then considered, it will at once appear evident that for practical life the only safe and easy guide is the public time. Individuals might not have scientific knowledge or instruments at hand to make their own calculations quite safe against mistakes. But whilst on ordinary occasions one

<sup>30</sup> Genecot, vol. ii., n. 199-1.

<sup>31</sup> But as Dublin mean time is really Dunsink time, and Dunsink is west of Dublin, there really is a difference of about 11 seconds between the meridian of Dunsink and Dublin city, *i.e.* Dublin city is about 11 seconds faster than Dunsink, *i.e.* standard mean time.

were careful to follow the public time, there might arise special circumstances, which make what we have been saying useful to know. For instance, during a busy mission, when reciting the Divine Office, the knowledge that the stroke of midnight by a clock is not the 'sole arbiter of fate,' could be turned by a priest, overtaken by inexorable time, to good account. Indeed, the question might arise, *when the difference between true and mean time is known*, whether the obligation of reciting the Divine Office necessarily ceases when the clock has struck midnight, supposing, *v.g.* that Compline is still unsaid?

26. Now what is said of the equation of time between true solar time and mean time, seems equally to be applicable to the equation of time between the two mean times to which a place may be subject. For instance, take a case in Cork. Here, as we have shown at No. 18, the clocks will register the standard mean time of Dublin. But the *local* mean time of Cork will be always 8 min. 35 sec. slower than the clock (standard mean) time, so that, when the clocks strike midnight, it will still be short of midnight by 8 min. and 35 secs. If then a person residing stably in Cork has selected to follow the *local* mean time in preference to the *standard* clock time, such a person could take refreshments for those few minutes after the clocks have struck midnight; but could he eat meat on a Friday before the clocks registered 8 mins. 35 secs. past the Friday midnight? "*Qui sentit commodum, etc.*"

27. So far we have been speaking of the liberty which we enjoy at any part of the inhabitable globe as regards the choice between *tempus verum* and *tempus medium*, whether standard, legal, or local. But there is yet a part of this terrestrial globe which needs special treatment, namely the polar regions. Suppose one of our readers, fired with missionary zeal, affects to devote himself to the salvation of some Esquimaux whose peregrinations lead them sometimes within the arctic circle. There, for many weeks of summer time, the sun never sets, and again for weeks in the winter season, never rises. What meridian or time may this zealous missionary follow? This question was proposed to the Holy See.<sup>32</sup>

An ecclesiastici viri, qui regiones incolunt ultra circulum

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<sup>32</sup> See *Acta S. Sedis*, vol. iii., p. 602, and vol. vii., p. 400.



polarem positas, ubi tempore æstivo per plures hebdomadas sol nunquam occidit, nec vicissim per plures hebdomadas hyemali tempore oritur, in divinis persolvendis laudibus sequi possint meridianum Romanum?

S. R. R. Cong. die 6 Febrii., 1858, respondit:—

Juxta votum Astronomici Patris Secchi. Hujus clarissimi astronomii opinio ad hoc reducitur, ut retenta distributione horarum juxta romanum methodum, determinari deberet meredies per transitum Solis *in meridiano locali*, quod si *tempus medium* sequi placeret, adjici deberet consueta æquatio temporis medii. Transitus autem solis per meridianum semper dignosci potest, tempore astivo per maximam ejusdem solis altitudinem, hyemali vero tempore ex majori crepusculorum claritate, vel etiam melius ex stellarum observatione, namque nullus est incolatus locus, neque stabilis incolatus esse potest locus intra circulum polarem, in quo aliquis uti non potest hoc medio ad determinandum localem meridem.<sup>33</sup>

28. *Apropos* of this liberty again, we can quote a practical case occurring much nearer to us than the arctic regions. An Irish priest, whose illustrious name is dear both to his order and to the Irish Church at large, has to pay periodical visits to England, and he mostly starts on his return journey on Sunday evening, arriving in Dublin at an early hour on Monday morning. His train leaves London at 8.45 p.m. on Sunday; he reaches Crewe at 12.1 a.m., *i.e.*, one minute past midnight, where the train stops for 6 or 7 minutes. Now, by Irish (Dunsink mean) time, it still wants 15 minutes of midnight—the exact clock time being then 11.44.19 secs. Could he have reserved his Vespers and Compline till he reached Crewe? Suppose you answer in the negative, because, though an Irish priest, you say he cannot avail himself of Irish time (being then in England), it might be further examined, may he not take advantage of the difference between the English *standard* and the *local* mean time of Crewe? Now Crewe is so much west of Greenwich that the actual local mean time of Crewe will be nearly 10 mins. slower than Greenwich time. This aspect of the case might bear more debate (see concluding summary of this article.)

We might pass still further into the labyrinth of supposition. This Irish priest would find himself in dear dirty

Dublin at an early hour on Monday morning, without any *obligation* to celebrate Mass. But suppose upon reaching his home *he felt inclined* to celebrate. It is true he might have partaken of a light supper at Crewe, during the few minutes he had there just after midnight. But suppose this soliloquy: 'I am in Ireland, and when I took my supper it was not yet midnight *by Irish time*; why, then, should I not now enjoy my liberty as a jejune priest? Like my brother priests I have not broken the natural fast since the clocks of *Dublin* gave out the standard Irish time.'<sup>34</sup> Questions less intricate have been the subject of heated controversy, and we can fancy Luke Delmege exclaiming, *Sic argumentaris, Domine!*

29. Whatever be the verdict in cases like to this, it is worth remembering that in Ireland local mean time is almost always *slower* than the standard mean time. This is due to the fact that the standard time is struck from the Dunsink meridian, and as Dublin is on the Eastern coast of Ireland, nearly all Irish places are to the west of the Dunsink meridian, and, therefore, the actual mean time is slower. Had the standard time been furnished by Galway or Kerry, it would have been all the other way; for nearly the whole of Ireland would then have local *faster* than standard mean time. Hence all those who feel authorised to elect and follow actual local mean time in preference to the standard or ordinary clock time of Ireland, will have several minutes (over 8 in Cork, and 10 in Galway) to finish an office unavoidably postponed, or to refresh themselves after perchance a hurried return from a nocturnal sick call, just as the local clocks are striking midnight.

It is time to bring this paper to a close. We have been advisedly prolix that the subject might be viewed in all its phases. But before we write the word *vale*, it might be useful to summarise a few deductions.

I. Places on the same meridian of longitude have the same time, be it sidereal, solar, or mean.

II. Places east of the meridian which furnishes a standard time for any country will always be *faster* in their actual local

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<sup>34</sup> The latter phase of this case is pure supposition.

mean time, while all places to the westward will be *slower* (Nos. 15 and 19).

III. The sun passes over 15 degrees of longitude in 1 hr., hence every degree is 4 mins. (No. 2).

IV. As nearly every place in Ireland is westward to the Dublin meridian, local mean time is generally slower than the standard mean time (No. 29).

V. Reference has been made in this article to true solar (apparent) time, No. 2; mean solar time, No. 4; standard mean solar time, No. 9; actual local mean solar time, No. 8; legal mean time, No. 22; and sidereal time, Nos. 1 and 2.

VI. Sidereal time is obtained by a transit instrument and is determined by the revolution of a star in the heavens. That period is then divided into 24 sidereal hours.

VII. True solar time is reckoned by the *apparent* revolution of the sun from the meridian round to the meridian again. The sun is *said* to pass from west to east, through 360 degrees in 365 days and 6 hours, and, therefore, moves eastward nearly 1 degree a day, No. 2. True solar time can be obtained by a transit instrument or by any means of ascertaining the moment the sun is exactly over the meridian of a place. Sun-dials give *true* solar time.

VIII. Mean time is an average struck of the length of all the solar days throughout the year. To procure it we suppose an imaginary sun revolving with the true sun, but, unlike the latter, having a constant and uniform velocity. Addition or subtraction has to be made to or from the true solar time to get it, Nos. 7 and 8.

IX. Mean time may be a general *standard* time for a whole country or region; or it may be the *actual* mean time of each individual place or meridian, No. 9.

X. Liberty is afforded to follow either the *true* solar (sundial) time, or the *standard* mean time of a region, or the actual *local* mean time, Nos. 23 and 24.

XI. There seems no practical advantage in electing to follow true solar time in preference to mean time. Nos. 24 and 25.

XII. But no inconsiderable advantage may be derived by the general faithful in Ireland by following actual local



mean time in preference to the standard (clock) time, inasmuch as most places in Ireland are to the west of the Dunsink meridian, and consequently the local mean is slower than the standard mean time. No. 29.

XIII. In treating of time the Church seems to follow the rule which publicly influences business matters in each place. (This is gathered from the editors of the *Acta S. Sedis*, vol. vii., pp. 399-400, where, commenting on the Decree of Pœnit., of 18 June, 1873, they conclude: 'In temporis enim designatione eam regulam ecclesia sequitur, quae omnia hominum negotia in singulis locis publice dirigit.')

Lastly, we have seen by the Decrees quoted that ample liberty is accorded by the Holy See in the choice of the species of time we may follow in the performance of certain ecclesiastical functions, especially in the natural fast for Holy Communion and in the recitation of the Divine Office. Neither do the Decrees seem to impose any obligation beyond the choice of some one of these various times. Only one practical question yet remains. Does this liberty extend so far that we may always choose the time that favours for the nonce, avoiding or relinquishing that *same* time, when its observance would be onerous? Those who affect the former view would, no doubt, quote for us, '*Lex dubia non obligat*,' or '*Odiosa sunt restringenda et favores sunt ampliandae*.' Those who more consistently follow the latter, would quote the axiom, '*Qui sentit commodum, sentire debet incommodum*.' Both sides would allow you to select any species of time; but the latter would add: Yes; but having chosen, you must abide by it as a *norma tum in ordiosis tum in favorabilibus*.

Let us put it in the concrete.

Suppose a person living in Galway (where the actual *local* mean time is always more than 10 minutes *slower* than the standard mean or town clock time), intends to receive Holy Communion the next morning. Some 5 minutes or so after the town clocks have struck midnight, he takes some refreshment, because he knows that by the *local* mean time, it is not yet midnight. Very good. But this *same* person, on another occasion, eats meat *immediately* after the town clocks strike midnight on a Friday, arguing that by the clocks it is *already*

Saturday morning. Galway (Dublin standard) clock time past midnight; Galway actual local mean time, not yet midnight. Let us relegate this to the armoury of controversialists.

The writer hopes that his notes may evoke honest criticism in the interests of truth. Only in one matter does he make bold to feel that he is proof against its keenest steel, and that is in the *motive* which has actuated him to forward these lines to the valuable pages of the I. E. RECORD.

E. A. SELLEY, O.S.A.

## THE SACRIFICIAL IDEA IN THE MASS<sup>1</sup>

‘Passio est enim Domini sacrificium quod offerimus.’

—ST. CYPRIANUS, Ep. lxiii., n. 17.

AN article that appeared under this title in the *American Ecclesiastical Review* for November, 1900, gave occasion to another article on the same subject, which was published in the I. E. RECORD for May, 1902.<sup>2</sup> With a view to greater clearness and precision in the treatment of what he justly speaks of as ‘very much an open question,’ the reverend writer discusses (1) the essential idea of sacrifice in general; (2) the essential constituent of sacrifice in the Mass; (3) the relation of the Mass to the Sacrifice of the Cross; and (4) the sense in which the former is identical with the latter. Upon the first point there is no substantial divergence of opinion among theologians. The definition of sacrifice given by Bellarmine<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I feel that there may be due the reader a word of explanation of how the present article comes to have been written so long after the appearance of the one that has called it forth. The delay has been owing partly to my not having seen the number of the I. E. RECORD containing Father Hughes’ article till several months after its publication; partly to press of other work. For the rest, while I firmly believe that the theory of the sacrificial idea in the Mass here put forward alone fits the traditional teaching of the Church, yet, mindful that truth is greater than theory, and wishful that it should always and everywhere prevail, I shall not be sorry to see this theory utterly collapse if it should be found to rest not on the one and only solid foundation of Catholic Truth.

<sup>2</sup> ‘How is the Mass identical with the Sacrifice of the Cross?’ By the Rev. H. G. Hughes, B.D., Beda College, Rome.

<sup>3</sup> *De Controversiis*, cap. ii.; *De Missa*, lib. i.

reappears but with slight modification in the works of later writers. There are, says the writer, 'three elements essentially necessary to the constitution of any sacrifice:—It must be a visible offering; it must be a public offering; the sacrificial act must consist in the destruction of the thing offered.' These are the objective elements, the first and third being the material and formal causes respectively, and the second implying the efficient cause, since the offering is public only when it is made by a priest ordained to this office.<sup>4</sup> The subjective element, which coincides with the final cause, lies in the end for which sacrifice is offered, and that is, primarily, to signify 'the interior self-oblation and adoration which is due exclusively to the infinite Majesty of God.' So far there is agreement. Now, in the Mass there is offered a true and proper sacrifice. Hence there must be found in it the three elements set down above as essential. With regard to the first and second there is no difficulty or divergence of opinion. The whole difficulty and divergence of view exist in respect of the third or formal element.

Many theologians hold that a mystic or moral immolation of the victim is enough to constitute a true sacrifice. This view has led to the addition of the words 'equivalent destruction,' or 'quasi-destruction,' in the definition of sacrifice given by most of the more modern authors; but these expressions are really nothing more than question-begging epithets. No upholder of the view spoken of above has ever yet met the weighty objection of Bellarmine, that 'a true and real sacrifice requires a true and real immolation of the victim,'<sup>5</sup> or explained how a mystic or moral immolation is going to give us other than a mystic or moral

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<sup>4</sup> Some theologians make the formal constituent of sacrifice to consist in its being an external sign of the supreme adoration due to God alone. But this is to confound sacrifice *in genere moris* (as a moral entity) with sacrifice *in genere entis* (as a physical entity). The three essential elements of sacrifice as a physical entity are priest, victim, and immolation. But sacrifice as a moral entity requires that the immolation be an *actus humanus*, made, that is, with the *intention* of offering to God a worship worthy of Him. But it is plain that sacrifice *in genere moris*, is not distinguished *formaliter* from any form of external offering made to acknowledge God's sovereign dominion over His creatures. This view confounds the *final* with the *formal cause* of sacrifice.

<sup>5</sup> *De Controversiis*, cap. xxvii.; *De Missa*, lib. I.



sacrifice.<sup>6</sup> Quasi-destruction of the victim will effect but a quasi-sacrifice: this seems to be the logic as well as the common sense of the matter. Destruction of the victim is one of the objective elements of sacrifice; therefore the destruction must be objective, that is to say, *ex parte rei* and not in the mind only, as it is when the destruction is mystic or moral. For mystic destruction is destruction in figure or symbol, which figure or symbol is a creature of the intellect merely, and in no way attainable by the senses, while moral destruction is such only in the moral estimation of men. It is idle then, to say with Father Billot<sup>7</sup> that the mystic immolation is enough to form a basis for the symbolic expression of the heart's worship, which is sacrifice in its essential concept; for the basis is not objective. If what is assigned as the formal cause of sacrifice to be something subjective, then it is plain that the sacrifice itself will be subjective, since the formal cause constitutes the very essence of sacrifice. The only apt or fitting symbol of the unfeigned worship of the heart is an unfeigned, that is to say, a real immolation of the victim. The

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<sup>6</sup> It is said that mystic destruction is enough to constitute real sacrifice in the case of a victim offered *sub specie aliena*. This is said, not shown to be so. Rather may it be said that what is no longer capable of being really immolated *in specie propria*, is no longer capable of being really sacrificed, supposing, that is, a new immolation to be required here and now to constitute it a real victim. It is no longer *apt matter for immolation*, as St. Thomas expresses it, where he says of Christ's mortal body (*caro Christi*) that, *ex eo quod erat possibilis et mortalis apta erat immolationi*.—3a. q. 48; a. 3. ad 1. Again, that which is incapable of being really immolated *in specie propria*, must, if it is to be a victim at all, at least be immolated *sub specie aliena* after the manner of immolation proper to that *species aliena*. For, as Bellarmine pointedly observes, *mutatio quae ponitur quasi forma sacrificii externi et sensibilis debet esse externa et sensibilis*.—*De Missa*, l. 1.; c. 27. Now there is no real destruction of the species of bread and wine in the Mass, if you except that which is involved in the partaking of the Body and Blood of our Lord by the celebrant, which Father Billot very conclusively shows to be no sacrificial act of destruction. Lastly, the essence of the Eucharistic Sacrifice is in the consecration. But the words of consecration, which effect what they signify, are not destructive of the Victim, but productive of it. They place the Victim, slain once for all on Calvary, in such state and under such form that it may be offered anew to the Father, and taken by priest and people for their spiritual nourishment. Under this latter aspect, the Mass is the necessary complement of the Sacrifice of Calvary, since it is necessary to the integrity of sacrifice that the victim should be partaken of.

<sup>7</sup> *De Sacramentis*, p. 567 (ed. of 1893). It is but just that this distinguished theologian and author should get full credit for presenting the theory of the mystical immolation in its most plausible form, as well as for the consummate skill with which he lays bare the weaknesses of rival theories.

statement that 'sacrificial action consists essentially in some kind of destruction of the thing sacrificed,'<sup>8</sup> can be accepted only with the proviso that the destruction, whether it be *mac-tatio* (of living things), *immolatio* (of inanimate solid substances), or *libatio*<sup>9</sup> (of liquids), shall be objective and real.<sup>10</sup>

But, says the writer,

If we say that our Lord's real death is precisely that which expresses *latría* in the Mass, and so constitutes a true sacrifice, we are confronted with a series of difficulties. How, for instance, could the first of all Masses—at the Last Supper—have been a sacrifice, since the real death upon the Cross had not yet taken place? Again, how can that real death be so repeated in every Mass as to constitute it there and then a true sacrifice?

In regard to this latter difficulty, it is to be observed that the Mass is not a repetition of the Sacrifice of Calvary, but the continuation of it. It needs not, then, that the death of our Lord should be repeated to make the Mass a true sacrifice, since the Mass is really not other than the Sacrifice of Calvary, but the self-same sacrifice perpetuated under the sacramental veil.<sup>11</sup> In the case of ordinary victims, this could not well be: the sacrifice would be done and over as soon as the victim was slain and offered. But the victim offered up on Calvary, as

<sup>8</sup> I. E. RECORD, No. 401, p. 442.

<sup>9</sup> The destruction, in the case of the *libatio*, was real and physical, not destruction merely in the moral estimation of men. Wine poured on the ground no longer conserves its species, but is dissolved and absorbed by other elements. True, the destruction is not instantaneous, but neither is the slaying of a victim an instantaneous act. Nothing could well be more misleading than the comparison instituted by certain theologians between the 'libatio' of the ancients and the 'status declivior' of our Lord in the Eucharist. In the former case, the destruction was physical, objective, real; in the latter it is moral, subjective, imaginary.

<sup>10</sup> Omnia omnino quae in Scriptura dicuntur sacrificia necessario destruenda erant si, viventia, per occisionem; si inanima solida ut similia, et sal, et thus, per combustionem; si liquida, ut sanguis, vinum, et aqua, per effusionem.—Bellarminus, *De Missa*, l. 1; c. 2. Et paulo infra: Sacrificium est summa protestatio subjectionis nostrae ad Deum, et summus cultus externus qui exhiberi possit. Summa autem ista protestatio requirit ut non solum usus rei Deo offeratur, sed ipsa etiam substantia; et ideo non solum usus sed substantia consumatur.—*Ib.* ad 8<sup>um</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> It needs not that the creative act which called the sun into being should be repeated day after day. It is enough that the sun should be conserved in the fulness of its power, and made to rise day after day to shed its light and warmth upon the earth. Conservation, in deed, is continued creation; it is the creative act prolonged for ever.

St. Thomas says, 'has an everlasting power of sanctifying,'<sup>12</sup> and if an everlasting power of sanctifying, therefore also an everlasting power of fulfilling all the ends of true sacrifice, being an oblation that is at once latreutic, propitiatory, impetratory, and eucharistic. Nor does it avail to urge against this that 'the act by which latreutic worship is expressed must be in some way attainable in itself by the outward sense,' for (1) what is essential to true sacrifice is that it should be an *oblatio externa rei occisae*, and this the Mass is; and (2) the difficulty has first to be solved by the one who puts it, since the mystic immolation, as has been pointed out above, is in no way perceptible by the senses, but only by the faith-illumined intellect. Suppose the priest who says Mass has no intention of consecrating, but repeats the words of consecration and goes through the rite to the end, the celebration is, to the outer sense, exactly the same as if he had the intention. Yet there is no consecration, no mystic immolation, and no sacrifice.

The difficulty respecting the sacrifice offered at the Last Supper is a graver one, and was felt to be grave by the Fathers at Trent.<sup>13</sup> We must bear in mind, however, that we are dealing with what the Church herself pronounces a *mysterium fidei*, and what, consequently, will always remain, at least in some of its aspects, obscure to the human mind. And yet our faith itself affords us in some sort a means of solving this difficulty, when it assures us that the sacrifice offered at the Last Supper and the sacrifice offered on Calvary were in reality not two sacrifices, but one and the same. The one was, by Christ's own institution, meant to commemorate, to represent, and to perpetuate the other. The act of oblation, begun at the Last Supper, was consummated on Calvary, and is prolonged<sup>14</sup> for ever in the Mass.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Heb. ix, 12.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Pallavicini, *Hist. Conc. Trid.*, I. 18. c. 2.

<sup>14</sup> The word is not mine, but Cardinal Manning's.

<sup>15</sup> One of the bishops at the Council of Trent, in discussing this point, said that the immolation begun at the Last Supper was consummated on Calvary—*ibi coeptam hic perfectam immolationem*. (Cf. Pallavicini, *ib.*) Cardinal Manning, in his *Glories of the Sacred Heart*, v. 3, says: 'In this last Paschal Supper, when Jesus sat at the table, and took bread, blessed it, broke it, gave it, and said, "This is My Body," and the chalice when He had blessed it, and said, "This is My Blood," He began the act of oblation finished upon Calvary, which redeemed the world. He offered that sacrifice first



The writer fails to present correctly the teaching of St. Thomas on this question, when he says :

St. Thomas clearly points out, in the passage referred to, that in the Mass the immolation is not real, but only by representation and figure ; the real immolation having taken place upon the Cross. He does not, however, thereby deny the Mass to be a true sacrifice ; therefore he does not require real death as an essential of true sacrifice.

What St. Thomas clearly points out is that in the Mass (*in hoc sacramento*) there is a twofold immolation, the one figurative, the other real (*duplici ratione celebratio hujus sacramenti dicitur immolatio Christi*), and that the latter is what makes the Mass the distinctive Sacrifice of the New Law (*sed quantum ad secundum modum proprium est huic sacramento, quod in ejus celebratione Christus immoletur*).<sup>16</sup> Of course St. Thomas does not imply that the real immolation, once consummated on Calvary, is repeated in the Mass : this would be absurd. But he does plainly imply that it is by virtue of it the Mass is a true sacrifice, and he speaks of it expressly as having place in the Mass.

We now come to the third point set down for discussion, which is the relation of the sacrifice of the Mass to that of the Cross. The position taken and maintained in the present article points logically to the following conclusion :—Between the Sacrifice of the Cross and the Sacrifice of the Mass there is a relation of substantial and formal identity. They are related, not as two sacrifices really distinct the one from the other, but as two distinct forms of one and the same sacrifice, outwardly and in many accidental respects different, inwardly and in all essential respects the same. Their relation is analogous to that which the body that is sown in corruption, sown in dishonour, sown in weakness, bears to the body that

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without bloodshedding ; but it was the same true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice which redeems the world, because therein He offered Himself.' A little further on, he develops this idea in a luminous passage, as follows : 'The action of the Last Supper looked onward to that action on Calvary, as the action of the Holy Mass looks backward upon it. As the shadow is cast by the rising sun towards the west, and as the shadow is cast by the setting sun towards the east, so the Holy Mass is, I may say, the shadow of Calvary, but it is also the reality.'

<sup>16</sup> 10. 3a, q. 83 a. 1. Cf. the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, Nov., 1900.

rises in incorruption, rises in glory, rises in power, yet is essentially the same body still. What is sown 'is not quickened, except it die first.' From the death that Christ endured in His mortal flesh have been derived the sacrificial efficacy and quickening power that dwell perennially in His *gloriosi corporis mysterium*. 'And there,' says Cardinal Manning, 'in that Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, is the Sacred Heart in all the fulness of its atonement, in all the propitiation of its Precious Blood, in all the worship and adoration of its praise and thanksgiving, in all the power of its intercession by the infinite merits of the Incarnate Son.'<sup>17</sup> The Victim of Calvary is present in the Mass as Victim, and, though He 'now dieth no more,' still continues to fulfil all the ends of the sacrifice as he fulfilled them in dying upon the Cross. 'In the New Testament,' says Cardinal Cajetan, 'the sacrifice or oblation is not repeated, but the alone Victim once offered continues in a state of immolation.'<sup>18</sup> The writer, following Father Billot, distinguishes between the element of *latria* in the Mass and the element of propitiation, and while admitting that the propitiatory element derived wholly from the death of Christ on Calvary, connects the latreutic element with the mystic immolation, making the Mass, in this respect, a *sacrificium absolutum*, that is a sacrifice complete in itself and specifically distinct from the Sacrifice of the Cross. 'Not precisely as representing the real death,' he says, 'but as adequately signifying, in a certain visible way, the worship called *latria*, is the mystic death the true sacrificial act.' I have already remarked upon the alleged adequacy of the mystic death to signify internal worship. Sacrifice is an act of external worship, and must therefore consist in some sign that can be perceived by the external sense. But the mystic death, being spiritual, is perceptible by no sense, external or internal. It would follow from this that, since sacrifice is *in genere signi*, the Mass would not be a sacrifice at all. Moreover, by the ordinance of Christ and the very nature of the case, the symbolism of the mystic death is unalterably fixed to signify, not the worship of

<sup>17</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>18</sup> Cited by the Rev. L. A. Paquet, D.D., of Laval University, Quebec, in his recent work *De Sacramentis*, where the reader will find a lucid and exhaustive treatment of this whole question.

*latría*, but the real death of our Divine Lord upon the Cross, directly, and indirectly, the supreme adoration which that real death could alone adequately express. We have no right to give it a signification other than that which has been stamped upon it by the Author of the sacrifice, which is that it should 'show forth the death of the Lord until He come.' Then, too, what of this separation of the two elements in the Mass, and the assigning of one to one formal cause, and the other to another? Is there any warrant for it? True it is that the four elements of sacrifice are quite distinct and are found actually separate in the sacrifices of the Old Law. But in the Sacrifice of the New Law they are united, and are perfectly realised by one Victim and one act of immolation. It was by the self-same death that our Lord offered to the Father on Calvary a worship worthy of Him and 'blotted out the hand-writing of the decree that was against us.' Has, then, that death, while still conserving all of its propitiatory power and putting it forth in the Mass, lost all of its latreutic efficacy? It will, perhaps, be said that it is not the efficacy that is wanting, but the quality of being visible; and, supposing the Mass to be a sacrifice *simpliciter diversum* from that of Calvary, there will be a force in the objection, though, when urged by one who goes on that supposition, it will prove to be, as has been already pointed out, a two-edged sword. But if the Mass is really identical with the Sacrifice of the Cross, it was constituted a true sacrifice once for all by the visible immolation on Calvary, and still remains a true sacrifice though that immolation is now visible only to the eye of faith. We can truly say with him who sings—

Et si sensus deficit,  
Ad firmandum cor sincerum  
Sola fides sufficit.

For the mystic death serves, not to make the Mass a real sacrifice, but to put again before the mind and commemorate the real death that has made the Mass once for all a real sacrifice. And this suffices in the case of an oblation that is not new, but only offered anew *per mysterium*.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Haec singulariter victima ab aeterno interitu animam salvat quae nobis mortem Unigenti per mysterium reparat.—St. Greg., *M. Dialog.*, c. 58.



It is a noteworthy fact and not a little significant that in the Epistle of the Hebrews, where St. Paul treats expressly of the Priesthood of Christ after the order of Melchisedech, he never once mentions the Sacrifice of the Mass, but has much to say of that oblation on Calvary whereby our High Priest 'through His own blood entered once for all into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption.' Plainly, the Mass was to St. Paul not another sacrifice, not a new sacrifice, but, as he phrases it himself, the 'showing forth of the death of the Lord,' and, being no nude commemoration, in reality the continuation of the sacrifice offered once for all upon the Cross. All that he says in commendation of that sacrifice is to be understood as said of the Mass, for his theme is the Priesthood of Christ according to the order of Melchisedech, and the Mass is the *juge sacrificium* of the New Law, offered by Christ as Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech. So those great doctors and fathers of the Church, St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom, while they affirm the Mass to be a true sacrifice, do not seem ever to have conceived of it as being other than that offered up on Calvary, of which it is at the same time the symbol and the memorial. Hence they speak of it at times as if it were but the commemoration of the sacrifice offered on the altar of the Cross. We find the same conception of the Mass, as being not in itself an absolute sacrifice, but intrinsically and wholly relative to the Sacrifice of Calvary, in the writings of the theologians of the middle age.

The question here arises [writes the Master of the Sentences], whether that which the priest does is properly called a sacrifice or immolation, and whether Christ is daily immolated, or was immolated once only. To this it may be said, in short, that what is offered and consecrated by the priest is called a sacrifice and oblation, because it is the memorial and representation of the true sacrifice and sacred immolation perfected on the altar of the Cross.<sup>20</sup>

The fourth point, namely, the sense in which the Mass is

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<sup>20</sup> Sent. lib. 4, Dist. 12, 6. It is the real death again, and not the mystic, on which all the stress is laid in these words of Peter the Venerable: 'Offert (Ecclesia) ipsum pro seipsa qui se obtulit pro ipsa; et quod ille fecit semel moriendo hoc illa facit semper offerendo'—*Apud Migne, Patrologia Latina*, t. clxxx, p. 789

identical with the Sacrifice of the Cross, has now been, to a great extent, dealt with by anticipation. It follows from what has been said that the former sacrifice is in every essential respect the same as the latter, differing from it only accidentally. All the essential elements, priest, victim, and sacrificial act or immolation, are numerically the same in both; they differ, as the Council of Trent declares, *only* in the manner of offering.<sup>21</sup> In scholastic phrase, the Sacrifice of the Altar is *idem simpliciter* with the Sacrifice of the Cross, and *diversum secundum quid*. Father Hughes has it just the other way. He is of opinion that the identity of the former with the latter sacrifice is 'an identity *secundum quid*, not an identity *simpliciter*;' and this is what he logically must hold, so long as he makes the formal constituent of sacrifice in the Mass to be other than the real immolation of Christ on Calvary. A difference in the formal constituent means a specific difference, and that which is specifically different from another, though the same in respect of the material cause, can never be the same with it *simpliciter*. For instance, supposing two wounds to be inflicted on the same body, by the same person, with the same weapon, in different places, at the same time, or in the same place at different times, one will always remain and must always be spoken of as *simpliciter diversum* from the other, although *idem secundum quid*, i.e., *ratione materiae*.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, even when things differ in respect of the material cause, if they do but agree in respect of the formal, usage warrants their being spoken of as if they were the same *simpliciter* or *sine addito*, that is without any qualifying word being added, as when we say, in this, or in that, respect—which is the same *secundum quid*. Hence St. Thomas cites St.

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<sup>21</sup> The Council says, 'Una eademque est hostia,' and *hostia* properly means a victim as victim, i.e. as slain. 'Christ our Pasch,' though not now dead, is immolated, and remains immolated, as truly as He is risen, and remains our risen Lord.

<sup>22</sup> The Divine Victim on our altars does but show to His Father the *locus clavorum*, the marks of the wounds He bore for us on the tree. There are no new wounds, there is no new slaying, no real immolation, but the Victim of Calvary, bearing still in His flesh the testimony of His real immolation, and freighted with all the merits that flow from it, is really there, and is really offered to the Father. The mystic immolation being but the express image of the real, is *formaliter* no distinct *ratio*, but coalesces with the real *in unam rationem formalem*.

Augustine as saying that images are accustomed to be called by the names of the things whose likenesses they are;<sup>23</sup> and the reason is that an image though wholly different from its original *materialiter*, is *formaliter* one and the same with it. Now the Mass is not only the image or 'shadow of Calvary,' but 'also the reality'—and the reality in respect both of the material and the formal cause. It is, to the eye of faith and in the sight of God and His angels, the great Original of which it is at the same time the image, the Sun that hides behind the veil, 'till the day break and the shadows retire.'<sup>24</sup>

When there exists between things an identity *simpliciter*, we can always speak of them as the same, without adding one word by way of qualification or limitation, for this precisely is what identity *simpliciter* means. On the other hand, things between which there exists only an identity *secundum quid*, we cannot speak of as the same without adding the limiting or qualifying words, if we really do not wish to mislead people,

<sup>23</sup> 3a, q. 83 a. 1.

<sup>24</sup> There is a passage in Petavius (whom Alzog speaks of as, 'beyond all question, the most learned theologian that the Society of Jesus produced,' and whom I remember hearing the present Cardinal Satolli, then simple Professor Satolli of Propaganda, call '*un torrente di erudizione*') which seems to me clearly and fully to bear out this idea of the Mass as at once the shadow and the *ipsissima realitas* of Calvary, in the most formal sense. For he makes the bloody immolation on the Cross to be the true energizing principle, so to say, and real 'ratio' of the bloodless renewal and memorial of it on our altars. And what is more, in this he is but setting forth—as who was better fitted to set forth?—the teaching of the Fathers, both in the East and in the West. First he cites those striking words of St. John Chrysostom: 'Quid igitur (inquit). Nonne quotidie nos offerimus? Offerimus quidem, sed ita ut commemorationem mortis ipsius faciamus. Atque hæc oblatio una est, non plures, quoniam semel est oblatio: quemadmodum illa quæ in sancta sanctorum est illata. Hæc enim figura fuit illius, et ista illius. Si quidem eundem semper offerimus; hoc est, non alias ovem alteram; alias aliam; sed eandem perpetuo. Itaque unicum est sacrificium.' Whereupon he observes: 'The other Greek Fathers, Theodoretus, Theophylactus, Œcumenius make the same answer to the objection that the Eucharistic Sacrifice is offered again and again) in their commentaries on Heb. x.; which is worthy of note. For the Sacrifice (of the New Law) is not multifold (multiplex), but one, and the same often renewed. In the Old Law there were many sacrifices because there were many victims, the one independent of the other: to-day a lamb, or sheep, or steer was immolated; to-morrow another and different one. But in our Sacrifice the Victim that is offered is one and one only, namely, Christ, nor is He slain (*jugulatur*) each time. Once for all on the Cross was there offered by the alone High Priest, Christ, the primary and bloody Sacrifice which continues to put forth (*diffundit*) its virtue and efficacy unto all ages. The daily oblation of the Church, which is without blood-shedding, is but the reiterated commemoration of that one and same Sacrifice. Hence it is everywhere spoken of as *anaimaktoi thusiai*; as here by Theophylactus and Œcumenius. For which reason



as it is to be supposed we do not. To put this in another way Suppose you are asked whether there is sameness in a given case, and you have to answer simply, Yes, or No ; then if there is sameness *simpliciter*, you should answer, Yes ; if *secundum quid* only, you should answer, No. This is a principle of linguistic usage, which holds in similar cases where the expressions *simpliciter* and *secundum quid* are employed. Thus, if you are asked whether the act of the merchant who throws his wares overboard in a storm to save himself and the ship, is voluntary, the right answer is, Yes *simpliciter* ; No *secundum quid*.

And now for the application of this principle to the matter in hand. To the question, Is the Mass the same sacrifice as that of the Cross?<sup>25</sup> the right answer is, Yes—*simpliciter*, Yes. And if any words are added, it is by way of explanation, not because it is felt that the statement, to be strictly true, has to be hedged about with limiting or saving clauses. This is how we all of us were taught as children to answer the question when we were learning our catechism ; and I take it that any text book of Christian Doctrine which should direct the child to answer, No, would speedily find a

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it is, by Christ's own institution, *anamnesis*, and a true commemorative Sacrifice, that is, *thusiai anamnesikai*, inasmuch as it really contains the Victim that was immolated on the Cross. It is not a bloody sacrifice, but the image and symbol of the one and single oblation ; just as the Sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood is, at one and the same time, the reality, in that it really contains Christ's Body, and the symbol of that reality ; for the Body as there contained is present in a different way from that in which it was offered on the Cross.'

And a little further on, after citing several passages from St. Cyprian :

'Hence you see that our Sacrifice is but a *calling to mind* or commemoration of the Sacrifice offered on the Cross, just as the offering that Christ made in the Last Supper and instituted for the after time, was a commemoration of the same Sacrifice on the eve of its being offered up (*offerendi ejusdem commemorationis*). For this offering (*oblationem*), too, Cyprian calls a sacrifice, whereof ours is the likeness. Both carry the symbol of that one and bloody oblation, together with the presence of the Victim, in substance and in reality, as it is said, not in shadow only and in type.'—*De Incarnat.* lib. xii. ; c. xiv., n. 14-15.

So, too, Cardinal Perronius, cited by the Continuator of Tournely : 'The daily oblation of the Church carries at once the reality and the symbol of the Sacrifice of the Cross ; the reality in the essence of the victim, the symbol and figure in the act of immolation.' Note that the *formal identity* of the Mass with the Sacrifice of Calvary is here affirmed by necessary implication. The mystic immolation is looked upon as making the Mass a sacrifice only in 'symbol and figure.'—*Instit. Theolog.*, t. 4, p. 666.

<sup>25</sup> Butler's *Catechism* has it : 'Is the Mass a different sacrifice from that of the Cross?' and the answer, of course, is, 'No.'

place on the *Index Expurgatorius*. But if the Mass as a sacrifice is *simpliciter diversum* from the Sacrifice of the Cross, the right answer to the question is, No, when you have to answer simply, Yes, or No.

Before concluding I will make a few quotations from the holy men of old, who spoke on this point, not as the exigencies of pre-conceived theory might demand, but according to the traditional usage which happily still survives, though the stress of controversy with Protestants has driven latter-day theologians to excogitate explanations, more subtle than satisfying, of how the Mass is a sacrifice.

The sacrifice that we offer is the Passion of our Lord.—ST. CYPRIAN.<sup>26</sup>

Consider attentively the proof of this sacrifice: *Christ lies slain*. And wherefore was He slain? To establish peace in heaven and on earth.<sup>27</sup>

Note that it is in virtue of His real death on the Cross that Christ lies slain upon the altar, according to St. Chrysostom, for it is about that death he puts the question in the following sentence:—

This sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ was promised before His coming in type and figure; in the Passion of Christ it was offered in reality; after the Ascension of Christ it is celebrated in the Sacrament of commemoration.—ST. AUGUSTINE.<sup>28</sup>

If, then, the priesthood of the Old Law has come to an end, and a priest after the order of Melchisedech has offered sacrifice and made other sacrifices unnecessary, why do the priests of the New Law perform the Mystic Rite? But plain it is to those who are versed in things divine that *we do not offer another sacrifice*, but celebrate the memory of that one and salutary oblation. For this our Lord Himself bade us do: This do, etc.—THEODORETUS.<sup>29</sup>

*As often as the commemoration of this sacrifice is celebrated* the work of our redemption is carried on.—SECRET OF THE MASS.<sup>30</sup>

*If our daily sacrifice were other than that once offered in*

<sup>26</sup> Ep. 63., n. 17 (*Apud Migne*, t. 4.)

<sup>27</sup> Hom. de Prodit. Judae, n 9.

<sup>28</sup> Cont. Faust. Manich., l. 20, c. 21.

<sup>29</sup> Super. Ep. ad Hebr. c. 8.

<sup>30</sup> Ninth Sunday after Pentecost.

*Christ, it would not be true, but superfluous.*—ALGERUS SCHOLASTICUS.<sup>31</sup>

*It is not that a different sacrifice is offered now from that which then was offered, but that, whereof it is said, Christ was offered once* (Heb. ix. 28), *He left to His Church evermore to be offered up.*—PETER THE VENERABLE.<sup>32</sup>

Our sacrifice is not merely a representation, but a true immolation, that is, *the oblation of a thing that has been immolated—rei immolatae oblatio*—by the hands of the priests. Hence, it includes two things: a victim slain, and the offering of it; for immolation is, properly speaking, *the offering up of that which has been slain for the worship of God.*—ALBERTUS MAGNUS.<sup>33</sup>

In the Mass, therefore, according to Albertus Magnus, there is, properly speaking, no immolation of the Victim at the hands of the celebrant—that took place once for all on Calvary. The priest does but offer the Victim already slain.

As it beseemeth not now, under the new and gracious dispensation, that there should be any sacrifice but such as is pure, peaceful, and plenary; and as there is none other such save that which was offered on the Cross, namely, the Body and Blood of Christ; therefore it is that the Body of Christ needs must be contained in this Sacrament, not in figure only, but in reality.—ST. BONAVENTURE.<sup>34</sup>

The sacrifice that is offered daily in the Church is not other than the sacrifice which Christ Himself offered, but is the commemoration of it.—ST. THOMAS.<sup>35</sup>

This implies that the Mass is a true sacrifice, that it is the same sacrifice as that of the Cross, and that it is a commemoration of that sacrifice. So far forth as it is commemorative, it is distinct from the Sacrifice of Calvary; but the distinction is in the outward accidents, not in any essential element, else it would no longer be the same. Hence the Saint says, in answer to another objection, that though the death of Christ is not repeated, 'yet the efficacy of the Victim once offered is everlasting.'<sup>36</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *De Sacram.*, l. i. c. 17. (*Apud Migne, Patrologia Latina*, t. 180, p. 786.)

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, t. 189, p. 798.

<sup>33</sup> 4 S. D. xiii., a. 23.

<sup>34</sup> *Brevil.*, p. vi., c. 9.

<sup>35</sup> 3a, q. 22, a. 3. ad 2.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, a. 5, ad 2.



These citations may fittingly conclude with two (closely linked together, though not found in the same work) from Cardinal Cajetan. Nothing could be more to the purpose than these profound observations of the greatest commentator of St. Thomas.

Observe that there is an error on this head in that the Sacrifice of the Altar is reputed to be a different sacrifice from that which Christ offered on the Cross, when in truth it is the self-same, just as it is the self-same Body of Christ and the self-same Blood of Christ that are on the altar. But there is a difference in the manner of offering. (Opusc. t. 2, tract. 2 de Euch. c. 9.) Though there is a difference in the mode of offering, yet because this mode, to wit, of unbloody immolation, has not been instituted as a disparate mode of immolation, but only as bearing relation to the bloody immolation on the Cross, hence it is that, as in the judgment of the wise and the discerning, *where one is solely on account of the other, there is but one only*; hence it is, I say, that it cannot, properly speaking, be affirmed that there are two sacrifices, or two victims, or two immolations, or whatever you may choose to call it, in the New Law, because there is a bloody victim, Christ on the Cross, and an unbloody victim, Christ on the altar.

There is an admirable exposition of this same view in a volume by the Continuator of Tournely on which I stumbled by a lucky accident after the foregoing was written. I sub-join a translation of the passage:—

To constitute sacrifice, it is not necessary that the thing offered should be immolated here and now, but it is enough that what is to be immolated, or what was immolated at some former time, should be truly and really offered. For, since sacrifice has but a moral entity, its essence and being do not require that the offering and the immolation should physically co-exist. Only a moral union is needed, and this is effected by the intention of the one who offers. And the offering may come after the immolation or before it. This is plain from the Sacrifice of Expiation, in which two goats were set apart for the sins of the people. One was first slain, whereupon the High Priest entered into the sanctuary to offer its blood. The second, on the other hand, was offered while yet alive, and then sent into the wilderness. Hence we may reason thus: No immolation was made in the sanctuary by the Aaronic priests; yet a true sacrifice was offered to shadow forth the Christian Sacrifice, because the offering of the blood of the victim presupposed and represented in a sensible manner the immolation that had already taken

place outside of the sanctuary.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, that the reality may correspond to the type, there is no need of a new immolation in the consecration of the Christian Sacrifice. It is enough that there should really be offered the Victim once immolated on the altar of the Cross, which is present on the altar substantially and in a sensible manner, under the appearances of bread and wine, symbolizing the pouring forth and separation of the Blood from the Body that took place in the real immolation of the Lamb without blemish.

Again, the Sacrifice of the Cross and the Sacrifice of the Mass are really one and the same sacrifice, and differ *only in the manner of offering*. But if there were a new immolation in the Mass, they would no longer differ only in the manner of offering, but also in the immolation, and hence would not, in so strict a sense, be one and the same. (Or, rather they would not, in any strict sense, be the same, seeing that they would be the same only *secundum quid*.) And, in fact, since both offering and immolation are found in sacrifice so far forth as it is an action, sacrifice must derive its essential unity either from the oneness of the offering or the oneness of the immolation. Now it is not from the oneness of the offering it derives its unity, for this may be repeated again and again. Therefore it is from the oneness of the immolation. Hence we have ample warrant for affirming that there is no need of a new immolation in the Mass, and that the immolation which was made once for all by Christ upon the Cross is enough.—INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGICAE. PARISIIS. MDCCLI.

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<sup>37</sup> So (Levit. i. 2) the priest offered the blood of victims already slain—slain, too, by the man who offered the animal.

Setting forth in his *Symbolism* the Catholic conception of the Mass, Moehler says that, 'instead of supplying the bloody sacrifice of the Cross with some heterogenous element, it brings that sacrifice *in its true integrity and original vitality* to bear the most individual application and appropriation throughout all ages.' A few pages back, he cites a striking testimony of the belief of the Schismatical Greek Church in the formal identity of the sacrifice now offered in the Church with that which Christ once offered on Calvary. It consists in a recantation, made before a Synod of Greek Bishops in the twelfth century, of a false opinion regarding the Mass held by one Soterichus Panteugonus. He maintained that the Mass was a sacrifice only in an improper sense, basing his contention, as would appear from the words of the recantation, on the Scripture statement that *Christ was offered once*. I quote the translation as given in a footnote to the English edition of the *Symbolism* that lies before me (Third Edition, The Catholic Publication House, New York, p. 233), where the words of the original Greek are also given :

'I agree with the holy Synod herein, that the sacrifice now to be offered up, and once offered up by the only-begotten and incarnate Word, was once offered up, and is now offered up, because it is one and the same. To him who doth not so believe, anathema ; and if anything hath been found written in refutation hereof, I subject it to the anathema.'

This undoubtedly is the *sensus Ecclesiae Catholicae*. And it is quite clear, that the sacrifice that 'was once offered up,' cannot also be 'now offered up,' unless there is an identity *in the formal sense*.

The correspondence of the reality to the type may be shown to be even closer than it is made to appear by the author. Let it be observed that the two goats are set apart 'for a sin offering.' (Levit. xvi. 5.) They thus constitute but one offering or sacrifice. The offering of the blood of the first goat in the sanctuary typifies the Mass, as the author points out. The offering and consecration of the second, or scapegoat, on which are laid the sins of the whole people, typify the offering and consecration in the Last Supper. In the case of the two victims, which are two only that they may prefigure in some adequate way the alone Victim that taketh away the sins of the world, the immolation has place outside of the sanctuary, shadowing forth, each in its own way, the immolation of Christ on the Cross in its twofold aspect. For Christ immolated Himself on the altar of the Cross—*oblatus est quia ipse voluit*—in type whereof the first goat is slain outside the sanctuary by the minister deputed to that office in the Levitical Law. And Christ was slain by His ferocious executioners, of which we seem to have a striking figure in the immolation of the scapegoat that was left in the wilderness to be devoured by wild beasts.

To this may be added one or two short extracts from the writings of High Church Anglican divines. It is interesting to note the conclusions reached independently by these learned and devout men from their study of Scripture and the Fathers:—

This is no new Sacrifice, but the same which was once offered and which is every day offered to God by Christ in heaven, and continueth here still on earth, by a mystical representation of it in the Eucharist. And the Church intends not to have any new propitiation, or new remission of sins obtained, but to make that effectual, and in act applied to us, which was once obtained by the Sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross. Neither is the Sacrifice of the Cross, as it was once offered up there, *modo cruento*, so much remembered in the Eucharist (?), though it be commemorated, as regard is had to the perpetual and daily offering of it by Christ now in Heaven in His everlasting priesthood, and thereupon was, and still should be the *juge sacrificium* observed here on earth as it is in Heaven, the reason which the ancient Fathers had for their daily Sacrifice.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> St. Chrysost. in 10 Heb.; St. Aug. *Civ. Dei.*, lib. 10, cap. 20, p. 46. Oxford Tracts, vol. iv., No. 81, p. 70. Overall (cited by Kendrick, *Theol. Dogma.*, vol. iii., p. 199).



If the consecrated elements be the Flesh and Blood of Christ, then they are the Sacrifice of Christ crucified upon the Cross. For they are not the Flesh and Blood of Christ as in His Body, while it was whole, but as separated by the Passion of the Cross. Not that Christ can be sacrificed again ; for a sacrifice being an action done in succession of time cannot be done the second time, being once done, because then it should not have been done before ; but because the Sacrifice of Christ is represented, commemorated, and applied by celebrating and receiving the Sacrament which is that Sacrifice.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> *Just Weights and Measures*, pp. 94-5. Oxford Tracts, No. 81, p. 179, Thorndike. *Ibid.*

# Notes and Queries

## LITURGY

### MAY INDULGENCE OF PRIVILEGED ALTAR BE GAINED ON DOUBLES, IF SEMI-DOUBLES OCCUR IN THE SAME WEEK ?

REV. DEAR SIR,—I. We frequently hear it said that the water blessed on Holy Saturday and used, according to the rubrics of the Missal, to sprinkle houses and other places cannot be used after Pentecost, or at least after Paschal time has elapsed. I have even heard it said that it cannot be used after the octave day of Easter Sunday. What authority can be given for these assertions? Is there any incongruity in using the Easter water at any time during priestly ministrations, for instance, on sick calls?

II. Among the decrees printed in the front of the Missal, we find one of the Congregation of Rites, 5th August, 1662, which says that although a *Missa privata pro defunctis* cannot be celebrated on days of double rite, the priest who has such a Mass for the dead to say is not to defer the offering of the Holy Sacrifice until a day on which he could celebrate in black vestments, but is to say the Mass *de festo currenti*, applying it to the dead as he had been asked to do. Just below the decree referred to we read that Pope Alexander VII. decreed that the same ruling should be observed even in regard to Masses which are to be said on a privileged altar *ex obligatione*, as the indulgences of such an altar are gained by saying Mass *de festo currenti* when the rite does not allow a Mass for the dead. My question is how can we reconcile with these decrees the statement we read in some authors, that a priest is obliged to defer the celebration of Mass for the dead until a day on which he can celebrate *pro defunctis*, if he wish to gain the indulgence of a privileged altar? Putzer makes such a statement in his *Commentarium*, Edit. III., p. 225, and refers to several decrees of the Congregation of Indulgences as his authority? What are we to say about the statement? He admits that it seems such an obligation of transferring the Mass *pro defunctis* cannot be urged when the

privilege is a local one. He strives to prove this by reference to a decree of the Congregation of Rites of 15th April, 1880. This decree, however, does not seem to point out the character of a local privilege any more than does the decree of the Indulgence Congregation, N. 402, to which he refers as a decree of personal privilege, and as proving the obligation of transfer.

Leaving aside the question of an indulgenced altar, what proof have we that, if a priest has a privilege of saying several Requiem Masses a week on doubles, he may not use it, unless in as far as semi-doubles or simples do not occur in that week? An answer to these questions will favour

HAESITANS.

I. The Holy Water, of which there is question, is a portion of the water blessed on Holy Saturday in the baptismal font, which is drawn off before the infusion of the Holy Oils. The Rubric is:—

‘Et interim unus ex ministris Ecclesiae accipit in vase aliquo de eadem aqua ad aspergendum in domibus et aliis locis.’

(a) We are not aware of any limit as to the time during which this Holy Water may be used. The Baptismal Water is supposed to be renewed on the Vigil of Pentecost, and the ceremony of removing some of it before the infusion of the Oils is repeated: but we can see no reason for supposing that the former supply is thereby rendered unfit for further use.

(b) There is no incongruity in using the Easter Water during priestly ministrations, such as sick calls or for any other purpose for which ordinary Holy Water may be used.<sup>1</sup>

II. Our correspondent gives the substance of the two Decrees accurately. We might add what is stated in the next paragraph of the same document—that Clement IX. extended the regulation to altars privileged not perpetually but for seven years or a longer or shorter time, and not on all, but on some one or more days of the week.

We cannot completely reconcile with these Decrees the statement that a priest is obliged to defer the celebration of Mass for the dead until a day on which he can celebrate *pro defunctis*, if he wish to gain the indulgence of a privileged

<sup>1</sup> See I. E. RECORD, Dec. 1881, p. 753.



altar. This statement modifies the Decrees to a certain extent: but there seems to be good authority for the statement. It is sufficient to quote Beringer, whose work has the highest approval of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, and Decree 402 of the Congregation of Indulgences.

Beringer's teaching is as follows<sup>2</sup>:—

When Mass is said at an altar which is privileged for all days, the priest is obliged, for the purpose of gaining the indulgence, to say Mass in black, whenever this colour is permitted; on days on which the Rubrics forbid this colour, the indulgence is gained by saying any other Mass. It is the same, when a priest has the *privilegium quotidianum*; but if he has the privilege for only two, three, or four days in each week, he cannot use his privilege, except on days on which the Requiem Mass is allowed. In weeks, however, in which these days do not occur, or in which there is not a sufficient number of them, the indulgence is gained by saying any Mass. This restriction does not seem to apply to the *privilegium locale*, even when it is granted for only two, three, or four days in the week: for the restricting Decree speaks only of the personal privilege. For this last statement we must take Beringer's authority: it is not clear from the Decree itself.

The restricting Decree No. 402, is:—

2°. *Utrum post indultum apostolicum Rmo. Ordinario die 10 Maii 1860 concessum quod permittit ut in omnibus ecclesiis parochialibus dioecesis Andegavensis ter in qualibet hebdomada celebrentur cum cantu Missae de Requite, dum officia occurrunt ritus duplicis, quibusdam tantum exceptis, applicatio privilegii fieri possit in hisce tribus Missis taliter cantatis, tametsi absolute loquendo extra rubricam cantatae esse de Requite videri valeant, vel differenda sit dicta applicatio in tres alios dies in quibus Missa dicetur juxta rubricam ordinariam et secundum alias prae-scripta a Sacra Congregatione?*

3°. *Utrum qui ter habet privilegium personale in hebdomada possit valide quando in eadem plura inveniuntur festa duplica et plura semi-duplicia vel infra, potius eligere ad applicationem privilegii festa duplicia quam differe ad semiduplicia?*

EE. PP. . . . die 29 Februarii, Anni 1864. . . . respondendum esse duxerunt;

Ad 2m: Affirmative, quatenus non recurrant festa semi-duplicia in hebdomada.

Ad 3m: Ut in secundo.

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<sup>2</sup> Tom. 1<sup>er</sup>, p. 463, 2<sup>ieme</sup> ed.

It would appear from the first of these two Decrees that the indulgence could not be gained on doubles, even with an Apostolic Indult to say Requiem Masses on them, except '*quatenus non recurrant Semiduplicia in hebdomada.*' It follows *a fortiori* that, as declared implicitly in the second of the Decrees, doubles cannot be availed of, except in so far as there are not semi-doubles in the same week, when there is no special Indult to say Requiem Masses on doubles.

We have not at hand the third edition of Putzer, but we have the fourth, in which he seems to hold a different opinion from that ascribed to him by our correspondent. He says<sup>3</sup>:—

'Nec adest haec obligatio (*transferrendi in dies non impletos, quatenus in eadem hebdomade occurrunt*) . . . si indulgetur, ut in duplicibus Missa de Requiem bis vel ter per hebdomadam cantetur.'

The Decree of the Congregation of Indulgences given above, seems to prove quite the opposite. He cites a Decree of the Congregation of Rites of 15 April, 1880. But in that Decree there is not a word about the indulgence of a privileged altar. The Decree is:—

'Num Ecclesiae, quae indultum obtinuerunt ab Apostolica Sede bis vel ter in hebdomada Missam de Requite cantandi in duplicibus, tali indulto frui adhuc possint si in eadem hebdomada totidem Officia semiduplicia occurrant?

Affirmative.'

This Decree gives permission to say the Requiem Masses in the case, but it does not give the right to gain the indulgence, which is withheld by the Decree 402 of the Congregation of Indulgences.

Putzer also quotes Beringer, ed. 10, p. 427. Our second French edition of Beringer is an authorised translation of the tenth German edition, and, as far as we can see, there is nothing in it from which Putzer's statement can even be inferred.

Our reply, then, to the question is that, if a priest has a privilege of saying several Requiem Masses a week on doubles, he may not use it to gain the indulgence of the privileged altar, unless in so far as semi-doubles or simples do not occur in that week.

P. O'LEARY.

## CORRESPONDENCE

## ST. ASSICUS, PATRON OF ELPHIN

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have read with the deepest interest the two valuable articles on the above subject of Right Rev. Monsignor Kelly, D.D., V.G., Athlone, and I am sure he will be pleased to receive the two following items of information respecting points on which much obscurity has prevailed.

1. The Friary of Elphin was certainly a Franciscan foundation. As recorded by Renehan, Father William O'Reilly, having obtained license from Pope Nicholas V., on April 23rd, 1450, looked about for a suitable *locus*, and, finally, on October 16th, 1453, with the consent of Cornelius Egan, O.S.F., Bishop of Elphin, he founded the Minorite Convent of Elphin. Father Donough Mooney, who was Provincial from 1615 to 1618, writes as follows, in 1616:—‘I know nothing of this convent except that the buildings have long since fallen to the ground, *for the friars found it impossible to live in the vicinity*; and that *the Protestant Bishop of that See has built a residence for himself with stones taken from the ruins.*’

Father Hugh Ward gives 1563 as the date when the Protestant Bishop dispersed the Friars and dismantled the Friary, whilst Archdeacon Lynch, in his MS. History of Irish Bishops, says that the first Protestant Bishop was not introduced till 1583, whose name was MacKeever. From the fact of a silver chalice, dated 1670, ‘ad usum Conventus Sti. Francisci de Elphin,’ Dr. Kelly concludes that ‘Ward’s date is wrong, but that the Friars kept watch and ward over their Friary at Elphin from 1453 to 1670.’ This is not so.

Elphin Franciscan Friary was suppressed by Henry VIII., and, on August 6th, 1575, Queen Elizabeth made a grant of its site to Hugh *buidhe* O'Donnell, for twenty-one years, at the nominal rental of five shillings and fourpence! It is described as ‘the site of the house of Friars of Olfyne, County Roscommon,’ and a fiant of this lease was issued, dated November 24th, 1577.

As regards the Protestant See of Elphin, in November, 1551, King Edward VI. appointed Roland Burke, Bishop of Clonfert, to have Elphin *in commendam*. On July 15th, 1580, Bryan MacDermot was leased the Friary of Cloonshanville, County



Roscommon. In 1584, John, Bishop of Elphin, was one of the commissioners of the province of Connaught, and again in January, 1588, the error of a previous Elizabethan Inquisition is repeated in a lease, dated March 12th, 1588, wherein Richard Kindlemershe was given 'the monastery of the Order of the Dominic in Elphin, and the one-eighth of a quarter of land adjoining with the tithes.' However, an interesting piece of information is added, namely, that 'the monastery and lands were in the occupation of John Lynch, Bishop of Elphin.' This Richard Kindlemershe (the name is also spelled Kinwellmershe) was appointed Clerk of the Markets throughout Ireland on January 22nd, 1589, whereupon the lease of the Friary of Elphin was given, on July 4th, to John Belling, for forty years.

The Franciscan Friars were enabled, in 1626, to return to the neighbourhood of Elphin, not to the town itself, but their *locus refugii* was called, as of old, the Convent of Elphin. Hence, the inscription on the chalice, dated 1670. It may be added that a General Chapter of the Irish Franciscan Order was held at Elphin, on November 21st, 1672, when Father Bernard Kelly was elected Provincial, who resided at Kilconnell. In 1688, Father Francis O'Hanly was appointed to Elphin as Novice Master. The Provincial Chapter met, at Dublin, on November 13th, 1703, under the presidency of Father Thaddeus O'Rourke, Commissary Visitor, who was appointed Bishop of Killala in March, 1707, in which year, also, Ambrose MacDermot, O.P., was appointed Bishop of Elphin.

2. Dr. Kelly says truly that the taxation of Pope Boniface VIII. does not contain the revenue of the Bishop or Chapter of Elphin, but he will find some items referring to it in the Rolls Series of Vatican documents. Moreover, he seems to imply that the See was not wealthy as the returns given in 1302-6 only make the grand total for the diocese of Elphin of £69 7s. 4d. This sum must not be judged by the present standard of money. Waterford diocese is only returned at £125 17s. 8d.—Yours very faithfully,

WM. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

May 13th, 1902.

## DOCUMENTS

ENCYCLICAL OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. ON  
'THE BLESSED EUCHARIST'

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII.  
EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA AD PATRIARCHAS PRIMATES ARCHIEPIS-  
COPOS EPISCOPOS ALIOSQVE LOCORVM ORDINARIOS PACEM ET  
COMMVNIONEM CVM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES

## DE SANCTISSIMA EVCHARISTIA

VENERABILIBVS FRATRIBVS PATRIARCHIS PRIMATIBVS ARCHIEPIS-  
COPIS EPISCOPOS ALIISQVE LOCORVM ORDINARIIS PACEM ET  
COMMVNIONEM CVM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBVS

## LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Mirae caritatis in hominum salutem exempla, quae a Iesu Christo praeuolent, Nos quidem pro sanctitate officii inspicere et persequi adhuc studuimus, ad extremumque vitae spiritum, ipso opitulante, studebimus. Nam tempora nacti nimis acriter veritati et iustitiae infensa, quantum erat in Nobis, docendo, admonendo, agendo, prout nuperrima ad vos epistola Apostolica confirmavit, nequaquam intermisimus ea late praestare, quae sive ad multiplicem errorum contagionem depellendam, sive ad nervos intendendos christianae vitae aptius conducere viderentur. In his autem duo sunt recentioris memoriae, omnino inter se coniuncta, unde Nosmetipsi opportuna consolationis fructum, tot prementibus aegritudinis causis, recolendo percipimus. Alterum, quum optimum factu censuimus augusto Cordi Christi Redemptoris universitatem humani generis peculiari ritu devoveri; alterum, quum omnes christianum nomen profitentes gravissime hortati sumus, ut Ei ipsi adhaererent, qui vel singulis vel iure sociatis *via, veritas, vita* divinitus est. — Nunc vero eadem ipsa, advigilante in Ecclesiae tempora, Apostolica caritate movemur ac prope impellimur ut aliud quiddam ad ea proposita iam confecta, tamquam perfectionem suam addamus, ut videlicet christiano populo maiorem in modum commendemus sanctissimam EUCHARISTIAM, quippe donum divinissimum ex intimo plane Corde prolatum eiusdem Redemptoris, *desiderio desiderantis* singularem huiusmodi cum

hominibus coniunctionem, maximeque factum ad saluberrimos fructus redemptionis eius dilargiendos. Quamquam in hoc etiam rerum genere nonnulla vel antehac Nos auctoritate et studio curavimus. Iucundumque memoratu est inter cetera legitima Nos comprobatione ac privilegiis auxisse Instituta et Sodalitia non pauca, divinae Hostiae perpetua vice adorandae addicta; operam item dedisse ut conventus eucharistici digna cum celebritate parique utilitate haberentur; iisdem praeterea similisque causae operibus patronum caelestem attribuisse Paschalem Baylon, qui mysterii eucharistici cultor extitit insigniter pius. — Itaque, Venerabiles Fratres, de hoc ipso mysterio in quo tuendo illustrandoque constanter tum Ecclesiae sollertia, non sine praeclaris Martyrum palmis, elaboravit, tum praestantissimorum hominum doctrina, eloquentia, variaeque artes splendide contenderunt, libet capita quaedam alloquendo complecti; idque ut apertior atque expressior pateat eiusdem virtus, qua maxime parte se dat praesentissiman hisce necessitatibus temporum allevandis. Sane, quandoquidem Christus Dominus sub excessum mortalis cursus istud reliquit caritatis immensae in homines monumentum, idemque praesidium maximum *pro mundi vita*,<sup>1</sup> nihil Nobis de vita proxime cessuris optare felicius possumus quam ut liceat excitare in omnium animis atque alere memoris gratiae debitaeque religionis affectum erga Sacramentum mirabile, in quo salutis et pacis, sollicitis omnium studiis quaesitae, spem atque efficientiam maxime niti arbitramur.

Quod saeculo, usquequaque perturbato et laboranti tam misere, talibus Nos remediis adiumentisque ducimus praecipue consulendum, non deerunt sane qui demirentur, et fortasse qui dicta Nostra procaci cum fastidio accipiant Id nempe est potissimum a superbia: quo vitio animis insidente, elanguescat in iis christiana fides, quae obsequium vult mentis religiosissimum, necesse est, atque adeo caligo de divinis rebus tetrius incumbat; ut in multos illud cadat: *Quaecumque ignorant, blasphemant*.<sup>2</sup> Iam vero tantum abest ut Nos propterea ab inito avocemur consilio, ut certum sit consensiore potius studio et recte animatis lumen afferre et sancta vituperantibus veniam a Deo, fraterna piorum imploratione, exorare.

Sanctissimae Eucharistiae virtutem integra fide nosse qualis

<sup>1</sup> Ioann. vi. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Iudae 10.



sit, idem enimvero est ac nosse quale sit opus quod humani generis causa Deus, homo factus, potenti misericordia perfecit. Nam ut est fidei rectae Christum profiteri et colere summum effectorem salutis nostrae, qui sapientia, legibus, institutis, exemplis, fusoque sanguine omnia instauravit; aequae est cumdem profiteri colere sic in Eucharistia reapse praesentem, ut verissime inter homines ad aevi perpetuitatem ipse permaneat, iisque partae redemptionis beneficia magister et pastor bonus, peracceptusque deprecator ad Patrem, perenni copia de semetipso impertiat. — Beneficia porro ex Eucharistia manantia qui studiose religiosque consideret, illud sane praestare atque eminere intelliget quo cetera quaecumquae sunt continentur; ex ipsa nempe vitam in homines, quae vere vita est, influere: *Panis quem ego dabo, caro mea est pro mundi vita.*<sup>3</sup> — Non uno modo, quod alias docuimus, Christus est *vita*; qui adventus sui inter homines causam professus est eam, ut afferret ipsis certam vitae plus quam humanae ubertatem: *Ego veni ut vitam habeant, et abundantius habeant.*<sup>4</sup> Statim namque ut in terris *benignitas et humanitas apparuit Salvatoris nostri Dei,*<sup>5</sup> nemo quidem ignorat vim quamdam continuo erupisse ordinis rerum prorsus novi procreatricem, eamque in venas omnes societatis civilis et domesticae permanasse. Novas inde homini cum homine necessitudines; nova publice et privatim iura, nova officia; institutis, disciplinis, artibus novos cursus: quod autem praecipuum, hominum animos et studia ad veritatem religionis sanctitatemque morum traducta; atque adeo vitam homini communicatem, caelestem plane ac divinam. Huc nimirum ea spectant, quae crebro in sacris litteris commemorantur, *lignum vitae, verbum vitae, liber vitae, corona vitae, nominatimque panis vitae.*

At vero, quoniam haec ipsa de qua dicimus vita expressam habet similitudinem cum vita hominis naturali, sicut altera cibo alitur atque viget, ita alteram sustentari cibo suo et augeri oportet. Aptè hic facit revocare quo quidem Christus tempore ac modo moverit animos hominum et adduxerit ut panem vivum, quem daturus erat, convenienter probeque exciperent. Ubi enim manavit fama de prodigio quod ille, multiplicatis panibus in satietatem multitudinis, patraverat ad litus Tiberiadis, confestim plures ad ipsum confluerunt, si forte par sibi obtingeret beneficium. Tum Iesus, opportunitate arrepta, similiter ac

<sup>3</sup> Ioann. vi. 52.<sup>4</sup> Ioann. x. 10.<sup>5</sup> Tit. iii. 4.

quum feminae Samaritanae, ab haurienda puteali aqua, sitim ipse inicerat *aquae salientis in vitam aeternam*,<sup>6</sup> cupidae multitudinis sic erigit mentes, ut panem alium cupidius appetant *qui permanet in vitam aeternam*.<sup>7</sup> Neque vero huiusmodi panis, instat Iesus admonere, est manna illud caeleste, quod patribus vestris per deserta peregrinantibus praesto fuit; neque ille quidem quem ipsi nuper, a me mirabundi accepistis; verum egomet sum panis iste: *Ego sum panis vitae*.<sup>8</sup> Idemque eo amplius suadet omnibus, et invitando et praecipiendo: *Si quis manducaverit ex hoc pane, vivet in aeternum; et panis quem ego dabo caro mea est pro mundi vita*.<sup>9</sup> Graviter porro praecepti ita ipse convincit: *Amen amen dico vobis, nisi manducaveritis carnem Filii hominis et biberitis eius sanguinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis*.<sup>10</sup> — Absit igitur pervagatus ille error perniciosissimus opiantium Eucharistiae usum ad eos fere amandandum esse qui vacui curis angustiquae animo conquiescere instituant in quodam vitae religiosioris proposito. Ea quippe res, qua nihil sane nec excellentius nec salutaris, ad omnes omnino, cuiuscumque demum muneris praestantiaeve sint, attinet, quotquot velint (neque unus quisquam non velle debet) divinae gratia in se fovere vitam, cuius ultimum est adeptio vitae cum Deo beatae.

Atque utinam de sempiterna vita recte reputarent et providerent ii potissimum quorum vel ingenium vel industria vel auctoritas tantopere possunt ad res temporum atque hominum dirigendas. At vero videmus deploramusque ut plerique das. At vero videmus deploramusque ut plerique cum fastu existiment se novam veluti vitam eamque prosperam saeculo indidisse, propterea quod ipsum ad omne genus utilia et mirabilia inflammato cursu contendere suo impulsu urgeant. Sed enim quocumque aspexeris, humana societas, si a Deo aliena, potius quam quaesita fruatur tranquillitate rerum, perinde angitur et trepidat ut qui febris aestuque iactatur; prosperitati dum anxie studet eique unice fidit, fugientem sequitur, inhaeret labenti. Homines enim et civitates ut necessario ex Deo sunt, ita in alio nullo vivere, moveri, efficere boni quidquam, nisi in Deo per Iesum Christum queunt; per quem late profluxerunt et profluunt optima quaeque et lectissima. — Sed horum omnium fons et caput bonorum est potissimum augusta Eucharistia:

<sup>6</sup> Ioann. iv., 14.

<sup>7</sup> Ib. vi., 27.

Ib. 48.

<sup>9</sup> Ib. 52.

<sup>10</sup> Ib. 54.

quae quum eam alat sustentetque vitam cuius ex desiderio tam vehementer laboramus, tum dignitatem humanam quae tanti nunc fieri videtur, immensum auget. Nam quid maius aut optabilius, quam effici, quoad eius fieri possit, divinae participem consortemque naturae? At enim hoc nobis Christus praestat in Eucharistia maxime, qua evectum ad divina, gratia munere, hominem arctius etiam sibi adiungit et copulat. Id enim interest inter corporis cibum et animi, quod ille in nos convertitur, hic nos in se convertit; qua de re Christum ipsum Augustinus loquentem inducit: *Nec tu me in te mutabis sicut cibum carnis tuae, sed tu mutaberis in me.*<sup>11</sup>

Ex hoc autem praecellentissimo Sacramento, in quo potissime apparet quemadmodum homines in divinam inseruntur naturam, iidem habent in omni supernarum virtutum genere incrementa maxima. Et primum in fide. Omni quidem tempore fides oppugnatores habuit; nam esti hominum mentes praestantissimarum rerum cognitione extollit, quia tamen quae supra naturam esse aperuit, qualia sint celat, eo videtur mentes ipsas deprimere. Sed olim tum hoc tum illud fidei caput oppugnabatur; deinceps multo latius exarsit bellum, eoque iam perventum est ut nihil omnino supra naturam esse affirmetur. Iamvero ad vigorem fervoremque fidei in animus redintegrandum perapte est, ut nihil magis, mysterium Eucharisticum, proprie *mysterium fidei* appellatum: hoc nimirum uno, quaecumque supra naturam sunt, singulari quadam miraculorum copia et varietate, universa continentur: *Memoriam fecit mirabilium suorum misericors et miserator Dominus, escam dedit timen-tibus se.*<sup>12</sup> Si Deus enim quidquid supra naturam fecit, ad Verbi retulit Incarnationem, cuius beneficio restitueretur humani generis salus, secundum illud Apostoli: *Proposuit...instaurare omnia in Christo, quae in caelis, et quae in terra sunt, in ipso;*<sup>13</sup> Eucharistia, Patrum sanctorum testimonio, Incarnationis continuatio quaedam et amplificato censenda est. Siquidem per ipsam incarnati Verbi substantia cum singulis hominibus copulatur; et supremum in Calvaria sacrificium admirabili modo renovatur; id quod praesignificavit Malachias: *In omni loco sacrificatur et offertur nomini meo oblatio munda.*<sup>14</sup> Quod miraculum, unum omnium in suo genere maximum, miracula comitantur, innumerabilia; hic enim omnes naturae leges intermissae: tota substantia panis et vini in corpus et sanguinem

<sup>11</sup> Conf. l. vii. c. x.

<sup>12</sup> Ps. cx. 4-5.

<sup>13</sup> Eph. i. 9-10.

<sup>14</sup> i. ii.



Christi convertitur ; panis et vini species, nulla re subiecta, divina virtute sustentantur ; corpus Christe tam multa simul loca nanciscitur, quam multis simul in locis Sacramentum perficitur. Humanae tutem rationis quo magis erga tantum Mysterium intendatur obsequium, quasi adiumento suppetunt prodigia, in eiusdem gloriam, veteri memoria et nostra patrata ; quorum publica extant non uno loco eaque insignia monumenta. Hoc igitur Sacramento videmus fidem ali, mentem enutriri, rationalistarum commenta dilui, ordinem rerum quae supra naturam sunt maxime illustrari.

Sed ut divinarum rerum fides languescat, non modo superbia, quod supra attigimus, sed etiam depravatio facit animi. Nam si usu venit ut quo melius quisque est moratus, eo sit ad intelligendum sollertior, corporis autem voluptatibus mentes obtundi ipsa ethnica dispexit prudentia, divina sapientia praemonuit ;<sup>15</sup> tanto magis in divinis rebus voluptates corporis obscurant fidei lumen, atque etiam, per iustam Dei animadversionem, exstinguunt. Quarum quidem voluptatum insatiabilis hodie cupiditas flagrat, omnesque late tamquam contagio quaedam morbi vel a primis aetatulis inficit. Verum teterrimi huius mali praeclarum in divina Eucharistia praesto est remedium. Nam, omnium primum, augendo caritatem, libidinem coërcet ; ait enim Augustinus : *Nutrimētum eius (caritatis) est imminutio cupiditatis ; perfectio, nulla cupiditas.*<sup>16</sup> Praeterea castissima Iesu caro carnis nostrae insolentiam comprimit, ut Cyrillius monuit Alexandrinus : *Christus enim existens in nobis sopit saevientem in nostris membris carnis legem.*<sup>17</sup> Quin etiam fructus Eucharistae singularis et iucundissimus est quem significavit propheticum illud : *Quid bonum eius (Christi) est, et quid pulchrum eius, nisi frumentum electorum et vinum germinans virgines?*<sup>18</sup> videlicet sacrae virginitatis forte et constans propositum, quod, vel diffuente deliciis saeculo, latius in dies uberiusque in catholica Ecclesia florescit : quanto quidem ubique cum religiois ipsiusque humani convictus emolumento et ornamento est probe cognitum. — Accedit quod huiusmodi Sacramento spes bonorum immortalium, fiduciâ auxiliorum divinatorum, mirifice roborantur. Beatitatis enim studium, quod ominum animis institum atque innatum est, terrestrium bonorum fallaciâ, iniusta flagitiosorum hominum

<sup>15</sup> Sap. i., 4

<sup>16</sup> De diversis quaestionibus lxxxiii., quaest. xxxvi.

<sup>17</sup> Lib. iv., c. 2 in Ioann. vi. 57.

<sup>18</sup> Zach. ix. 17.

vi, ceteris denique acuitur. Iam vero augustum Eucharistiae Sacramentum, beatitatis et gloriae causa idem et pignus est idque non animo tantum sed etiam corpori. Quum enim animos caelestium bonorum copiâ locupletat, tum iis perfundit suavissimis gaudiis, quae quamlibet hominum aestimationem et spem longe superent; in adversis rebus sustentat, in virtutis certamine confirmat, in vitam custodit sempiternam, ad eamque tamquam instructo viatico perducit. Corpori autem caduco et fluxo Hostia illa divina futuram ingenerat resurrectionem; siquidem corpus immortale Christi semen inserit immortalitatis, quod aliquando erumpat. Utrumque istud et animo et corpori bonum inde obventurum Ecclesia omni tempore docuit, Christo obsecuta affirmati: *Qui manducat meam carnem, et bibit meum sanguinem, habet vitam aeternum: et ego resuscitabo eum in novissimo die.*<sup>19</sup> Cum re cohaeret magnique interest id considerare, ex Eucharistia, quippe quae a Christo instituta sit tamquam *passionis suae memoriale perenne*,<sup>20</sup> christiano homini castigandi salutariter sui denunciari necessitatem. Iesus enim primis illis sacerdotibus suis: *Hoc facite*, inquit, *in meam commemorationem*,<sup>21</sup> idest hoc facite ad commemorandos dolores, aegritudines, angores meos, meam in cruce mortem. Quapropter huiusmodi sacramentum idem et sacrificium assidua est in omne tempus poenitentiae, ac maximi cuiusque laboris adhortatio, itemque voluptatum, quas homines impudentissimi tantopere laudant et efferunt, gravis et severa improbatio: *Quotiescumque manducabitis panem hunc, et calicem bibetis, mortem Domini annuntiabitis donec veniat.*<sup>22</sup>

Praeter haec, si in praesentium malorum causus diligenter inquiras, ea reperies inde fluxisse, quod hominum inter ipsos caritas, caritate adversus Deum frigescente, deferbuerit. Dei se esse filios atque in Iesu Christo fratres obliti sunt; nihil, nisi sua quisque, curant; aliena non modo negligunt, sed saepe oppugnant in eaque invadunt. Inde crebrae inter civium ordines turbae et contentiones: arrogantia, asperitas, fraudes in potentioribus; in tenuioribus miseriae, invidiae, secessiones. Quibus quidem malis frustra a providentia legum, a poenarum metu, a consiliis humanae prudentiae quaeritur sanatio. Illud est curandum enitendumque, quod plus semel Ipsi fusiusque

<sup>19</sup> Ioann. vi. 55.

<sup>20</sup> S. Thomas Aquin, *opusc.* lvii. : *Offic. de festo Corp. Christi.*

<sup>21</sup> Luc. xxii. 19.

<sup>22</sup> I Cor. xi. 26.

commonuimus, ut civium ordines mutua inter se concilientur officiorum coniunctione, quae a Deo profecta, opera edat germanum Iesu Christi spiritum et caritatem referentia. Hanc terris Christus intulit, hac omnia inflammari voluit, upote quae una posset non modo animae sed etiam corpori beatitatis aliquid vel in praesens afferre: amorem enim immoderatum sui in homine compescit et divitiarum cohibet cupiditatem, quae *radix omnium malorum est*.<sup>23</sup> Quamquam vero rectum est omnes iustitiae partes inter ordines civium convenienter tutari; praecipuo tamen caritatis praesidio et temperamento id demum assequi licebit ut in hominum societate salutaris ea quam Paulus suadebat, *fiat aequalitas*,<sup>24</sup> facta conservetur. Hoc igitur Christus voluit, quum augustum hoc sacramentum institueret, excitanda caritate in Deum, mutuam inter homines fovere caritatem. Haec enim ex illa, ut perspicuum est, suapte natura existit, et sua veluti sponte effunditur: neque vero fieri potest ut ulla ex parte desideretur, quin immo incendatur et vigeat oportet, si Christi erga ipsos caritatem perpendant in hoc Sacramento; in quo, ut potentiam suam et sapientiam magnifice patefecit, sic *divitias divini sui erga homines amoris velut effudit*.<sup>25</sup> Tam insigna ab exemplo Christi, omnia sua nobis largientis, sane quantum ipsi inter nos amare atque adiuvere debemus, fraterna necessitudine quotidie arctius devincti! Adde quod vel signa ipsa, quibus huiusmodi constat Sacramentum, peropportuna coniunctionis incitamenta sunt. Qua de re sanctus Cyprianus: *Denique unanimatatem christianam firma sibi atque inseparabili caritate connexam etiam ipsa dominica sacrificia declarant. Nam quando Dominus corpus suum panem vocat de multorem granorum adunatione congestum, populum nostrum quem portabet indicat adunatum; et quando sanguinem suum vinum appellat de botris atque acinis plurimus expressum atque in unum coactum, gregem item nostrum significat commixtione adunatae multitudinis copulatum*.<sup>26</sup> Similiter Angelicus Doctor ex Augustini sententia,<sup>27</sup> haec habet: *Dominus noster corpus et sanguinem suum in eis rebus commendavit, quae ad unum aliquid rediguntur ex multis; namque aliud, scilicet panis ex multis granis in unum constat, aliud, sciticit vinum in unum ex multum acinis confluit; et ideo Augustinus*

<sup>23</sup> 1 Tim. vi. 10.

<sup>24</sup> 2 Cor. viii. 14.

<sup>25</sup> Conc. Trid. Sess. xiii, *De Euchar.*, c. ii.

<sup>26</sup> Ep. 69, ad Magnum n. 5 (al. 6).

<sup>27</sup> Tract. xxvi., in Ioann. n. 13, 17.



alibi dicit ; *O Sacramentum pietatis, o signum unitatis, o vinculum caritatis.*<sup>28</sup> Quae omnia confirmantur Concilii Tridentini sententiâ, Christum Eucharistiam Ecclesiae reliquisse ‘tamquam symbolum eius unitatis et caritatis, qua Christianos omnes inter se coniunctos et copulatos esse voluit . . . symbolum unius illius corporis, cuius ipse caput existit, cuique nos, tamquam membra, arctissimâ fidei, spei et caritatis connexionem adstrictos esse voluit.’<sup>29</sup> Idque edixerat Paulus : *Quoniam unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus, omnes qui de uno pane participamus.*<sup>30</sup> Illud enimvero pulcherrimum ac periucundum est christianae fraternitatis aequalitatisque socialis specimen, promiscue ad sacra altaria circumfundi patritium et popularem, divitem et pauperem, doctum et indoctum, eiusdem aequae participes convivii caelestis. — Quod si merito in Ecclesiae fastis hoc primordiis eius vertitur propriae laudi quod *multitudinis credentium erat cor unum et anima una*;<sup>31</sup> sane eos tam eximium bonum dehisce consuetudini mensae divinae, obscurum non est ; de ipsis enim commemorantur legimus : *Erant perseverantes in doctrina Apostolorum et in communicatione fratrum panis.*<sup>32</sup> — Mutuae praeterea inter vivos caritatis gratia, cui a Sacramento eucharistico tantum accedit roboris et incrementi, Sacrificii praesertim virtute ad omnes permanat qui in sanctorum communione numerantur. Nihil est enim aliud sanctorum communio, quod nemo ignorat, nisi mutua auxilii, expiationis, precum, beneficiorum communicatio inter fideles vel caelesti patria potitos vel igni piaculari addictos vel adhuc in terris peregrinantes, in unam coalescentes civitatem cuius caput Christus, cuius forma caritas. Hoc autem fide est ratum, etsi soli Deo Sacrificium augustum offerri liceat, tamen etiam honori Sanctorum in caelis cum Deo regnantium, *qui illos coronavit*, celebrari posse ad eorum patrocinium nobis conciliandum atque etiam, ut ab Apostolis traditum, ad labes fratrum abolendas, qui iam in Domino mortui, nondum plane sint expiati. — Sincera igitur caritas quae, in salutem utilitatesque omnium, omnia facere et pati assuevit, prosilit nempe ardetque actiosa ex sanctissima Eucharistia, ubi Christus adest ipse vivus, ubi suo erga nos amoris vel maxime indulget divinaeque impulsus caritatis impetu suum perpetuo sacrificium instaurat. Ita facile apparet undenam hominum apostolicorum ardui labores, unde

<sup>28</sup> *Summa Theol.* iii., p. q. lxxii., a. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Sess. xiii., *De Euchar.*, c. ii.

<sup>30</sup> 1 Cor. ix. 17.

<sup>31</sup> Act. iv. 32.

<sup>32</sup> Act. ii. 42.

tam multae variaeque apud catholicos institutae benemerendi de humana familia rationes sua ducunt auspicia, vires, constantiam felicesque exitus.

Haec pauca quidem in re perampla minime dubitamus quin abunde frugifera christiano gregi accidant, si operâ vestra, Venerabiles Fratres, sint opportune exposita et commendata. At vero tam magnum et virtute omni affluens Sacramentum nemo satis unquam, proinde ac dignum est, nec eloquendo laudaverit, nec venerando coluerit. Ipsum sive pie mediteris, sive rite adores, sive eo magis, pure sancteque percipias, tamquam centrum existimandum est in quo christiana vita, quanta usquam est, insistit; ceteri quicumque habentur, pietatis modi demum in id ipsum conducunt et desinunt. Atque ea Christi benigna invitatio benigniorque promissio: *Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis, et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos*,<sup>33</sup> in hoc praecipue mysterio evenit et quotidie impletur. — Ipsum denique est velut anima Ecclesiae, ad quod ipsa sacerdotalis gratiae amplitudo per varios ordinum gradis dirigitur. Indidemque haurit habetque Ecclesia omnem virtutem suam et gloriam, omnia divinorum charismatum ornamenta; bona omnia: quae propterea summam curarum in eo collocat ut fidelium animos ad intimam cum Christo coniunctionem per Sacramentum Corporis et Sanguinis eius instruat et adducat; ob eamque rem caeremoniis sanctissimis ipsum ornando facit venerabilius. — Perpetuam hoc etiam in genere providentiam Ecclesiae matris ea praeclarius commendat hortatio, quae in sacro Tridentino Concilio edita est, mirificam quamdam caritatem pietatemque redolens, plane digna quam populus christianus a Nobis accipiat ex integro revocatam: —

‘Paterno affectu admonet Santa Synodus, hortatur, rogat et obsecrat per per viscera misericordiae Dei nostri, ut omnes et singuli, qui christiano nomine censentur, in hoc unitatis signo, in hoc vinculo caritatis, in hoc concordiae symbolo iam tandem aliquando conveniat et concordent, memoresque tantae maiestatis, et tam eximii amoris Ieus Christi Domini nostri qui dilectam animam suam in nostrae salutis pretium, et carnem suam nobis dedit ad manducandum, haec sacra mysteria corporis et sanguinis eius eâ fidei constantia et firmitate, ea animi devotione ac pietate et cultu credant et venerentur, ut panem illum supersubstantialem frequenter suscipere possint; et is vere eis sit animae vita et perpetua sanitas mentis; cuius vigore confortati, ex huius miserae peregrinationis itinere

<sup>33</sup> Matth. xi. 28.

ad caelestem patriam pervenire valeant, eundem panem Angelorum, quem modo sub sacris velaminibus edunt, absque ullo velamine manducaturi.<sup>34</sup>

Porro testis historia est, christianae vitae cultum vulgo floruisse melius, quibus temporibus esset Eucharistiae perceptio frequentior. Contra non minus est exploratum consuevisse, ut quum caelestem panem negligerent homines et veluti fastidirent, sensim elanguesceret christiane professionis vigor. Qui quidem ne prorsus aliquando deficeret, opportune cavit in Concilio Lateranensi Innocentius III., quum gravissime praecepit, ut minimum per solemnias Paschatis nemo christianus a communione Dominici Corporis abstinere. Liquet vero praeceptum huiusmodi aegre datum, ac postremi remedii loco: semper enim id fuit Ecclesiae in votis, ut cuique sacro adessent fideles de divinia hac mensa participes.

Optaret sacrosancta Synodus ut in singulis Missis fideles adstantes non solum spirituali affectu, sed sacramentali etiam Eucharistiae perceptione communicarent, quo ad eos sanctissimi huius sacrificii fructus uberius proveniret.<sup>35</sup>

Et uberrimam quidem salutis copiam non singulis modo sed universis hominibus paratam hoc habet augustissimum mysterium, ut est Sacrificium: ab Ecclesia propterea *pro totius mundi salute* assidue offerri solitum. Cuius sacrificii, communibus piorum studiis, fieri ampliorem cum existimatione cultum adderet; hac aetate vel maxime, oportet. Itaque multiplices ipsius virtutes sive latius cognosci sive attentius recoli velimus. — Principia lumine ipso naturae perspicua illa sunt: supremum esse absolutumque in homines, privatam publice, Dei creatoris et conservatoris imperium; quidquid sumus quidquid privatim publiceque habemus boni, id omne a divina largitate profectum: vicissimque a nobis Deo testandam et summam, ut Domino reverentiam, et maximam, ut beneficentissimo, gratiam. Haec tamen officia quotusquisque hodie invenitur, qui qua par est religione colat et observet! Contumaces in Deum spiritus haec, si unquam alia, prae se fert aetas: in qua rursus invalescit adversus Christum ea vox nefaria: *Nolumus hunc regnare super nos*,<sup>36</sup> nefariumque propositum, *Eradamus eum*; <sup>37</sup> nec sane quidquam tam vehementi impetu complures urgent, quam ut ex et civili atque adeo ex humana omni consortione pulsum

<sup>34</sup> Sess. xiii., *De Euchar.*, c. viii.

<sup>35</sup> Conc. Trid. Sess. xxii., c. vi.

<sup>36</sup> Luc. xix. 14.

<sup>37</sup> Jer. xi. 19.



segregent Deum. Quo consceleratae dementiae quamquam usquequaque non proceditur, miserabile tamen est quam multos teneat divinae Maiestatis beneficiorumque eius, partae praesertim a Christo salutis, oblivio. Iamvero hanc tantam vel nequitiam vel socordiam sarciat oportet auctior communis pietatis ardor in cultu Sacrificii eucharistici; quo nihil Deo esse honorabilius, nihil iucundius potest. Nam divina est, quae immolatur hostia; per ipsam igitur tantum augustae Trinitati tribuimus honoris, quantum dignitas eius immensa postulat; infinitum quoque et pretio et suavitate munus exhibemus Patri, Unigenitum suum; eo fit ut benignitati eius non modo agamus gratiam, sed plane referamus. — Duplicemque alium ex tanto sacrificio insignem fructum licet et necesse est colligere. Maeret animus reputando, quae flagitiorum colluvies, neglecto, ut diximus, contemptoque Dei numine, usquequaque inundaverit. Omnino humanum genus magnam partem videtur caelestem iram devocare: quamquam ipsa illa quae insidet, malarum rerum seges, continet iustae animadversionis maturitatem. Excitanda igitur in hoc etiam pia fidelium contentio, ut et vindicem scelerum placare Deum, et auxiliorum eius opportunitatem calamitoso saeculo conciliare studeant. Haec autem videant maxime huius ope Sacrificii esse quaerenda. Nam divinae tum institutae rationibus satis cumulateque facere, clementiae large impetrare munera possunt homines solo obitae a Christo mortis virtute. Sed hanc ipsam virtutem sive ad expiandum, sive ad exorandum voluit Christus integram permanere in Eucharistia, quae mortis ipsius non inanis quaedam nudaque commemoratio, sed vera et mirabilis, quamquam incruentat et mystica, renovatio est.

Ceterum, non mediocri Nos laetitia afficimur, libet enim profiteri, quod proximis hisce annis fidelium animi ad amorem atque obsequium erga Eucharistiae Sacramentum renovari coepisse videantur; quod quidem in spem Nos erigit temporum rerumque meliorum. Multa enim id genus et varia, ut initio diximus, sollers induxit pietas, sodalitatis praesertim vel eucharisticorum rituum splendori amplificando, vel Sacramento augusto dies noctesque assidue venerando, vel illatis eidem contumeliis iniuriisque sarciendis. In his tamen acquiescere, Venerabiles Fratres, neque Nobis licet neque vobis; etenim multo plura vel provehenda restant vel suscipienda, ut munus hoc omnium divinissimum apud eos ipsos, qui christianae religionis colunt officia, ampliore in luce atque honore versetur, tantumque

mysterium quam dignissima veneratione colatur. Quapropter suscepta opera acrius in dies urgenda ; prisca instituta, sicubi exoleverint, revocanda, ut sodalitia eucharistica, supplicationes Sacramento augusto ad adorandum proposito, solemnes eius circumductae pompae, piaae ad divina tabernacula salutationes, alia eiusdem generis et sancta et saluberrima ; omnia praeterea aggredienda, quae prudentia et pietas ad rem suadeat. Sed in eo praecipue est elaborandum, ut frequens Eucharistiae usus apud catholicas gentes late reviviscat. Id monent nascentis Ecclesiae, quae supra memoravimus, exempla, id Conciliorum decreta, id auctoritas Patrum et sanctissimorum ex omni aetate virorum ; ut enim corpus, ita animus cibo saepe indiget suo ; alimoniam autem maximae vitalem praebet sacrosancta Eucharistia. Itaque praeiudicate adversantium opiniones, inanes multorum timores, speciosae abstinendi causae penitus tollendae ; ea enim agitur res, qua nihil fideli populo utilius tum ad redimendum tempus sollicitis rerum mortalium curis, tum ad christianos revocandos spiritus constanterque retinendos. Huc sane magno erunt momento praestantiorum ordinum hortationes et exempla, maximo autem cleri navitas et industria. Sacerdotes enim, quibus Christus Redemptor Corporis et Sanguinis sui mysteria conficiendi ac dispensandi tradidit munus, nihil profecto melius pro summo accepto honore queant rependere, quam ut Ipsius eucharisticam gloriam omni ope provehant, optatisque sacratissimi Cordis eius obsequendo, animos hominum ad salutiferos tanti Sacramenti Sacrificiique fontes invitent ac pertrahant.

Ita fiat, quod vehementer cupimus, ut praecellentes Eucharistiae fructus quotidie uberiores proveniant, fide, spe, caritate, omni denique christiana virtutae, feliciter accrescente ; idque in sanationem atque emolumentum rei quoque publicae ; fiat, ut providentissimae Dei caritatis magis magisque eluceant consilia, qui tale mysterium *pro mundi vita* constituit perpetuum.

Quarum Nos rerum erecti spe, Venerabiles Fratres auspiciem munerum divinorum caritatisque Nostrae testem, Apostolicam benedictionem singulis vobis et vestro cuiusque clero ac populo peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, die XXVIII Maii in praeludio sollemnitatis Corporis Christi, anno MDCCCCII., Pontificatus Nostri vicesimo quinto.

LEO PP. XIII.

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**IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS OF THE IRISH HIERARCHY ON  
THE LAND BILL AND TREASURY GRANTS FOR TECHNICAL  
EDUCATION**

At a meeting of the Irish Archbishops and Bishops, held at Maynooth College on the 25th ult., the following resolutions were adopted, and directed to be published; copies to be sent to the First Lord of the Treasury, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the Irish Members of Parliament.

(1.) THE LAND BILL.

On consideration of the Land Bill recently brought in by the Chief Secretary, we fully recognise that the provision which the Bill contains for the purchase of estates *in globo*, with a view to re-sale, for the clearing of title, and for dealing with subtenancies and intervening interests, would greatly facilitate the sale of land to tenant purchasers throughout the country.

We also notice with satisfaction that clauses 16 and 36 of the Bill have been practically abandoned, and we fully endorse the demand of the Irish representatives for reasonable facilities to discuss and amend the other remaining clauses of the Bill.

But, while earnestly desiring that the Land Bill, duly amended, would pass into law during the present session, we deem it a solemn duty, in face of the unabated exodus of our population, to declare anew our deep conviction that an adequate solution of the Irish land question never can be reached until the half-neglected grazing lands of the country are made available on fair terms for the agricultural population that is still forced to emigrate in such appalling numbers to earn a livelihood.

This aspect of the land question, which so profoundly affects the well-being of the country at large, and of every class in the community, is essentially free from the usual conflict of interest as between landlord and tenant. It is for the advantage of both that in an agricultural country like Ireland the land should be fully utilised for its primary purpose.

This purpose, we feel confident, can be attained without loss to the State, if a clause be inserted in the new Bill distinctly empowering some really efficient body to buy up unoccupied or grass land, to divide it into moderately-sized agricultural holdings, and to sell these holdings on equitable terms to promising



agriculturists, without any such restriction as to the multiplication of households, as regulate the migration operations of the Congested Districts Board. Restrictions that may reasonably control the work of a board established to relieve congestion would be altogether inapplicable to a body such as we suggest to remedy emigration by bringing about a proper use, on the part of the people, of what must be accounted in the material order the first and greatest of native resources.

## (2.) THE TREASURY GRANTS FOR TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

Since the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Act (1899) provides only £55,000 a year for technical instruction in Ireland, and England receives from public funds £1,000,000, we protest against the action of the Treasury in withholding, or limiting in any way, a grant hitherto offered to all local authorities levying a rate for such instruction. We do so the more because the sum of £55,000 comes mainly from Irish funds; moreover, the councils of counties and county boroughs have levied rates on the faith of a promise that an equivalent would be given by the Treasury, whilst if the grant be withheld, no part of the country will derive any advantage for technical education from the Act of 1899.

✠ MICHAEL Cardinal LOGUE.	
✠ JOHN, Bishop of Clonfert,	} Secretaries of Meeting.
✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore,	

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

DISCOURSES, DOCTRINAL AND MORAL. By His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. MacEvilly, Archbishop of Tuam. Sealy, Bryers and Walker. Publishers, M. H. Gill and Son. Benziger Bros. Price, 7s. 6d.

A VOLUME of sermons from the pen of the eloquent and learned Archbishop of Tuam needs no commendation from us to secure for it a hearty welcome from the clergy and laity of Ireland. By the earnest preacher to whom his Grace's *Commentaries on the New Testament* have become indispensable, the book will be regarded as a special treasure. The crystallisation of his Grace's exhaustive Biblical knowledge in these discourses, their grave and dignified yet withal simple and homely eloquence, the wealth of vivid and picturesque illustration with which he impresses the memories of his hearers while he sends the words of salvation home to their hearts, are a few of the attractive features that force themselves upon the notice even of the casual reader.

The volume is a selection from sermons preached by his Grace on various occasions, and has been prepared for present publication at the request of many of his Grace's friends. The collection amounts to twenty-five sermons. A general outline of the contents of the volume will demonstrate the usefulness of the work. The volume begins with a highly impressive sermon on the General Judgment, and ends with a sermon on the Particular Judgment. It contains dogmatic sermons on the Sacrifice of the Mass, on the Necessity of Faith, on Exclusive Salvation, on Hell, on Holy Communion, on the Doctrine of Infallibility, on the Passion, on Devotion to the Blessed Virgin ; moral discourses on Scandal, Humility, Forgiveness of Injuries, Love of our Neighbour, and sermons for special Feasts, such as Christmas, Easter, and Ascension Day.

The sermons are, as will be observed, all thoroughly practical, replete with the spirit of the Sacred Scriptures ; in fact, the text of the illustrious preacher is oftentimes a mosaic of Scriptural phraseology.

But we would not have the circulation of this valuable volume confined to clerical readers. The pious laity will find

therein the solid food of doctrine, the clear and direct exposition of many dogmas of faith, the ready answer to the scoffer, besides deep, meditative wisdom, the fruit of the eminent author's ripe experience, and, pervading all, the choice aroma of the inspired Word.

C. J. M.

GESCHICHTE DER ALTKIRCHLICHEN LITERATUR. Dr. Barlenhewer. Herder. 1902. First Vol. 10 sh.

THIS history of the Christian literature of the first centuries is so erudite that the excellence of many of its parts can be adequately appreciated only by specialists in Patrology. At the same time, its style is so clear and the arrangement of its parts so orderly, that even a person of ordinary education, such as the present writer, may learn a great deal from it.

Of late years more progress has, perhaps, been made in the study of early Christian literature than in any other of the numerous departments of knowledge subsidiary to theology. Long-lost works of priceless value have been brought to light once more, and important treatises, which were unknown to many ancient writers, have been discovered. The 'Philosophoumena,' the 'Doctrine of the Apostles,' the 'Testament of the Lord,' are familiar instances; yet they are only three among an ever-increasing number. In addition to this, countless MSS. of works already published have been collated, with the result that patristic writings, etc., are now re-edited with far greater accuracy than was possible to the Benedictines of St. Maur. And, at the same time, textual criticism and historical inquiry have risen to the rank of sciences, so that passages formerly either of uncertain value or of obscure meaning may now be appraised or illustrated by means of a large collection of reliable texts.

A corresponding improvement has taken place in our manuals of Patrology. Their authors have successively availed themselves of the new sources of information thus placed at their disposal, and it is no small merit that they have succeeded in keeping abreast of the rapid succession of discoveries, and of the wonderful advance in history and criticism. But in the sphere of learning what is adequate for present needs tends inevitably, in course of time, to become insufficient. This is the indirect consequence of all progress. For instance, Alzog's



*Compendium* was considered good enough in its day, but long ago it has been put aside as antiquated. It was superseded by Nirschl's *Handbuch der Patrologie und Patristik* (3 vols., 1881-1885), and by Fessler-Jungmann's *Institutiones Patrologiæ* (3 vols., 1890-1896), both of which contained a much more copious and accurate account. Bardenhewer's own first work, *Patrologie* (1894, second edition 1901), though smaller than either of these, has always been esteemed a masterpiece of erudition and criticism. Its clear, concise method of explanation, lucid style, and judicious arrangement caused it to be a favourite book of students. When it appeared, a professor of theology in Vienna (himself a good patristic scholar), who had made St. Augustine's works in particular the study of his life, expressed his admiration at the piercing insight into the profound teaching of the Bishop of Hippo, as well as at the consummate knowledge of all the other Fathers, which the *Patrologie* displayed.

Dr. Bardenhewer's present work, the published volume of which, needless to remark, possesses all the good qualities of its predecessor, is planned on a far larger scale. The entire work will consist of six volumes. The learned author proposes to give a detailed conspectus of the lives and works of all the early Latin, Greek, Syrian, and Armenian ecclesiastical writers. The series of the Latins will be brought down to St. Isidore of Seville (636), that of the Greeks to St. John Damascene (c. 754). The sections on the Syrian and the Armenian authors promise to be of exceptionally great interest. The vast Syriac literature, fresh portions of which are being recovered year after year, is the work of ecclesiastics almost exclusively, and by far the greater part of it is concerned with theology. Up to the present the only histories of it that could lay claim to approximate completeness were Wright's (London, 1894) and the still better work of the great Catholic *savant*, Rubens Duval (1899). As regards Armenian, all that outsiders could learn was to be found in Nève's *Historie* and similar treatises, or in Von Himpel's article in the *Kirchenlexicon*, or Petit's and Hyvernat's articles in the new *Dictionnaires Catholiques*. Everyone can apprehend what a wide field for research is contained in these four main divisions of Patristic literature. Judging from what Dr. Bardenhewer has already accomplished, and from an incidental statement of his to the effect that he reads everything for himself, it seems that his

*Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Literatur* when finished will be the greatest work of its kind ever given to the world.

The volume (600 pages, large 8vo.) now before us deals with the period extending from the age of the Apostles to the end of the second century. The New Testament, as being inspired, has been passed over in reverent silence, and Bardenhewer gives (*Einleitung*, p. 29) such convincing reasons for this exclusion of the Apostolic writings, that one is surprised to find the *Tablet* reviewer expressing a hope that when sixth volume has appeared, a supplementary volume on the Gospels and Epistles will be issued. The *Einleitung* itself is a model of good arrangement, and gives evidence of extraordinary wealth of erudition. We venture, however, to say that it would be improved, if as Fessler's introduction (c. I., sec. 14-16) does, it contained some pages on the authority of the Fathers. Those sections have always seemed to be one of the best parts of Fessler's *Prologomena*, and certainly they are one of the most indispensable. On the other hand, from a non-theological or a critical standpoint, Bardenhewer's explanation of 'Kirchenvater, Kirchenschriftsteller, und Kirchenlehrer' is much more satisfactory than Fessler's. And his strictures on the fictitious distinction between 'Patrologie' and 'Patristik,' which Nirschl and others, Fessler included, would fain introduce, appear to be perfectly justified. Perhaps the best part of the *Einleitung* is the masterly exposition of the real nature of Patrology. As the author says so well:—'In der That, die Patrologie ist eine spezifisch katholische Disziplin; ja schon das Wort Patrologie hat einen spezifisch katholischen Klang.' His refutation of the errors of Harnack and Krüger leaves nothing to be desired. Both these Rationalists would lower Patrology to the level of the history of secular learning, and would make out the Catholic Church to be a mere human institution, a product of paganism and Hellenism combined, that began towards the close of the second century. Krüger is not ashamed to say:—'Die Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur lehrt die schriftstellerischen Erzeugnisse des christlichen Geistes auf dem Boden der alten Welt unter rein litterarischen Gesichtspunkten ohne Rücksicht auf ihre kirchliche oder theologische Bedeutung, einzeln und im Zusammenhang ihrer Form kennen und würdigen.' Against this, Bardenhewer urges with all the irresistible power of truth, that these works can be understood

only when viewed in the light of their intrinsic theological character. His choice of 'altkirchlichen' for the title of his book happily expresses this in contrast to Harnack's 'altchristlichen.' It is not a superficial distinction. Bardenhewer's work is quite different from Harnack's and immeasurably superior to it. Though the work now before us is not controversial, it continually disproves Harnack's inaccurate or untrue assertions. There is as wide a chasm between the two *Literaturgeschichten* as there is, for instance, between Harnack's and Schwane's *Dogmengeschichten*.

The following are some of the particular subjects of which this first volume treats:—The Apostles' Creed, the Didache, the Epistle of St. Barnabas, and those of St. Clement and St. Ignatius (part of this ground is covered by Funk's splendid work, *Patres Apostolici*—2nd ed., 1901—it is a pleasure to see how closely the two great Patrologists agree, and the cordial respect which the Munich professor shows to his brother of Tübingen). Then come the Apologists—Quadratus, Athenagoras, &c., and among them special attention is naturally paid to St. Justin. Here, however, we occasionally miss what is a characteristic excellence of Nirschl's *Patrologie*, i.e., the *ipsissima verba* in reference to important matters, such as dogma, etc. There is, indeed, an admirable summary, and numerous quotations are made (with occasionally a sentence in Greek), but the whole might have been given also in the original. Next we have a complete account of the Gnostic, Judaizing, and Montanist writings, and after it of the New Testament apocrypha, which by the way is superior to those in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, and Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible*. This is followed by a minute description of the works of St. Irenæus and other controversialists, and the volume ends with an equally careful summary of the lives and works of Papias, Melito, Hermas, and a list of Documents dating from the time of the Paschal controversy.

The extraordinary learning, the knowledge of all the best contemporary literature, and the perfect mastery of the subject, which this work of Dr. Bardenhewer's affords evidence, are above all praise. We can only admire. But we hope that the treasures it contains will soon be made accessible to English readers by a translation.

J. S.



SCHLECHT. DOCTRINA XII. APOSTOLORUM. DIE APOSTELLEHRE IN DER LITURGIE DER KATHOLISCHEN KIRCHE. Herder. 1901

AMONG the many works now published on the *Διδαχη*, or Doctrine of the Apostles, there are few so valuable as this one by Rev. Professor Schlecht. His discovery of the Latin version in a MS. in Freising, which he announced at the Catholic Congress in Munich, 1890, and his explanation of the relation of the Latin to the Greek text, was the commencement of a new phase in the *Διδαχη* question. The brochure now published contains a minute description of the Freising MS. (together with the heliogravure of the pages), and a learned critical commentary on its text as compared with that published by Bryennios in 1883. The great importance of the *Διδαχη* in point of ecclesiastical history and liturgy is excellently explained. Father Schlecht has also discovered proofs of its use in catechetical instructions by the Apostle of Germany, St. Boniface, Severinus and others. It is, as we know, not only the oldest non-canonical witness to the Mass and sacraments, but the first catechism made use of in the Church. To all who are interested in questions regarding the doctrine and practice of the early Church (and who is not?) we can heartily recommend Father Schlecht's able and exhaustive treatise. It contains the full text of the *Διδαχη*, the Latin translations in the Melk and Freising MSS., and other relevant documents, some published for the first time.

R. W.

THE DAWN OF CIVILIZATION: EGYPT AND CHALDEA.  
By M. Maspero. S.P.C.K. London. 1901.

AMONG the multitude of books on Egypt, this deserves a prominent place. The author is one of the greatest Egyptologists at the present day, and his position as Director of the National Museum in Cairo affords him unique opportunities for writing on the fascinating subject to which he has devoted his life.

It will be remembered that in 1881, M. Maspero got the clue which eventually led to the knowledge of the Deir-el-Bahari tomb, in which for nearly forty centuries, the mummies of Seti I., Rameses II., Thermuthis ('the daughter of the Pharaoh') and of more than thirty other kings, queens, prin-

cesses, and priests had lain in undisturbed repose. This, however, was only one of his discoveries, and it was due to an accident. Maspero's own researches on Egyptian history and antiquities fill several volumes. In the one now before us he writes in a popular style, and he uses his vast erudition only to enable the general reader to see the beginning of civilization in the land of the Pharaohs. We regret, however, that in this first part of his instructive work, rationalism has occasionally inspired some irrelevant and irreverent remarks. The second part of the book treats of Chaldea, and the surprising discoveries that have made us acquainted with the civilization that existed there thousands of years ago. Here Maspero no longer writes at first hand, and he freely acknowledges his indebtedness to Lenormant, Hilprecht, Winckler, etc. But as a trained archaeologist he is a good judge of what is important and useful in the work of others, and his readers will be grateful to him for telling them what the highest authorities on a most interesting subject say, and for comparing the two oldest civilizations in the world. Chaldea, as being the country of Abraham, has close relations with sacred history. Maspero, however, shows no interest in the Bible; he does not write as Ebers or Scheil would. Still, as a profane history, his present work is very useful, and the great number of excellent illustrations it contains adds considerably to its value.

J. S.

CARMINA MARIANA. Second Series. An English Anthology in Verse in Honour of and in Relation to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Collected and arranged by Orby Shipley, M.A., editor of 'Annus Sanctus: Hymns of the Church for the Ecclesiastical Year.' Second Edition. London and New York. Sold for the Editor by Burns and Oates, Ltd. 1902.

It is impossible to withhold a tribute of admiration for the diligent and pious labour bestowed on this volume. We would venture to go even so far as to say that it will strongly plead at the foot of the Virgin's throne for the conversion of England and go no small way to atone for the attitude that has been so long maintained towards the Mother of the Redeemer in a country that was once so devoted to her. It is, moreover, an

evidence, with the works of Father Bridget and Father Livius, that English converts have turned their minds and hearts towards the one who of all creatures can give the most powerful assistance in the work they have at heart. Nor is the fact to be overlooked that the Marquess of Bute, 'in his mortal sickness,' expressed a wish which has been loyally fulfilled by his trustees, to defray the cost of publication of this volume. The large number of the authors on whom Mr. Orby Shipley has drawn, who are themselves either English converts or High-Church English writers, is also very significant.

All that we have written of the first volume of the *Anthology* may be repeated of the second. It is a treasury of gems, a storehouse of all that has been said in honour of the Blessed Virgin in the purest of English speech, or in other tongues that are made to sound in English here. It goes over the whole range of literature and selects those pieces or passages which admiration and love of the Virgin have inspired.

The amount of English verse, whether old or new, original or translated, having Our Lady for its theme, Mr. Orby Shipley finds, after a quest extending over twenty years, to be far richer than he had anticipated. He was therefore compelled to publish a second volume, and he has a third in preparation. When the third volume sees the light its editor will scarcely claim that he has exhausted the subject. What he may fairly claim, however, is that he has brought together into these three volumes a series of acknowledgments from all kinds and classes of writers that the Virgin Mother still exercises a sway in the world to which nothing can compare. Admiration for her is voiced in the old English and in the new, in legend and in ballad, in hymn and in canticle, in sonnet and in lyric. It is still, as of old, capable of inspiring the poet, the painter, and musician. The fact that so many non-Catholics have felt within them something of the divine fire that touched the Middle Ages is one of the most gratifying things that comes to view in these volumes. We wish Mr. Orby Shipley will be able soon to publish his third volume, and thus crown a work so meritorious and so interesting. When that is done he may fairly claim to have done one man's part to give to the Virgin Mother the honour that is her due.



LE MOUVEMENT THEOLOGIQUE EN FRANCE. By Abbé Toraille. Letouzey. Paris. 1902.

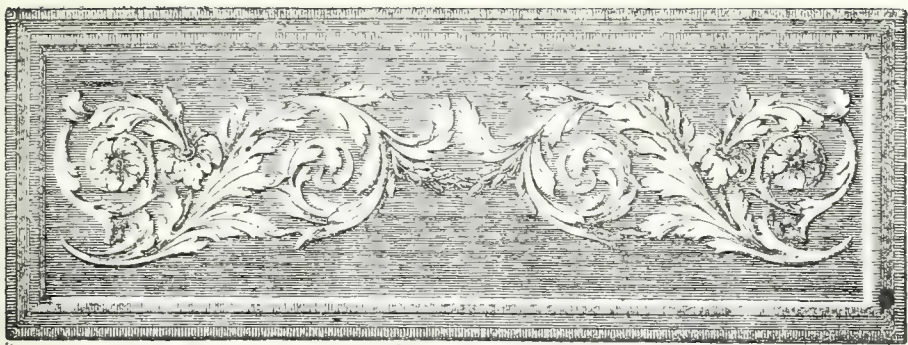
IN this little work (200 pages, 8vo) the reverend author, who is a professor in the Seminary of Perpignan, describes the course of theological thought in France from the rise of scholasticism in the eighth century down to its latest developments in our own. As the book is written for ecclesiastical students it does not profess to give a minute analysis of scholastic systems. Neither does a detailed account of every academic discussion fall within its scope, but all the great problems that exercised the minds of French theologians are clearly described and the methods employed for their solution are explained. As might be expected, the Gallican and Jansenist controversies receive special attention, and so do the works of the leading theologians, Petau (*Petavius*), Thomassin, Nicolai, Gonet, Contenson, etc. The Abbé Toraille's work will be found to supply a long-felt want, and it well deserves a place in the libraries of our seminaries.

J. S.

A COMPENDIOUS SYRIAC DICTIONARY. By J. Payne Smyth. Clarendon Press. (Third Part.) 1901.

THIS is the best dictionary for students. It is based on the great *Thesaurus Syriacus* of the writer's father, R. Payne Smyth, who was assisted in his colossal undertaking by the ablest Syriac scholars of the time. (N.B.—The *Thesaurus* is still in process of publication.) The Dictionary contains all known words, even those found up to the present only in the ancient lists compiled by native writers, but which may any day come to light again in some freshly-discovered MS. text. All the meanings of the word are given, and they are copiously illustrated by well-chosen examples. How many meanings are all-important to the student of theology, history, or liturgy, revealing, as they do, the wealth of Catholic truth enshrined in Syriac literature. The Dictionary is vastly superior to either Brockelmann's, or Brunn's Lexicon. Not the least pleasing feature is the Syriac preface, in which the writer (now Mrs. Margoliouth) says that she undertakes the task in the strength of Him who is her hope, our Lord Jesus Christ. At the present day piety seldom finds a place in the prefaces to Semitic Dictionaries. The work, to which we wish all success, will be completed by its fourth part.

R. W.



## THE EARLY LIFE OF JULIAN THE APOSTATE

'Ductor fortissimus armis :  
Conditor et legum celeberrimus ; ore manueque,  
Consultor patriae ; sed non consultor habendae  
Religionis ; amans tercentum millia Divum :  
Perfidus ille Deo, sed non et perfidus orbi.'

—PRUDENTIUS, *Apotheosis*, 450.

'That odd infusion of heathen fanaticism and philosophical coxcombry which mingled with the great qualities of a hero and a genius.'—Dr. ROBERTSON.

SOME apology may be needed for telling once again the oft-told story of Julian the Apostate. My excuse must be that his character, so repulsive and yet so attractive, has always had a singular fascination for me ; and that a recent work seems to mete out to him more justice than he has received from any previous writer. Those who are acquainted with M. Paul Allard's *Histoire des Persecutions* and his *Le Christianisme et l'Empire Romain*, must have longed that he would give us a study of Julian's career. That wish has now been partly gratified. A volume has appeared which deals with his life up to the time of his accession,<sup>1</sup> and we are promised another to complete the story. As far as can be judged from the present instalment, M. Allard displays the same extensive and profound learning, the same judicial spirit, the same charm of style, as in his former works. He has set himself to examine especially the environment in

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<sup>1</sup> *Julien l'Apostat*, tome 1<sup>er</sup> : La Société au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle—La Jeunesse de Julien—Julien César. Paris : Lecoffre. 1900.

which Julian lived and moved, and the early education which had so much influence in the formation of his character. For the former of these the reader must consult the volume itself. Here I must confine myself to the latter. I should like also to draw attention to a little book entitled *Julian the Emperor*, published in Bohn's Library, containing St. Gregory Nazianzen's two Invectives against Julian, and Libanius' Panegyric, translated by Mr. C. W. King. The notes contributed by this gentleman are a curious production for a Christian. They consist almost entirely of attacks on the saint and praise of the apostate.

### I

When Constantine the Great died in 337, the imperial family assembled at Constantinople to celebrate his funeral obsequies. Two of his sons, Constantine II. and Constans were unable to attend; but his other son, Constantius, his half-brothers, Julius Constantius and Hannibalianus, and a number of his nephews were present. The deceased emperor had unwisely bequeathed a portion of his vast dominions to two of these nephews, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus the younger. This arrangement gave offence both to Constantius and to the army. It is difficult to apportion the blame of the terrible crime which followed. Under the very eyes of Constantius, who did nothing to defend them, his two uncles and seven of his cousins were foully murdered. Only two young princes were spared: Gallus, who was thought to be dying, and his half-brother Julian, then barely six years of age. This little child, thus saved from death, was destined to be known to history as Julian the Apostate.

Flavius Claudius Julianus, to give him his full Roman name, the son of Julius Constantius and Basilina his second wife, was born at Constantinople towards the end of the year 331. His mother, who died a few months after giving him birth, was a woman of considerable culture. A Greek slave named Mardonius had been highly educated by her father's orders or the purpose of becoming her preceptor. Under his guidance she became thoroughly familiar with the poems of Homer and Hesiod. Julian himself could have had no



memory of her ; but through Mardonius he must have heard much of her ability and attainments, and he certainly proved himself her worthy son by his life-long devotion to her favourite authors. His father also, as we have seen, was taken away too early to have any influence upon him. It was his cousin, the Emperor Constantius, who made himself responsible for the education of the child. Eusebius, the Arian bishop of Nicomedia, was entrusted with his spiritual training, while Mardonius, his mother's tutor, was engaged to take charge of his intellectual instruction. Eusebius died (341-2) while Julian was still young, but not before the boy was old enough to have seen something of the Arian disputes and the intrigues of the courtier-bishop against the orthodox Catholics, and especially against the great Athanasius. The death of Eusebius seems to have decided Constantius to remove both his cousins far from the court, and to keep them in a sort of honourable exile in the imperial demesne of Macellum in Cappodocia (343-4). Here Julian remained from his twelfth till his twentieth year—the most important period of his life. Though he complains bitterly of his imprisonment in this secluded spot, without any communication with the outside world, yet he seems to have been treated in a manner corresponding to the dignity of his birth. Macellum 'was a magnificent edifice, adorned with gardens, baths, and fountains . . . They (the two brothers) were taught the sciences and bodily exercises befitting their age, and had masters to instruct them in sacred and profane literature.'<sup>2</sup> Chief among these was their old preceptor Mardonius. The authors studied by them were almost exclusively Greek. In his own writings Julian never quotes any Latin poet, not even Virgil ; the great Roman orator, Cicero, the great Roman historians, Livy, Sallust, and Tacitus, seem to have been unknown to him. On the other hand, he refers to Demosthenes, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Plutarch. He also quotes, though not frequently, the best Greek dramatists. But it is Homer and Hesiod who are his special favourites. His pages teem, in season and out of season, with passages from these poets.

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<sup>2</sup> Sozomen, *Hist.* v. 2.

Indeed they are to him what the Scriptures are to Gregory Nazianzen and Basil. At Macellum Julian soon passed from the study of literature to the study of philosophy. And here Plato and Aristotle were his guides. He himself attributes his moral perfection to his philosophical studies at this time; and he devoutly thanks the gods for conferring such a benefit upon him. He is silent, however, on the subject of some other studies which he must also have pursued at Macellum. His work, *Against the Christians*, displays considerable familiarity with the Holy Scriptures. He quotes the Pentateuch, the Books of Kings, Isaias, St. Matthew St. Luke, St. John, the Acts, and St. Paul's Epistles. And we gather from one of his letters that he read and copied out books on the Christian religion lent to him by the Arian priest George of Cappodocia. The historian Sozomen tells us that

Such was the progress of the two brothers that they were enrolled among the clergy and permitted to read the ecclesiastical books to the people. Their habits and mode of life indicated no dereliction from piety. They respected the clergy and other good and zealous persons, they repaired regularly to church, and rendered due homage to the tombs of the martyrs.<sup>3</sup>

Gallus was undoubtedly sincere in his professions. But what are we to think of Julian?

## II

The death of Constans left Constantius sole ruler of the vast Roman Empire. The burden had been too great for any one man even in the days of prosperity. But now, faction within and the barbarian without made the charge especially heavy. The massacre of the leading members of his family had deprived him of the support which he might have gained from their aid. Only the two young exiles of Macellum remained. Accordingly Gallus was raised to the dignity of Cæsar (351); and soon afterwards Julian was called to Constantinople and permitted to continue his education, still under the care of Mardonius. It was at this time that he formed the

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<sup>3</sup> *Hist.* v. 2; St. Greg. Naz., *Oratio*, iv. 23.

habit of going about with eyes ever cast down—a habit which afterwards excited the ridicule of the people of Antioch. His teachers were the pagan grammarian Nicocles, and the lukewarm Christian rhetorician Ecebolus. Though Julian did his best to live as a private individual, the populace singled him out as the future wearer of the imperial purple. This was enough to rouse the suspicion of Constantius, who suddenly ordered him to quit the capital and to repair to Nicomedia (353). No choice could have been more unfortunate. There he found another exile, the brilliant rhetorician, Libanius. This man was the typical hellenist of his day, hating and despising everything Latin and everything Christian. Julian was forbidden to attend his lectures; but he carefully read his works and cultivated the society of this scholar. Another influence of quite a different character was brought to bear upon him at Nicomedia. Julian was no longer the semi-captive of Maceïum. He could, within certain restrictions, choose his friends and his place of abode. It was but natural that his real opinions—his real self—should now become apparent. Like so many other able minds, who have lost all true religious belief, he had an ardent craving for the marvellous. We have already seen how widespread among the pagans was the practice of divination. The north-western portion of Asia Minor was its special home. Edesius, who resided at Pergamus, was its leading spirit. Julian paid him a visit, but it was one of his disciples, Maximus, who initiated the youthful convert.

Maximus, an Ephesian philosopher [says Sozomen], instructed him in philosophy and inspired him with hatred towards the Christian religion, and, moreover, assured him that he would one day attain to empire, whither his own hopes and the wishes of the people already tended. Julian was gratified and cheered, in the midst of his adverse circumstances, by this announcement, and contracted an intimate friendship with Maximus.<sup>4</sup>

Here we see that ambition also had its share in the formation of the character of Julian. But once again the suspicions

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<sup>4</sup> *Hist.* v, 2.



of Constantius were justly aroused, and Gallus, too, was alarmed at his brother's reported defection.

Julian, between hope and fear, became very anxious to lull the suspicions which had been awakened, and therefore began to assume the external semblance of what he once was in reality. He was shaved to the very skin and pretended to live a monastic life; and although in private he pursued his philosophical studies, in public he read the Sacred Writings of the Christians, and, moreover, was constituted a reader (lector) in the church of Nicomedia. But while, by these specious pretexts, under the influence of fear, he succeeded in averting the emperor's displeasure, he by no means abandoned his hope, telling his friends that happier times were not far distant, when he should possess the imperial sway.<sup>5</sup>

There can be no doubt that from this time until his accession, a period of about eight years, Julian was a conscious hypocrite—outwardly a pious Christian, inwardly a devoted pagan. Such conduct seemed to him quite natural. In one of his edicts as emperor he openly defends the pagans who had concealed their religious opinions during the reign of Constantius. Libanius goes further and even praises the dissimulation of his youthful hero.

Very different from the ass in Esop, who disguised himself with a lion's hide, our lion was obliged to conceal himself under the skin of an ass, and while he embraced the dictates of reason to obey the laws of prudence and necessity.<sup>6</sup>

So successful was Julian's hypocrisy that it was not he but the orthodox Gallus who was the first to feel the vengeance of Constantius. Though the new Cæsar gave signs of some ability, the sudden change from the seclusion of Macellum to the dizzy height of power brought out his incapacity, violence, and cowardice. He unjustly put to death the prætorian prefect of the East and other high functionaries, and yet when summoned to Milan by the emperor he weakly consented to obey. On his journey he was arrested, compelled to abdicate, and finally beheaded.<sup>7</sup> It was not so much for his crimes as for his folly that he met with this terrible punishment; rather was it because Constantius would bear no brother near his throne. One other only of the numerous descendants

<sup>5</sup> Socrates, *Hist.* iii. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Orat.* x; cf. Gibbon, chap. xxiii.

<sup>7</sup> Ammian. Marcell., xiv. 11.

of Constantine Chlorus now survived. Julian was dragged from prison to prison, and expected at any moment to meet with the same fate as his brother. He owed his life, as he always gratefully acknowledged, to the intercession of the Empress Eusebia.

Like so many other stern and masterful men, Constantius was much under the influence of his wife. The sad story of Julian's life moved her to pity. She herself undertook his defence from the charges brought against him; and contrived to bring about a meeting between him and the emperor. It was she, too, who arranged that he should proceed to Athens for the further prosecution of his studies. Julian himself speaks of this as the fulfilment of a long-felt desire. We can well understand the delight with which he would visit the scenes already so familiar to him from his reading: 'the studious walks and shades,' 'the olive grove of Academe,' 'the flow'ry hill Hymettus,' Ilissus' 'whispering stream,' 'the low-rooft house of Socrates,' the glorious 'temples made with hands,' the statues 'of gold or silver or stone graven by art and man's device.' We have his own account of his sojourn there, given in his *Letter to the Senate and People of Athens*; and two of his contemporaries, the one a Father of the Church and the other a pagan, have also left us their impressions of the young prince-student.

He came thither in all haste [says Libanius, the pagan panegyrist], with the view of adding to what he already knew, and to meet with teachers able to furnish him with something more than he already possessed. But when he held intercourse with them, and afforded them the opportunity of testing him, whilst he got the same opportunity of trying them, he filled them with astonishment, rather than experiencing the same feeling himself; and he was the only one of the young men who came to Athens that went away having rather imparted than received instruction. On this account there was always to be seen around him, like a swarm of bees, a crowd of young and old, philosophers and rhetoricians; the deities, too, kept an eye upon him, being well aware that it was he who should restore to them their hereditary rights. He was equally to be admired for his eloquence and his modesty, for there was no subject he ever discoursed upon without blushing; all persons enjoyed his affability, the best men his confidence also.

Very different is the judgment of St. Gregory Nazianzen :

There was a double reason for this journey [to Athens], the one more specious—the object of acquainting himself with Greece and the schools of that country ; the other more secret, and communicated to but a few—that he might consult the sacrificers and cheats there upon the matters concerning himself, so far back did his paganism extend. At that time, therefore, I remember that I became no bad judge of his character, though far from being of much sagacity in that line, but what made me a true guesser was the inconsistency of his behaviour and his extreme excitability (τὸ περιττὸν τῆς ἐκστάσεως). A sign of no good seemed to me to be his neck unsteady, his shoulders always in motion and shrugging up and down like a pair of scales, his eye rolling and glancing from side to side with a certain insane expression, his feet unsteady and stumbling, his nostrils breathing insolence and disdain, the gestures of his face ridiculous and expressing the same feelings, his bursts of laughter unrestrained and gusty, his nods of assent and dissent without any reason, his speech stopping short and interrupted by his taking breath, his questions without any order and unintelligent, his answers not a whit better than his questions, following one on top of the other, and not definite, nor returned in the regular order of instruction: Why should I go into particulars? I saw the man *before* his actions, exactly what I afterwards found him in his actions ; and were any present of those who were then with me and heard my words, they would without hesitation bear testimony to what I say ; to whom I exclaimed as soon as I had observed these signs, ‘What a monster the Roman world is breeding !’ at once making the prediction and praying against myself that I might turn out a false prophet.

But Julian’s residence at Athens lasted only three months. A sudden order from the emperor summoned him to return to Milan.

What torrents of tears I shed ! [he says to the Athenians] with what groanings did I not stretch out my hands to the Acropolis of our city, praying Athene to save her servant and not to forsake him. Many of you saw it yourselves, and can bear me witness. The goddess herself knows how often I begged her to let me die rather than quit Athens.

### III

The sudden recall of Julian was due to a design which Constantius had formed of associating the young prince with



himself in the government of the empire. The state of Gaul gave him special anxiety at this time; and it was to that province that he determined to send this sole survivor of his race. As Julian drew nigh to Milan he was met by the confidential servants of the empress, who assured him of the friendly purpose of his recall. Constantius received him with great cordiality, and invited him to make his home in the imperial palace. Julian had to submit to the loss of his beard and to exchange his philosopher's gown for a military chlamys; henceforth he was to be a prince and a soldier. He himself says, boastingly, that he cut but a poor figure in his new garb, and that his awkward manners and downcast eyes were the scorn of the eunuchs. This was changed to wonder when Constantius solemnly declared in the presence of the assembled army that he was about to raise his young cousin to the dignity of Cæsar. The soldiers received the appointment with delight. They admired what the wretched eunuchs could not perceive: the grace and brilliancy and noble bearing of their new leader.<sup>8</sup> Julian himself was not elated at his promotion. As he rode in the imperial chariot by the side of Constantius, amidst the plaudits of the multitudes, he kept repeating to himself the verse of his favourite Homer:

*"Ελλαβε πορφύρεος Θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταίη.*

As a further proof of the emperor's good will, he received in marriage Helena the sister of Constantius. The bride was past thirty and unattractive, and Julian himself had no inclination for wedded life. The union did not prove a happy one.

Julian, clothed with the imperial purple, and brother-in-law to the emperor, was now called upon to make some return to his benefactor. This was nothing less than to deliver a panegyric of Constantius! It might be thought that both of them would feel some embarrassment on such an occasion; but both went through their parts well, Julian being lavish in his flattery and Constantius eager to receive it. There was, however, one awkward passage. Julian had carefully avoided any allusion to discreditable incidents in Constantius' career. All who listened to him (and Constantius himself was present)

<sup>8</sup> 'Oculos eum venustate terribiles . . . Vultumque excitatius gratum,'—Ammian. Marcell. xv. 8.

must have been anxious to see whether he would touch upon the tragical events which marked the emperor's succession. He did indeed speak of the murders, but only for the base purpose of acquitting Constantius of all share in them. We know well what were Julian's real sentiments on this matter. In his letter to the Athenians he says: '(Constantius) put them all to death without trial . . . He wanted to kill me also, with my other brother, but contented himself with sending us into exile.' Not a word is said about the religious controversies which filled so large a part of the reign of Constantius; and all references to religion are couched in language common to both pagans and Christians.<sup>9</sup> No mention is made of Christ, or His Apostles, or any of the persons of the Old or New Testament.

The preparations for his departure for Gaul were now rapidly pushed on. He complains, however, that he was under surveillance, and that the members of his civil and military household, selected by Constantius, were of the vilest character. Indeed it seems that the emperor purposely set him a difficult task and withheld from him adequate means for accomplishing it: if he failed, he would be discredited—perhaps put out of the way; if he succeeded, his success would cost nothing. The task was truly a formidable one. Constantius himself had invited the Franks and Alemanni to invade Gaul in order to weaken his rival. Now that they had enjoyed the richness and plenty of civilization they were in no mood to return to their forests. Julian spent the winter of 355-6 at Vienne in learning his new duties. He even took pains to go through the ordinary drill, exclaiming as he did so: 'O Plato, Plato, what a task for a philosopher!' But he proved to be one of many examples of men taken suddenly from their books and achieving greater success than those who had spent their lives in action. The two Roman commanders in Gaul were disposed to let matters rest as they were. The new Cæsar soon disturbed their inactivity. In June he started for Autun, which had just successfully withstood a determined attack by the barbarians. Then he pushed on to Auxerre,

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<sup>9</sup> The arch of Constantine, erected by the pagan senate to celebrate his triumph, speaks of him as being moved *instinctu divinitatis*.

choosing the shortest and most dangerous route. Next he set out for Troyes, and thence for Rheims. Here he found the bulk of the Roman army under the command of Marcellus and Ursinus. A march to the Rhine was at once decided on. All went well until Dieuze was reached, where the wily enemy attacked the rear-guard and cut off two legions. Nevertheless, Julian pushed on and defeated the barbarians at Brumath. Thence he reached the Rhine and, following the course of the river, recaptured all the fortified posts as far as Cologne. After this brilliant campaign, not a bad beginning for a studious recluse, he returned southwards and spent the winter at Sens.

As soon as he was free, Julian characteristically set about the composition of a fresh panegyric of his kind patroness the Empress Eusebia. But his labours were interrupted by the barbarians who took advantage of the dispersion of his troops to attack Sens itself. The young Cæsar behaved with such valour and skill that the enemy retired after a siege of thirty days. For neglecting to come to the assistance of his chief, Marcellus was removed from his command and sent back to Milan. A still greater achievement marked the course of the new campaign. Barbatio with twenty-five thousand men had been sent by Constantius to act on the upper Rhine in the direction of Basle. Julian advanced to Saverne in the Vosges, which he fortified and provisioned. Just when the two armies were about to unite, Barbatio broke off on his own account and was attacked and defeated by the enemy, leaving Julian with only thirteen thousand men. A mighty host of barbarians led by Chnodomar, encamped on the plain of Strasburg and expected an easy victory over the weakened Roman forces. Julian, however, attacked them boldly, and after a fierce and doubtful struggle drove them in confusion across the Rhine. Chnodomar himself was taken and sent as a trophy to Constantius (August, 357). The victorious Cæsar crossed the river and penetrated as far as the confluence of the Nidda and Main, where he received the submission of a number of chieftains. During his absence from Gaul the Franks made fresh incursions, and it was only after a prolonged struggle that he compelled them to lay down their



arms. These also were sent to Constantius who at once enrolled them among his troops. Julian himself retired to Lutetia (Paris) to spend the rest of the winter there (January, 358).

Paris was at this time only a very small town, not extending much beyond the island of the Seine. Julian's palace, on the south bank of the river (now known as the *Palais des Thermes*), was his favourite abode when he was not called away by military affairs. His austere habits have been eulogised by historians, panegyrists, and not least of all by himself. His morals were irreproachable; his sobriety and abstinence beyond praise. He especially prided himself on his power of bearing cold, even at a time when the Seine was filled with huge blocks of ice, which reminded him of Phrygian marble. At night, after a short sleep on a mat, with a fur wrapped round him, he rose up and set to work at public business or his studies. All his spare time was devoted to philosophy and history. His chief care as a ruler was to see that justice was duly administered and that the taxes were fairly levied. Even St. Gregory Nazianzen admits that

The government was administered with moderation, the lowering of the taxes, the judicious choice of magistrates, the punishment of peculators, and all other marks of a transient and momentary prosperity and illusion were forsooth likely to produce great benefit to the public.<sup>10</sup>

All this time Julian was outwardly a Christian, but in secret a fervent pagan. In company with a few trusty spirits he paid his devotions to the gods, especially Mercury, and continued to practise divination.

In the summer-time Julian quitted his beloved Paris (τὴν φίλην Λουκεῖαν) to fight against the Franks and the Germans. His great object was to make the Rhine the boundary of Gaul, and to secure communication all along the river as far as the sea. This he accomplished in the campaign of the year 358, part of the invaders being reduced to submit and part driven back into their forests. Ships from Brittany and Boulogne sailed up the river and carried ample provisions to

<sup>10</sup> *Oratio*, iv. 75.

the various stations along its banks. Libanius describes in glowing terms the happiness and prosperity of the Rhineland:

Population and trades and revenues of money grew apace, and the betrothals of daughters and marriages of young men, and journeys from home, and feasts and solemn assemblies resumed their former order; so that were one to style this prince the founder of those cities, he would not be far wrong.

Next year (359) Julian again marched to the Rhine and visited the strongholds along the whole of its course. Then he crossed the river above Mainz, and carried fire and sword into the territories of the barbarians. With pardonable pride he himself recounts his prowess:

Thrice did I cross the Rhine and bring back thence 20,000 prisoners. Two battles and one siege put me in possession of thousands of men capable of serving in the army. I sent to Constantius four cohorts of excellent infantry, three of an inferior sort, and two squadrons of horse. Thanks be to the gods, I am now master of all the cities, and then I took more than forty of them.

While in the west under Julian's skilful rule the Roman arms were triumphant, the eastern provinces were threatened with invasion by the Persian king Sapor. Constantius had long viewed with jealousy the continual success of his cousin. The shy, awkward student, the hirsute philosopher, was no longer an object of ridicule to the courtiers. Men of action praised the valiant general, men of letters were proud of the scholar. His worst enemies were those who exaggerated his services, and so excited the fears of Constantius.<sup>11</sup> The emperor determined to summon the troops from Gaul, which would have the double effect of strengthening his own hand and weakening his rival. The order was sent, not to Julian himself but to two of his subordinates. How was he to act in such a difficult position? Disobedience meant rebellion, obedience ruin. The troops themselves refused to go; they had their wives and lands in Gaul and they could not desert them. The native auxiliaries, too, had joined the Roman standards on the

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<sup>11</sup> 'Pessimam inimicorum genus, laudantes.'—Tacit., *Agric.* xli.

express condition of not serving beyond the Alps. In vain did Julian harangue them and point out the advantages of serving under the emperor. It is clear, however, that his conduct was insincere. The agitation among the soldiers was fomented by his officers; and his words were calculated to save him from suspicion.

On the evening before the time fixed for departure the mutinous legions assembled under Julian's windows and proclaimed him emperor. He himself tells us how he spent that anxious night. He called upon Jupiter for a sign of his will, and straightway he received the answer that he was no longer to refuse the demands of the soldiery. The cries continued through the night, and at dawn the soldiers rushed into the palace and carried forth their hero in triumph. He still made some show of resistance, but at length gave way. No diadem was at hand, as required by custom. A gigantic centurion, taking off his own collar of gold, stepped behind him and placed this upon his brow. Thus was the Emperor Julian proclaimed and crowned.

T. B. SCANNELL.



## THE FIRST OF THE LATIN FATHERS

THE rise and growth of a literature may well be likened to the course of a river that begins in the soft murmuring waters of a little spring, and making for itself a channel, broadens and deepens as it goes on its way, now fed with the waters of tributary streams, now taking fresh qualities from the soil it washes, now tainted and darkened as it flows through populous cities and the busy marts of men. Lord Leighton once told us in an eloquent passage how the artist Vicat Cole followed the course of the Thames 'with faithful brush, from where its first fresh gurgle is heard amid the grass, to where far away, salt and sullied, it rocks on turbid tides the carriers of the commerce of the world.'<sup>1</sup>

These words might not inaptly be applied to the fitful course of more than one national literature, whether in the ancient classics of Greece and Rome, or in the later letters of modern Europe. But among all these many streams, there are few, we fancy, more full of interest for their rich and varied beauties, or for the mingling of foreign elements, and fitful changes in their course, than the full broad tide of our own Latin literature. It may be feared, however, that its merits are too often overlooked or forgotten. To many modern students, the only Latin literature worthy of consideration is that of the golden age of Augustus; and the spacious fields of later writings, mediæval or modern, are a veritable *terra incognita*. Nor is this all. For even among those who have read much in the Latin literature of the Church, many are never led to regard what they read from a literary standpoint. The early Fathers are, so to say, taken piecemeal; and stray fragments are torn from the context, to supply an argument, or to present a difficulty for solution. Mediæval theology is generally judged by certain subtle speculations of the school

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<sup>1</sup> The words may be found in the late President's speech at the annual banquet of the Royal Academy some years ago. It is only fair to add that we are quoting from memory.

men: and the most popular modern manuals are little more than compilations or *compendia*. The reader whose studies are confined within these bounds may get a good grasp of theological doctrine, and scholastic philosophy. And he will naturally feel some respect for the knowledge and critical acumen of his authors. But it is scarcely surprising if their pages awaken little literary appreciation. It is far otherwise with those who have learnt to roam at large in the spacious realms of our Latin literature, who have passed from the profound speculations of Augustine and the lofty eloquence of Ambrose to the vigorous polemical letters of Jerome; who have listened to the musical language of Leo, and tasted the tender beauty of Bernard and Aelred. And, coming further down the stream, we may find that these graces are by no means confined to the early Fathers. With all their cold logic and analytical subtlety, the schoolmen themselves have yet some pages of surpassing beauty; though, in this matter, they must yield to the mystical writers of their time, and to such masters of mediæval hymnody as Adam of St. Victor. In later days, the modern languages became the chief channels of Catholic literature, and Latin was largely left to purely scholastic and scientific subjects. But, even here, we meet with such notable exceptions as those bursts of Latin poetry that adorn the learned pages of Cardinal Bona. Mr. Moulton has lately invited us to the 'Literary Study of the Bible.' May we venture to plead for a like literary study of the Fathers and the schoolmen?

For this purpose, it may be of interest to seek out the source of this vast stream of Catholic Latin literature. And though haply his intrinsic merits may be on a lower level than some of the later masters, a double share of honour and attention is surely due to the first of the Latin Fathers. By many historians this title would be accorded to Tertullian, who is undoubtedly the greatest literary force in the first age of Latin theology. But, apart from the fact that his heterodoxy might prove a bar to his claim, there are good reasons for holding with some modern German critics that the first place belongs to a lesser writer, the apologist Minucius Felix. There is still indeed some room for difference of opinion on this

matter. We cannot stay to examine the arguments in detail, but we may briefly indicate some of the evidence adducible for the view which is here adopted. It is mainly what is called internal evidence. No reader can doubt that one of these two ancient writers has borrowed from the other, as in some passages their language is in such close agreement that we cannot account for it in any other way. And the only question is which of the two is the borrower. Möhler, it is true, thought that the originality of Tertullian's genius was enough to settle the matter in his favour. But *pace tanti viri*, this argument is scarcely convincing. For with all his undoubted originality, Tertullian was not above making use of the work of others; and it would certainly seem that he owes something to St. Justin, whose mistake about *Semo Sancus*—as many account it—reappears in his pages. Others have urged with more force that, while both Tertullian and Minucius Felix make constant use of Cicero, the latter keeps closer to the great Roman, whose style he reflects and whose dialogue *De Natura Deorum* he has taken as a model. And it has been said with some reason that Minucius Felix, rather than Lactantius, should be called the Christian Cicero.

Among the passages in Tertullian which recall the words of Minucius Felix, is the famous hyperbole, 'O testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae!'<sup>2</sup> The first germ of this is found in the question, 'Vulgi iste naturalis sermo est, an Christiani confitentis oratio?'<sup>3</sup> Here Tertullian, like every great genius, did not merely borrow the words of another, he appropriated the idea and gave to its expression a new force and cogency that was all his own. In saying this we are proceeding on the assumption expressed above that Minucius Felix was the earlier writer. But even apart from any other evidence, this passage itself might supply some reason for adopting that opinion. It is, at any rate, easier to understand why Tertullian should have taken the thought of another and illuminated it with the fire of his own genius, than to see why Minucius Felix—supposing that he had the Apology before

<sup>2</sup> *Apologeticus*, n. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Minuc. Fel. *Octavius*, n. 18



him—should have attenuated the force of this fine flash of rhetoric.

Even allowing this priority to Tertullian, some may still object that the title of 'Father' belongs of right to priests or bishops, whereas Minucius Felix was but a simple layman. For our part we should prefer to adopt a literary standard, and look at the nature of the writings, rather than at the rank held by their author. But in any case the title may surely be allowed to one who was the first father of our Latin literature. For it is well to add that he was not merely the first in the order of time. His little book, slight as it seems, had a very real influence on later Latin writers; some passages from it appear word for word in the pages of St. Cyprian; and, as we have seen, it was also laid under contribution by his master, Tertullian.

The latter, with all his errors, was undoubtedly the greatest of our early writers, and his potent influence reaches far and wide in later Latin literature. But the little book of Minucius Felix is more what we might expect to find as the first faint beginning, or, to revert to our former figure, the little spring in which this mighty river has its origin. At the same time, we may observe that, from a literary standpoint, Minucius Felix, if he be the first, is by no means the least of the Fathers. His dialogue of *Octavius*, the only one of his works that has come down to us, is dwarfed by a comparison with Tertullian or St. Cyprian, to say nothing of the more voluminous writings of the Fathers of a later generation. Nor can it be said that it is marked by very profound speculation, or that it contributes much to our knowledge of primitive theology. None the less, we fancy that the lover of literature will prefer this little dialogue of Minucius Felix to many of the great works by which it is overshadowed. If we may venture to say so, it seems to combine the last reflection of classic grace and elegance with the sweeter charms of that new spiritual life and literature that is opening in its pages.

From its brevity and simplicity, a few words may suffice to describe the nature and contents of the *Octavius*. Like most of the earlier patristic writings, it is an apology, or defence of Christianity against the dominant paganism. Its

literary form is that of the dialogue, which places it in the same class as St. Justin's *Trypho*, or Origen's great work against Celsus. At the same time, it differs from most other dialogues by the peculiar mode of its structure. The number of speakers is three in all, and their rôles are clearly distinguished. Octavius, who gives his name to the work, is the Christian champion; Cæcilius is his pagan opponent; and Minucius Felix himself tells the story of the strife and acts as arbiter between them. Other dialogues generally preserve the same form throughout, and the whole case is argued, so to say, in a rhythmic series of alternate objection and answer. But here, after a preliminary account of the occasion and circumstances of the contest, and a brief introductory dialogue, the main discussion is carried on in what may be called forensic fashion. The pagan first presents his case in a long and elaborate argument; and after a brief interlude, Octavius replies to him, point by point, in another continuous and closely reasoned oration.

Here, it may be well to add that the literary form of the work furnishes a further argument in favour of the opinion adopted above concerning the author's relation to Tertullian. The appropriation of matter from another writer is obviously a device for saving trouble. And it is a practice that was very freely followed in the early ages. The first Christians, as we know, had all things in common; and it would seem that for some considerable time this principle was applied to literary property. One doctor, or apologist, found a passage to suit his purpose in some earlier author, and without a moment's misgiving, or a word of acknowledgment, he transferred it to his own pages. Thus Tertullian's appropriation of one passage in the *Octavius* is as natural and intelligible as St. Cyprian's taking possession of another. But if we reverse the order, and suppose that Minucius Felix borrowed the aforesaid passages from the pages of Tertullian, it is by no means so easy to understand his motive, or his manner of proceeding. As they stand in his dialogue, the sentences are part of an argument in answer to objections previously urged by the pagan interlocutor; and the rest of that argument is not taken from Tertullian. Thus, the disquisition on angels

and evil spirits, is an integral part of the answer to the objections drawn by Cæcilius from the pagan oracles and miracles. In this instance, moreover, while both apologists appeal to Plato, Minucius Felix has an express reference to the *Symposium*, which does not appear in the parallel passage in Tertullian. So, again, the well known words on the Cross, which are said to be borrowed from Tertullian, are part of an answer to those striking sentences in which Cæcilius says with fine scorn, 'et jam non adorandae sed subeundae cruces;' and exults in the pagan victories. 'Nonne Romani sine vestro deo imperant, regnant, fruuntur orbe toto vestrique dominantur?'<sup>4</sup> It is this that gives point to the passage in which Octavius discovers the Christian Cross in the Roman standards.<sup>5</sup> If Minucius Felix did not compose these sentences in answer to the objection, he must have first framed the objection to fit the borrowed answer. But can it be said that he wrote the reply of Octavius before the opening speech of his pagan opponent? This retrograde composition would be a literary effort of peculiar difficulty in any case. But it would be scarcely possible that it could have such a result as the dialogue of the *Octavius*. For while the whole work has a natural ease and harmony, the pagan case is presented and maintained with remarkable force and vigour.

This is, indeed, one of the chief merits of the *Octavius* as a work of apologetics. For, in too many instances, the champions of orthodoxy fail to appreciate the real difficulties of the case, or to do justice of the position of their opponents. And when the defence is cast in the form of a dialogue, the heterodox protagonist is apt to be a mere man of straw. It is far otherwise with the disputants in the *Octavius*. For, though the truth ultimately prevails, and the story ends with the conversion of Cæcilius, his opening attack on Christianity, and his eloquent defence of paganism need not shrink from comparison with the speech of his orthodox antagonist. Some of his arguments for the dominant belief of the Empire bear a curious resemblance to the topics dear to later apologists, when Christianity had become the established religion; and

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<sup>4</sup> *Octavius*, n. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* n. 29.



he makes an effective use of the miracles and oracular prophecies of paganism. Indeed, the speech of Cæcilius, when taken apart from the context, may be said to make out a plausible case for the pagan position. And if, by some ill chance, this had been the only part of the dialogue that had come down to us, it might well be regarded as the work of some serious assailant of Christianity. It is surely a strong point in the *Octavius*, that the dispute is thus intensely real, and for a time at least the pagan protagonist appears to be carrying all before him. But Minucius Felix does not mar the effectiveness of his apology by leaving the issue in doubt, or meeting forcible objections with inadequate answers. In spite of all his efforts, Octavius is more than a match for Cæcilius, even on his own ground. Every difficulty is fairly and frankly met; the charges against the Christians are shown to be unfounded; and the tables are turned by a scathing criticism of the pagan system. In grappling with the argument drawn from the alleged miracles and prophecies, Octavius dwells, indeed, on the possibility of imposture, and points to the cautious ambiguity of the oracular utterances. But, at the same time, he is ready to allow that there may be something more than human fraud and ingenuity in this element of paganism. And he meets the difficulty by setting forth the Christian teaching on the existence and the powers of the fallen angels.

Regarded as a contribution to apologetics, the substance of the whole work is found in these two speeches, more especially in the answer of Octavius. And it is scarcely surprising that this should be the only portion that has attracted the attention of theologians, and furnished quotations for popular manuals. It has been surpassed, in some respects, by the ampler arguments of later apologists; though it is well to add that they are all under some obligations to this primitive author. With all the further advantages now available, we may still learn some useful lessons on the conduct of controversy from the arguments and the methods of Minucius Felix.

The style and manner of these speeches is not less admirable than their matter; yet, after all, the chief literary charm of the *Octavius* is not here, but in the opening picture and the

introductory dialogue, which are too often overlooked by the theological student. And it is worthy of remark that, while the speeches, as we have seen, anticipate some of the arguments of later apologists, this artistic setting has some features that are often counted as peculiar to more modern literature. Such, for instance, is the author's sympathetic description of the surrounding scene, when the three friends walked towards Ostia watching the waves on the sand. In the minds of some readers, it may well awaken reminiscences of Ruskin. Let us take a sample from a quaint old seventeenth century translation of the dialogue:—

So then upon break of day, when we went forth to pace the shoare, the aire gently breathing vegetation to our members, and the soft sand with a fine pleasure somewhat yielded to the impression of our feet. . . . And with such discourse of his, having passed over halfe the space of the Citie, we had now gotten upon the open shoare, where the gentle wave, as if it tooke pleasure to strow us a faire walke, did levell the outward sands. The Sea when the winds are all laid, is neverthesse restlesse in itselfe, and although it came not on, with white foaming billowes, yet had they a curl'd wallowing course. There wandering up and downe, wee did much solace our selves, and did endanger the overflowing of our feete, in the brinck of the Sea, which would play up her waves, and againe slyding back, receive them into her owne bosome. So in a stealing quiet pace making forward, we forgot our way with discourse, along the easie bending of the shoare.

Another feature, which we note with peculiar pleasure, is the early Father's appreciation of the charm of childhood, a faculty in which the ancients are sometimes said to be wanting. This is how he describes what Octavius lost in leaving his family for a while.

For cause of businesse, and to see me, he had taken a journey to Rome, leaving his house, wife, and children, and that which is in children most lovely, their yet innocent yeares, when they strive at halfe wordes, in a language more pleasing, by the pretty breach of their tripping tongues.

Elsewhere, we find a curiously minute account of the amusement known to English boys as 'ducks and drakes.'

And when we came unto the place where little boates

drawne up from the water lay on rowlers, to preserve them from occasion of rotting, wee saw Children sportfully contending who should skeere shells farthest upon the top of the Sea. The sport is to gather up from the shoare a round shell, smoothed with the beating of the waves, and taking of it flat in their fingers to make long circling ejaculations upon the water, the shell razing, gliding, or leaping there, so long as it hath force of motion ; and that child beares the victorie whose shell doth glide farthest, or leape more often.<sup>6</sup>

It was surely a fine instinct that led Minucius Felix to set this picture of the children contending in sport on the face of the mighty waters, in his prelude to the discussion wherein Cæcilius and Octavius strive with one another over the vast and fathomless mysteries of religion. With this pleasing proof of the blended strength and sweetness displayed in the simple pages of this delightful dialogue, we may fitly take our leave of the First of the Latin Fathers.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

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<sup>6</sup> 'MINUCIUS FELIX. His dialogue called OCTAVIUS, containing a defence of Christian religion. Translated by Richard James, of C. C. C. Oxon. Oxford, 1636.'



## THE ABBÉ MACCARTHY AND SOME OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES<sup>1</sup>

LET us open the book of French history at the opening year of the great Revolution, and glance at the Irish figures who flit across its pages. First, though little more than the shadow of a great name, may be noticed the Irish regiments. After the peace patched up by the government of Louis XV. in 1748 with England, Holland, and Germany, the importance of the Irish soldiery gradually lessened. There were many causes for this decline. Severe measures were passed by the Irish Parliament against those who joined the French army, the atrocious severity of the Penal Laws was gradually relaxed, and commercial pursuits became more possible and more attractive to Irish Catholics. Among the officers some respected old Irish names were still found. When the Revolution broke out, a very small number of these, the chief being General Clarke, joined the forces of Revolution; while a great number threw in their lot with Condé and the king. The French Revolution made strange companionships and wrought strange metamorphoses; so we need not greatly wonder if it drove some of the Irish exiles into the English service. The chief of these allies of the hereditary foe was General O'Connell, uncle of the great Dan, who, as commander of a remnant of the Irish Brigade, fought for France under the English flag.

Turning from the soldiers to the peaceful art of medicine, we meet with two men, who stood in close relationship to the unlucky Louis XVI. These were the '*médecin du Roi*' O'Reilly and his nephew MacMahon. After the execution of their master, both were eagerly inquired for by the Terrorists. MacMahon only escaped from death by joining a regiment starting for the Rhine, in which his former hatter commanded a battalion. After the end of the Rhine campaign under

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<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered before the National Literary Society of Ireland.

Moreau in 1796, he returned to Paris, became physician to the Irish College, and first librarian of the Ecole de Médecine.

But none, naturally enough, had a fuller share in the strange vicissitudes brought about by the revolutionary outbreak, than the Irish priests who chose to remain in France and weather the storm. From the massacres of September, 1792, Fathers Flood and Corby had the narrowest possible escape, disguises and hiding places being both availed of. In the same month, the Capuchin Donovan, upon whom lay the special stigma of having been chaplain to a noble family, was already standing in the place of execution with a crowd of other 'enemies of the people,' when an Irish officer called out in Irish, 'Are there any Irishmen among you?' 'Seven of us,' answered Donovan in Irish. 'Don't be afraid, then,' was the reply. And the officer hurried off to the representatives of the Committee of Public Safety and obtained the liberation of his countrymen. Not often has a knowledge of our native tongue been so richly rewarded in this life! In gratitude for his deliverance, Friar Donovan from that time forward devoted himself in a special manner to the service of prisoners condemned to death. Returning to Ireland he for many years acted as prison chaplain in Cork. To Cork also came several Irish nuns driven by fear or violence out of various convents in Paris. These ladies founded the Ursuline communities at present flourishing beside the Lee and thence extended to other parts of Ireland.

Prominent among the Irish clergy in the Paris of the Revolution stands out the Abbé Edgeworth. Henry Essex Edgeworth was the son of Robert Edgeworth, incumbent of Edgeworthstown in County Longford. In 1740 he joined the Catholic Church, and finding life unendurable under the Penal Laws, left Ireland for France. Having studied at Toulouse and Paris, he devoted himself to the spiritual care of his poorer countrymen in Paris. When in 1791 the confessor of Madame Elizabeth, the king's sister, accompanied her aunts to Italy, she chose in his stead the Abbé Edgeworth. Up to August, 1792, he frequently visited his saintly penitent, a prisoner in the Temple, without entering into relations with any others of the royal family; but during the king's

trial, his sister recommended to him the Abbé as confessor. During those last days of the royal life, Edgeworth courageously made his way into the Temple, administered to the condemned sovereign the last rites of religion, and finally accompanied him to the scaffold. He appears to have inspired something of his own calm courage into the poor victim, who is recorded to have been somewhat overstrained and excited. Tradition ascribes to him the parting exhortation, 'Fils de St. Louis montez au ciel,' but it is probably only a happy invention. After the execution of the king and queen, Edgeworth remained the faithful friend and confident of the exiled royal family, till in 1807, at Mittau in Germany, where he acted as chaplain to Louis XVIII., he ended his honourable career.

Were I to give you the history of the various Irish colleges in France during the great turmoil, it would prove a record by no means devoid of interest, but brightened on the contrary by some notable examples of courage and steadfastness. There is a danger, however, of my multiplying details about a number of unconnected or slightly connected personages, until I have reduced you to weariness before I have half done. Besides, the Abbé MacCarthy is the main subject of this paper, and it is time to fix our attention upon him.

In the year 1789 Nicholas MacCarthy was a youth of twenty years. He was wholly Irish by origin, parentage, and birthplace. His father belonged to the ancient and noble stock of the MacCarthy Reagh, and was born in 1739 at Springhouse in County Tipperary; but at an early age he left his native country, acting on the advice of his parents, who thought, like the young Abbé Edgeworth, that the Penal Code made life in Ireland not worth living for the adherents of the old faith. But ere leaving his country, he found for himself a partner, who, in addition to other good qualities, was an exceedingly wealthy heiress. She was a Miss Tuite, of the ancient Westmeath family of that name. Her father had for many years served faithfully the King of Denmark, and had been rewarded with immense estates in one of the Antilles. The representative of the MacCarthy Reagh met the Tuite heiress in Dublin; their union followed; and when they presently settled in France, near Toulouse, the young husband



having realised the remnants of his ancestral possessions, it was possible for them to set up house with comfort and dignity and even splendour. In 1776, MacCarthy was ennobled by Louis XVI. He was a man of peace-loving disposition, a patient scholar, a lover of books, a book-collector of rare judgment and unwearying energy. These scholarly tastes, which his great wealth enabled him freely to indulge, largely contributed to build up the future greatness of his son, besides winning no little honour for himself. By the close of the eighteenth century the library of the Comte de MacCarthy at Toulouse was acknowledged to be one of the finest in Europe. Its value may be judged from the elaborate catalogue which is still to be seen at Stonyhurst College. Not the King of Prussia, nor the Empress Catherine, nor the 'Court of the Muses' at Weimar had got together a collection surpassing it, whether as to rare value of matter, or exquisite art of binding. Under the Empire it was valued at a million francs; in 1817, it was auctioned off, after the family had removed numerous volumes, for over 404,000 francs.

Nicholas de MacCarthy was the second child born to the count. He first saw the light in our city of Dublin. His parents had returned for a time to Ireland; some accounts say to attend to important business matters, while others ascribe the visit to a desire on his mother's part that her child should be born on Irish soil. The family remained in Ireland for four years, and it is said that the patriotic lady thus prolonged the stay in order that little Nicholas might be able before leaving to eat potatoes dug from his native soil.

Brought back to Toulouse, the child must have shown himself a precocious learner; for, at the early age of seven, he was sent with a tutor and an elder brother to commence his studies in the Collège du Plessis. At school he gained many prizes, shining especially in exercises of rhetoric and recitation. From early years he was thought to show a disposition and inclination for the ecclesiastical state; at the age of fourteen, he received tonsure, and was thenceforth commonly known as the Abbé de Levignac; Levignac being the name of a property purchased by his father a few years before the Revolution. From the Collège du Plessis he passed to the Collège

de France. Here Nicholas became a diligent student of Greek and Hebrew and of the sacred volumes to which these languages are the keys. The path to rapid ecclesiastical preferment seemed open to him. Genuine merit he had, and his amiable character allowed it to be fully recognised; but merit unsupported by more earthly recommendations might not have greatly availed in the French Church as circumstanced under Louis XV. MacCarthy was of good and wealthy family and possessed at least one most influential relative. Of Irish parentage like himself, being sprung from a Roscommon family his cousin Theodore Dillon had risen from step to step of ecclesiastical dignity until he was now Archbishop of Narbonne, President of the Assembly of the French clergy, Governor-General of Languedoc, and, in short, one of the wealthiest, ablest, and most powerful princes of either Church and State. His revenues were not unlike those of a great city landowner of to-day; they were spent, however, with an open-handed generosity. The storm of revolution felled this mighty oak. He retired to England, and being one of those who refused to acquiesce in Pius the Seventh's concordat with Napoleon, never returned to France; he remained in exile and in poverty, but, to the end, *très grand seigneur*. On the eve of the Revolution such support as his would be a warrant of success. M. de Narbonne recognised the rare talents of his young kinsman, and was ready to help him on with all the rapidity which under the *Ancien Régime* was not considered surprising in the case of an aristocratic young ecclesiastic. But MacCarthy's views rose superior to the attractions of this programme. Gratefully acknowledging his kinsman's good will, he declined to avail of his offers. He was not yet in holy orders; he would not rashly engage himself by sacred and irrevocable bonds; and meantime he refused to eat the bread of the Church, until he was definitely pledged to her service.

He went to pursue his higher studies at the Sorbonne; but they were soon and rudely interrupted. With 1789 came the beginning of troubles, and MacCarthy took the judicious course of quitting Paris before the end of that year. He returned to the family circle at Toulouse; and during all the

stormy years which followed appears to have lived in extreme tranquillity. Most of his time was spent in his father's library, Providence having given to the enthusiastic book collector a son who thoroughly appreciated and profited by his treasures. The circle of the young man's studies became a wide one ; but his one guiding purpose was the desire to forge and polish weapons for the defence of revealed religion. He also exercised with remarkable constancy his inborn talent for improvisation ; and seems to have attained to great excellence in that monologue style of discourse for which among English speakers Coleridge and Macaulay have been celebrated. An enthusiastic friend thus gives his impressions of what he heard in familiar intercourse with MacCarthy :

I do not fear to say [he writes] that the finest pages of La Harpe, the admirable dissertations of Dussault, are nowise superior to the improvised analyses of the Abbé de MacCarthy. In science, religion, morals, literature, his hostile criticisms were set forth with such a force of reason, such persuasive eloquence, and sometimes with such powerful irony, that one had a difficulty in understanding how the author criticized could have erred so far. What he praised, what he approved, acquired on his lips a degree of interest, a beauty which one had not perceived on reading the work ; he placed all its merits in high relief. The most abstract questions of metaphysics seemed to lose their dryness, their subtlety, so evident and easily grasped did he render them. So that one did not know what most deserved admiration in his brilliant dissertations, whether the perspicacity of his mind, or the strength of his judgment, or the richness and variety of his diction ; or rather all these things combined, entrancing his hearers, and rendering them silent, motionless, and amazed by this prodigious talent of improvisation.

Gifted with talents of so showy a character, and living in the midst of the flatteries and attractions of an elegant social circle, the young student deserves much credit for not losing his serious view of life, nor his aspirations to the more excellent gifts. His demeanour was uniformly such as to inspire respect as well as affection ; and young as he was, his counsels were sought and followed in all family affairs. He acted as tutor to his younger brothers ; and gladly accepted other opportunities of instructing the ignorant. His active



works of charity sometimes reached the level of an heroic self-devotion; he nursed the sick, including some attacked by the most revolting diseases; he was known and beloved by some of the poorest, whom he constantly visited and relieved. The overtaking of his strength in a charitable service had an important influence on the course of his life. During the severe winter of 1794, he was in the habit of conveying with his own hands the necessities of life to a poor old woman who lived quite alone in an attic. One day he had got together for her a huge sackful of firewood; he endeavoured to carry this burden unaided up the rickety staircase which led to her tenement; but his strength was unequal to the effort, and his spine was seriously injured. This accident circumscribed for many years, and even to the end of his life, his activity and his zeal. It rendered him unable to remain without support either standing or on his knees. It delayed for twenty years his priestly ordination; the Abbé did not feel himself able to officiate at the altar or to bind himself to active apostolic duties. The Revolution wore itself out; after the reign of terror came that of reactionary intrigue; then the strong hand of Napoleon reduced all parties to quietness; for him, too, came round the nemesis of self-seeking. 1813, the year of 'the battle of the nations,' dawned; and now at last the Abbé MacCarthy left his home to enter the seminary of Chambéry. A sad occurrence within the happy and harmonious circle at Toulouse helped to hasten the severance which he had long contemplated. His elder brother, Count Robert MacCarthy, had taken a wife from the noble family of de Bressac. Never did marriage bells ring more merrily. Bride and bridegroom seemed to find equal happiness in a union which at the same time satisfied the interests and ambitions of their kindred. But Death had his word to say to all these joys and hopes. The year had not quite run its course when the young wife, about to become a mother, was carried off by a sudden and violent illness. All was grief and desolation in the household. The Abbé MacCarthy shared deeply the anguish of his bereaved brother; but the calamity served to fix his heart more deeply on the hopes and affections which transcend those of earth. Encouraged by the counsels of a

trusted friend, he entered generously upon the severe *régime*, the uniform discipline, and the regulated studies of the seminary. His probation, however, was a short one, and in June of the next year, 1814, he was ordained priest. By what he considered a signal and almost miraculous favour, his strength returned to him in a sufficient degree for the exercise of the sublimest and the most important functions of his ministry. That his special work was to be that of the preacher, was easily recognised; and without a day's delay, he entered upon that career which kept him (with an exception we shall presently hear of) incessantly occupied until the end of his life. He had made, as has been seen, a very long and solid preparation; and success, equally brilliant and solid, was his from the first.

The period of his appearance in the pulpit, the era of Waterloo, was one when religion in France had urgent need of learned and impressive teachers, to repair the spiritual ruin left by a revolution, itself the daughter of an age of religious decay. Before the appearance of Lamennais and Lacordaire, admirable work was done by some less celebrated builders-up of fallen Jerusalem, and among these none deserves more honour than our Irish orator. None, indeed, save the Abbé Frayssinous, then delivering conferences in Paris could fairly be ranked with him. MacCarthy shares with Frayssinous the glory of inaugurating that system of conferences, discourses midway between sermons and lectures, which the Church of France gratefully connects with such names as those of Lacordaire, de Ravignan, Felix, and Monsabré. The series delivered by MacCarthy at Toulouse in 1815, '*sur la religion*,' attracted and impressed immense crowds, particularly of that class which the orator most desired to reach,—that young generation, born in the revolutionary epoch, and usually ill-schooled and ill-guided. It is related of these conferences that once having spoken with great ardour for an hour, the orator announced that he would defer the second part of his discourse till the next occasion. But immediately a loud murmur arose among his audience, and with unmistakable persistence they manifested their unwillingness that a discourse which had so captivated their attention should be left incomplete.

It seems that I cannot find a better occasion than the point which I have reached for putting before you whatever general remarks I have to offer as to Abbé MacCarthy's characteristics as a preacher. His peculiar excellences are not difficult to sum up. He possessed a great natural talent for persuasive eloquence, his mind was fully stored with the knowledge his work needed, and his will was earnestly bent on doing that great work to the best of his power. Hence his sermons and conferences were at once captivating and solid; they pleased, they instructed, they converted. When he devoted his powers to the work of pleading for some charitable cause, he was equally irresistible; those who had come to listen in a spirit of utter indifference or in mere curiosity were moved to generous alms-giving—watches, rings, and precious gems figuring in the collection not seldom attested the sudden hold which the pleader's eloquence had taken upon his hearers. His appearance in the pulpit cannot have contributed much to his success. His figure was tall and strongly built, but, owing to the accident we have already spoken of, greatly stooped and somewhat crooked; and he habitually had the air of standing and looking somewhat sideways from his audience. To remain on his feet during a long discourse was very painful to him, and was only rendered possible by his leaning against the back or sides of the pulpit. The popular arts of the declaimer were not among the means by which he stirred the minds and hearts of his hearers; yet his gestures were simple and not ungraceful, his demeanour dignified, while his whole manner gave the impression of earnestness and power. The labour of sustained composition was for him a veritable torture, and in consequence he wrote extremely little. His physical infirmity was doubtless, to a large extent, the explanation of this difficulty. But there were deeper reasons. To men favoured with the gift of rapid improvisation the toil of slowly marshalling thoughts on paper is a slavery,—a slavery of that peculiarly annoying kind which compels us to do with difficulty what we feel able to do with ease. It is recorded of the celebrated and saintly Italian missionary, Antony Balducci, that, being at one time ordered by his superiors to commit his discourses to paper, in order that they



might be supervised, he found that obedience to this order taxed his patience and endurance more than all the toils of his missionary life. He did not mind in the least travelling barefoot from village to village in the ice-clad Apennines, but he did mind writing his sermons. There were times when the Abbé MacCarthy felt conscious, or was advised, that he too ought to give his thoughts a definite form rather than entrust them to the hazard of the spoken word. He was a preacher before kings and notabilities; he had to face malignant critics; he had (as we shall see) the reputation of a corporate body to care for. But he found it so difficult to write, and so difficult, when he had written, to confine himself to what his pen had laboriously set down, that we find him after his first Lenten Station at the Tuileries, petitioning to be released from such important and troublesome work in future. Sometimes, at the last moment, before commencing, he would feel irresistibly impelled to abandon what he had prepared for some other theme. He acted on such an impulse on one notable occasion when it was his business to preach before Charles X. and a throng of courtly hearers. His subject and its development became clear to him only during the interval of crossing the chapel royal to the pulpit. But the sermon which he delivered was one of his greatest triumphs; he himself said afterwards of it, 'that was the occasion on which I preached least badly.' At its conclusion dames of honour and marshals of France pressed through the lines of guards along his passage to express their emotion and their gratitude, and many who had come with no thought of spiritual profit were profoundly and visibly affected.

The chief disadvantage of such a talent and such a method as this is, obviously, the transitory character of the work done. A voice which might have resounded for ages dies away in a moment. MacCarthy, in my belief, was a man of rare and exceptional talent or genius, but it was genius of the kind which finds most fugitive expression, the genius of the improvising orator, the genius which flames forth in words which communicate fire to the hearers, but which are imperfectly recorded, and which if preserved at all, cool down into literature which is as cold marble compared to glowing lava. I

may seem to be going rather far for a comparison, but this consideration of brilliant and perishable eloquence has really recalled to me the lines in which a poet, who died young, lamented a great singer who also died young. De Musset, beside the tomb of la Malibran, vented his sorrow that such a gift of song as hers could not survive the last notes she had warbled:—

O Maria-Felicia ! the painter and the poet  
Leave, as they die, immortal heritors,  
Nor wholly fill the gulf of dismal night ;  
And one man graves his thought upon the bronze,  
One on the music of a deathless rhyme,  
Winning a life to outlast centuries ;  
While nought, poor chantress but of yesterday,  
Remains of thee, save in this lonely aisle  
A cross, and night, and silence evermore.

The voice of the great singer dies away, nor can ever be revived, not even by that modern engine of caricature, the phonograph. So it is with the most immediately effective oratory, with the unpremeditated outpouring of one born to move men mightily by the power of the spoken word. So it is above all, I fear, with the pulpit orator. Little remains to us in print of the eloquence of O'Connell ; still it has left its mark in the shape taken by our nation's history. The voice of Chatham or of Montalembert has had an influence which no succeeding age can forget. But the pulpit orator sows seeds which (as we know from the highest possible authority), largely fall among thorns or upon stones, and whose best fruits commonly escape the eye of the world's chroniclers. Even his richest harvests, too, will seem ephemeral. From the high level to which the great preacher lifts his hearers there is always an agreeable slope downwards again ; and there will usually be a moment for the sneer of Mephistopheles:—

Earth's little god the same stamp doth display,  
As wonderful as on the primal day.

Some eighteen sermons are all that remain to us as the written work of the many years during which our gifted orator

laboured with widely-attested and signal success. They show the qualities I have already sufficiently indicated, a rich rhetorical faculty, fed by solid, well-assimilated learning, and animated by a true spirit of zeal and holiness. There are some of the defects of a rhetorician, there are *idola tribus*, some peculiarities arising from period and circumstances. MacCarthy was eminently and thoroughly the preacher of the Bourbon Restoration; and as that restoration was a sort of brief Indian summer of the *Ancien Régime*, so his eloquence was a kind of Indian summer of the unrivalled pulpit oratory of the *Grand Siècle*. The adjective 'old fashioned,' is one which he occasionally suggests. His manner is often grandiose, not simple enough to be truly great. He does not shrink from any of the ornaments and figures, the turns, amplifications, and surprises, which he had admired and studied in the pages of artists in oratory like Fléchier. The modern ear easily becomes impatient of these devices. Chief, perhaps, among our orator's rhetorical weaknesses is his use or abuse of periphrase. The unwillingness to call a spade a spade was characteristic of the age of wigs and powder; it had been justified by the express teaching of Buffon and others; it survives in the court preacher of Charles X., for whom the sun too often becomes '*le flambeau du jour*,' and a procession, '*la pompe sacrée*;' who frequently alludes to the guillotine, but never names it.

The old courtly compliments to royal auditors, which unpleasantly surprise the foreign reader on the lips of a sublime Bossuet or an austere Bourdaloue, are again heard from their fervid Irish disciple. It may seem to some of us absurd that Charles X. and his family should be hailed from the pulpit as heaven-sent saviours of France, but it is superficial to be surprised at it. There was nothing more natural than that MacCarthy, like most of the clergy of his time, should be a convinced and even ardent royalist. Had he lived in the old days of Louis Quinze, which sometimes he has the air of deploring, I can imagine how he would have lashed the baseness and frivolity, the gilded vices, which then were making possible the ruin of throne and altar. But the horror of that ruin had sunk deep into his soul; the spectacle of a France



publicly and solemnly dechristianised, of a land governed by men fanatical against its noblest records and its best traditions, was a vision of horror ever before his eyes ; and such a vision may well have hidden from him the weakness of that restored royalty, and the faults of that repatriated nobility.

Let us seek an illustration of his ideas and at the same time of his style in a sermon which appears to have been specially prized by himself. We find fitted to it for different occasions no less than five different exordiums and perorations. The text is : ' This child is set up for the rise and the fall of many.' The orator traces the downfall of the Jews, of ancient Rome, of Asia Minor, of Africa, of the Greek Empire, as connected and contrasted with the rise of Christianity ; then he continues :—

But why seek examples abroad, when, alas, we can find them among ourselves? O France ! (for here we must confess it with shame and tears), O most Christian nation ! Thou, too, hast endeavoured to shake off the yoke of the Lord and of His Christ, and to break the sacred bonds which united thee. . . . to the Church of thy Saviour. Having reached, under the paternal government of a long succession of pious monarchs, the summit of prosperity and glory, thou hast grown weary of happiness and fidelity ; thou hast listened to false prophets and dangerous seducers ; for a brief while thou hast given to the world the spectacle of a society without God. What then occurred? Oh, let it never be forgotten, let fathers never cease to repeat it to their children, let all pages of our history recall it : with impiety, all ills at once have poured in upon us. Shall I depict here, my brethren, these calamities so memorable and so recent? Social order upturned from its foundations ; rebellion, anarchy, and sanguinary despotism inflicting in turn their horrors upon us ; revolution succeeding revolution with a wild rapidity ; the noblest and most useful institutions, the works of ages, overthrown in a day ; our precious monuments, our splendid edifices, sacked and ruined on every side ; the monuments of the dead broken into, and their ashes thrown to the wind ; our land ravaged by her own children, as she would have been by the soldiers of Alaric or Attila ; a hideous corruption of morals, bringing forth execrable and monstrous debauchery ; parricides and crimes almost unheard of rendered frequent and almost daily ; public and legalized assassination become, for eighteen months, the principal function and almost sole business of the chiefs of the State ; probity, honour, all

virtues, all talents, counted along with birth and fortune, among the titles to proscription; the whole of France turned into a vast scaffold whereon blood never ceased to flow; means of prompt extermination invented, and all the elements called to the assistance of murderers and executioners who were overpowered by their business of slaughter; education, public and private, interrupted; the arts of peace forsaken; science proscribed; industry deprived of resources and the fields of cultivation; all our youth flung into camps; innumerable armies spreading like a devastating torrent wide over Europe; the most enlightened and most refined of nations become the byword of all the rest for its delirium, the object of their aversion and horror for its excesses! But enough, we had but another step to take to be erased from the roll of civilised people, and to become the anathema of the whole world. And yet, you spared us, O Lord! Our wounds will, indeed, long remain bleeding, but we have not perished; and we spring up again from our ashes, because thou didst remember St. Louis, as formerly thou didst remember the holy King David; because we were not all guilty, because the greater number were rather led astray and beguiled than guilty of deliberate wickedness; and, thanks to Thy mercy, we can still return to life, provided that we know how to abjure our errors, detest with all our hearts the crimes wherewith our tyrants for a time disgraced us, and return sincerely to the religion of our fathers.

Elaborate and impassioned 'movements' (to use a French expression) of this kind are far indeed from rare in the work of MacCarthy; on the contrary, it is hardly too much to say that his discourses are mainly constituted of them. The paragraph, for example, which follows the very one I have quoted, wherein are traced out the self-destructive quarrels of the revolutionists among themselves, illustrates this unweariedness of wing; it will be found hardly less sustained and vivid in its picturesque rhetoric.

But we must not imagine that themes such as these,—themes of a half-political or half-social character, which can never be the primary topics of the Christian pulpit,—were those which kindled most frequently and most fervidly our preacher's ardour. He had a higher sense of his calling. The great lessons of the Sermon on the Mount, the primary and eternal truths, the arguments and pleadings which pierce home to each individual heart, these were his

chief study, these he set forth with fervour and irresistible force. His masterpiece is probably his discourse on the Last General Judgment. It is from beginning to end a thrilling trumpet-call of apostolic eloquence. I should be unwise to attempt reproducing any fragments from so sustained a treatment of so solemn a theme, but I turn from it with regret. Almost equally admirable, while very different, is the discourse wherein the 'Humiliations of Christ in His Birth' are treated with a tender and graceful sympathy and impressiveness.

MacCarthy had in a considerable degree the art of concealing art, of overcoming difficulties with apparent ease. Thus, while his discourses are admirably, though not primly, ordered, and his arguments well selected and well arranged; yet all seems to be the result of happy instinct or happy accident. Learning and logic are there; but warmth of feeling makes them live and burn. His quotations are never an idle parade or a tiresome encumbrance. Very admirable is his gift of interweaving the text of Scripture with his most animated passages. Sometimes a single text is impressively repeated and re-echoed; sometimes a continuous citation is amplified, verse by verse. Will you allow me to illustrate this excellence in the second of two passages, which shall be my last quotations? They are both from a discourse on the 'Immortality of Man.' The first passage is an eloquent statement of an argument which is apt and by no means commonplace. 'How admirable,' exclaims the orator, 'is this bodily nature of man,' and he proceeds to expand in his own way the thoughts of Hamlet: 'how infinite in faculty, in action how like an angel, the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals!'—

Even since the invasion of sin [he continues], the human body is still the centre and cynosure of all material things. For it is not our souls, but our bodies, which have need of this earth to bear and to nourish them, of the skies to enlighten them, of the air we breathe to maintain their life. How strange it would be, then, if the fairest and most finished work among sensible and corporeal objects should be almost the least durable of all! The stars have rolled on over our heads for thousands of years, without losing aught of their splendour; the earth, after so many ages, totters not on its bases; the seas and the rivers have not seen their fountains dried up; the cedars and the



ancient pines still crown the mountains where our fathers beheld them. And can it be that the body of man is like only to the grass of the field which springs up in the morning and is withered in the evening? Has it been given but a moment of brilliance and beauty, to be transformed into mere filth, to become presently the prey of corruption and worms? Not merely, then, would you take it to be less durable than so many works of God which exist but for its sake; but, stranger still, it would be far less durable than its own works. Whilst these splendid monuments, these palaces which it has reared, that marble to which it has almost given life by impressing upon it its own likeness, resist the ravages of time, and continue to attract the gaze of the remotest generations, can we believe that the human body itself is to be ruined almost as soon as formed, that the mere images of itself are to be less transitory than the model formed by the hand of the Most High, and marked with the seal of His divine likeness!

Having pleaded by this and by many other arguments for the great Christian dogma of man's complete immortality, the preacher appeals to his hearers to live worthily of such a belief. Approaching the close of his discourse, he takes up the Fourth Psalm and for his peroration eloquently expands its inspired words, (I turn his Latin citations into English):

O children of men, how have you forgotten what you are, and what you are one day to become? How have your hearts grown heavy and clung to this earth, which is not your native land? Created for goods so splendid and so real, called to possess not the appearance and the shadow, but the very substance of perfect happiness and true glory, why do you attach yourselves to trifles which deceive you, and to phantoms which vanish the moment you embrace them?

*O ye sons of men, how long will ye be dull of heart, why do you love vanity, and seek after lying? . . . Forsake the illusions of vice, and turn all your thoughts to the solid goods, the ineffable joys, which shall be the immortal recompense of the just. 'Know that the Lord hath made wonderful His holy one.'* Men of little faith, you will doubtless ask me what pledge we give you of these lofty destinies that we so confidently promise you in the future? *'There are many that say, who sheweth us good things?'* What other guarantee do we need, O Lord, than the mere nobility and dignity of our nature; than this impress of Your own greatness which is upon us, and which distinguishes us so gloriously from all that surrounds us? *'Lord, the light of Thy countenance is signed upon us.'* Can

I doubt that there exists in me something imperishable and divine, when I behold myself so superior to all that is not Thyself, or bears not the character of this resemblance ; when I feel within me something insatiable and illimited which no created object can satisfy, which transcends at every point this visible world, which finds itself too closely confined in whatever has confines, which cannot rest easily but in the bosom of the infinite, nor taste perfect contentment but in Thee alone? *Thou hast given gladness in my heart.* Ah, let others exult in the fertility of their lands, let them gather with joy their rich harvests, and the abundant fruits of the olive and the vine ; *by the fruit of their corn, their wine and their oil they are increased.* For me, my God, whether it be Thy will to grant me or to refuse me the gifts of fortune and the transient joys of this world, I shall live in peace, satisfied and happy with your love alone ; *In peace in the self same I will sleep and take my rest.* The hope which you give me of a glorious immortality in your Kingdom, suffices to gratify all my desires, my most unbounded wishes ; *For Thou, O Lord, hast singularly set me up in hope.* May, my brethren, this precious hope be realized in our favour.

After this imperfect study of the characteristics of MacCarthy's eloquence, I must hasten to follow up the thread of our narrative, and sketch the remaining incidents of the orator's career. He had been forty-four years of age when he entered the seminary ; four years later he took another important step. The same year which witnessed his sacerdotal consecration, 1814, witnessed also the restoration, by pontifical authority, of the Society of Jesus ; and we find that the newly-ordained priest was feeling himself more and more strongly drawn to join its ranks. The first hints of his intention gave much pain to his relatives, friends and admirers. It involved separation from life-long companionships ; it involved the giving himself to an institute at all times the object of violent attacks, and apparently unlikely to survive the storms stirred up by its recent regeneration ; it involved the entire renunciation of those ecclesiastical dignities which would surely and soon fall to the lot of one so gifted and so estimable. The aged countess, his mother, felt most keenly the threatened parting. But she too was the first to change the words of natural sorrow into nobler words of encouragement. She prayed, and was strengthened for a great sacrifice 'Go, my

son, she said to him, 'it is the will of God.' There remained, however, an unexpected trial of his resolution which had to be faced at the last moment. The Bourbons were now upon the throne; and in 1817 Louis XVIII. offered the Abbé MacCarthy the bishopric of Montauban. With a dignified humility the offer was at once declined. In fact, it seems to have quickened MacCarthy's resolve to cut off at once the possibility of such a proposition being renewed. In 1818 having set his affairs in order, he entered the Jesuit novitiate at Montrouge. I cannot pause to quote from two long and heartfelt letters, written one before the other after his entrance, in which he justifies his following what he considered to be a divine call. The noviceship life, which has been more than once very minutely and well described for the readers of English periodicals; the noviceship life, with its ceaseless round of minute observances, its constant association with companions who were mostly half-tamed schoolboys, must have been exceedingly trying to this middle-aged, dignified, and already celebrated ecclesiastic. But its two years of trial, and whatever similar trials succeeding years may have brought with them, were endured by Père MacCarthy with great peace of mind and great edification to others. His two years as novice being ended, and his vows pronounced, his labours as preacher and missionary at once commenced. In that day men like him were urgently needed to repair the ruins left by the Revolution, and talents like his had to be availed of with the smallest possible delay. Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, Marseilles, Toulouse, Strasbourg, Amiens, Valence, Avignon, Nismes, were soon the successive fields of his labours, and everywhere his eloquence made powerful and enduring impression. We soon find him summoned to the Tuileries. Louis XVIII. was naturally eager to hear the celebrated preacher to whom he had offered in vain a mitre, and he delivered before the monarch a series of Advent discourses.

For 1826, a year of jubilee, he was summoned to deliver a special course of Lenten sermons at the Tuileries, before Charles X. and his court. His success with these auditors was extraordinary. Royalty and the public Press vied in his praises; his modesty, his sincerity, and his earnestness were



acknowledged as fully as his exceptional talents. Still greater, because more general and popular, was his success the following year in the metropolitan pulpit of St. Sulpice. Everywhere his ministry was eagerly sought for; his work was incessant; and his few and brief intervals of rest were spent as far as possible in the studious and devout retirement which had long been to him a second nature.

In 1830 came the Revolution of July. It must have been very painful to MacCarthy; still we know that it did not take him by surprise. His public utterances had more than once hailed in restored royalty the safeguard of religion, order, and true liberty; but his letters to his friends showed that he recognised how the existing rulers were hardly strong or wise enough to cope with their difficult task.

The troubles of 1830 led to MacCarthy's quitting France for a time; the court preacher of the fallen monarch could not so easily continue his work as if nothing had happened. The Father-General invited him to Rome. He gladly embraced the opportunity of a visit to the Eternal City; but his brief stay there proved fatal to his health. The unfamiliar discomforts of a Roman winter did not exhaust his patience, but they overtaxed his physical endurance. He writes to a relative excusing himself for negligence as a correspondent on the ground that his fingers were usually too numbed with cold for writing.

Nevertheless [he goes on], you have no reason to pity me; I am only too well off. Providence overwhelms me with conceptions. If I am a little cold in winter, that is a trifling discomfort. My superiors cannot give me a room with a fire, because there is not one in the house, not even that of the Father-General. Nor do I fear any more the heat which is to follow than the cold which is passing away. God will arrange all for the best.

Not merely patience, however, but MacCarthy's usual activity were displayed during this Roman visit. He preached in French in many churches and convents, and gathered large and distinguished audiences. Among his hearers was Chateaubriand, who as French envoy was so prominent in the proceedings of the conclave which elected Pope Pius VIII. But the

summer heats presently threatened ruin to the orator's already enfeebled health. He began a slow return homeward, working, so to speak, all the steps of his way. At Turin, the capital of the Sardinian kingdom, he was requested by the king to preach a sort of mission to the soldiery. In this work he attracted admiration less by his eloquence, which drew crowds of all classes, than by his goodness, unwearied labours, and a zeal which had recourse to all charitable ingenuities. Leaving Turin, he retired to the novitiate of Chieri hard by, where for ten days he prepared in silence and prayer for what he believed to be his rapidly approaching end. The opening of the Lent of 1832 finds him, however, in the cathedral of Chambéry, where intestine quarrels among the clergy and their flocks rendered his position a difficult one. But his prudence and gentleness, combined with his more forceful gifts, triumphed over all difficulties, and he ended his work amid general blessings and commendations.

Thus did this follower of the Good Shepherd continue to evangelise throughout the towns and villages of many lands; but the end of his work was come; his next station was to be his last. The Bishop of Annecy, Mgr. Rey, was a warm personal friend of MacCarthy's; and when he invited the latter to undertake a mission in his cathedral during the Lent of 1833, the tired missionary could not bring himself to refuse. He began with his usual energy, and arranged to deliver four sermons each week; but at the same time his presentiments of death were clearer than ever, and he declared to several of his religious brethren that the mission would be his last. He brought his work to a close, and then sank down exhausted. In the episcopal palace, where he lay, he had found a most kind host, and now a devoted friend who watched with untiring affection at his bedside. Deep sympathy was felt all through the town, and then in far wider circles, as it became known that this good and talented labourer, this earnest friend of the poor and the afflicted, was reaching the term of his earthly career. Mgr. Rey wrote to a friend that Père MacCarthy's greatness of soul appeared more clearly in those last painful days than in his most splendid oratorical triumphs 'Never,' he says, 'was sermon as touching or words

more burning than those which during many days we heard from his dying lips.' After twenty-four days' illness he calmly breathed his last. The Chapter of the Cathedral entreated that the body of the venerated missionary should not be taken from Annecy; their prayer was granted. The obsequies were celebrated with the greatest magnificence under the venerable roof which had lately re-echoed his voice, and his remains were laid to rest in the episcopal vault among those of the successors of St. Francis de Sales. The following official notice, couched in Latin, announced his death:—

The Reverend Father Nicholas de McCarthy, native of Ireland, of the Society of Jesus, bishop designate of Montauban, most illustrious by his descent, his eloquence and his piety, having completed a Lenten station at Annecy, amid universal admiration, and falling mortally ill in the episcopal palace, appeared greater in spirit on his death bed than he had been eminent for eloquence and learning in the pulpit; and, richer in merits than in years, departed to heaven as he had desired and foretold, on the third day of May, Feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross.

In 1834, there appeared at Lyons a complete edition in four octavo volumes of the written relics of MacCarthy's eloquence. An English translation has appeared, which, however, I have not seen. In many foreign versions, but notably in Italian, MacCarthy's sermons have long been very widely known and appreciated. The Lyons edition is prefaced by the most complete biography yet issued, the work of the Abbé Deplace; its tone is too much that of a panegyric, but I have sufficient reason to believe it, on the whole, a very honest document. I have verified and supplemented its information with the help of other easily accessible printed sources, but much more by the verbal communications of Father Edmund Hogan. He was well acquainted with many friends and companions of Father MacCarthy himself, and frequently shared their reminiscences of the departed orator. Everything I have heard from Father Hogan fits in quite harmoniously with the agreeable outlines and bright tints of the picture presented to us by the biographer of seventy years ago.

GEORGE O'NEILL, S.J.



## THE HEXAHEMERON AND SCIENCE

## I.

GOD has given a two-fold revelation to man: the one, supernatural, contained for the most part in the Bible; the other, natural, contained in the vast book of Nature itself. Both are hidden books: both need interpretation. The one He has confided to the infallible guardianship of His Church on earth: the other He has left to be studied by the unaided natural powers of man. *Mundum tradidit disputationi eorum*.<sup>1</sup> And the progress man has made in recent years, in bringing to light the hidden things of nature, is wonderful indeed. But what has been the effect of this progress on the interpretation of that other book—God's book *par excellence*? Let us turn to its first mysterious page; and, confining our enquiry to that first chapter of Genesis, let us ask do the conclusions of modern Science throw any light upon its meaning? Have they any bearing upon it? How are they likely to affect or modify traditional notions concerning the nature and scope of the Hexahemeron?

These are obviously very interesting questions in view of the vast world of controversial literature that has grown up around them in modern times. They are of peculiar interest to the Catholic Biblical student; but no one knows better than he that they are questions of peculiar difficulty too. He is not, however, either surprised or alarmed at the early appearance of such difficulties. He knows from experience that the Sacred Text is full of mystery: that God's message to His people contains a vast, hidden wealth of meaning,—a meaning exceeding all that is hidden away in Nature, even as the supernatural exceeds the natural. He remembers what St. Peter said about St. Paul's epistles,<sup>2</sup> applying it to all the Scriptures. He has in mind those inspired commentaries of our Lord and of St. Paul on other parts of the Sacred Books—

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<sup>1</sup> Eccles. iii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Peter iii. 16.

commentaries wherein we are astonished at the emphasis laid and the arguments built upon the meaning, apparently trivial, but evidently intended to be conveyed by the Holy Spirit, under some simple commonplace word. He is not even surprised to find St. Augustine express himself as never more diffident or uncertain of his ground than when interpreting a text that is obviously plain and easy. Very soon he comes to learn that in spite of all superficial appearances to the contrary, there is in God's Written Word nothing insignificant, nothing meaningless, nothing purposeless or *per accidens*. He realises in its full force the truth of those striking words of our present Holy Father, in his Encyclical on the Study of the Sacred Scriptures<sup>3</sup> :—

Neque enim [he says] eorum ratio librorum similis atque communium putanda est ; sed, quoniam sunt ab Ipso Spiritu Sancto dictati, resque gravissimas continent multisque partibus reconditas et difficiliores, ad illas propterea intelligendas exponendasque, semper ejusdem spiritus 'indigemus adventu,'<sup>4</sup> hoc est lumine et gratia ejus, quae sane . . . humili sunt precatatione imploranda, sanctimonia vitae custodienda.

When, therefore, we address ourselves to the task of interpreting the Mosaic Cosmogony in the first chapter of Genesis, we need not be surprised at any obscurity we may encounter. Furthermore, if difficulties arise from the provinces of the Natural Sciences there is still no reason to be alarmed or disturbed. It is enough for us to know that, antecedent to the infallible interpretation of any text of Sacred Scripture by the Church herself, our own private interpretation is at best only provisional ; that, therefore, the established truths of Science may at any moment prove it false and oblige us to abandon it. All that is quite possible ; but it is quite another thing that Science should ever contradict the Scripture itself ; therein lies the impossibility. The same God is the God of Religious truth and of Scientific truth, and He cannot belie Himself.

The Catholic Biblical student who approaches his subject

<sup>3</sup> Encyclical, *Providentissimus Deus*, November, 1893.

<sup>4</sup> St. Hier. in Mich. i. 10.

with a consciousness of those few fundamental truths, so far from fearing anything from the Natural Sciences, cannot fail to find in them a very valuable corrective aid to the true interpretation of the Sacred Text.<sup>5</sup> Outside the comparatively small portion of the Written Word that has been as yet infallibly interpreted by the Church, he enjoys the fullest liberty of provisional interpretation; and the consciousness that his interpretation is only provisional, that the true meaning of the Inspired Text is independent of what he may think, and that there is a living, infallible custodian that can settle all disputes according as the necessity may arise,—such a consciousness will bring with it a calm and equanimity that may contribute not a little to the fruitfulness of his labours and research.

It is most desirable to bring to the study of the Hexahemeron a due mindfulness of those important facts. Catholic commentators must have occasionally failed to emphasise the distinction between the Sacred Text and their own interpretation of it, when meeting the attacks of hostile scientists. This naturally led to many misunderstandings. Sometimes the scientists—flushed, no doubt, with their truly wonderful victories in their own proper domain—advancing more rapidly than their established conclusions warranted, exultingly thought that they had vanquished all Scripture claims to inspired truth when, as a matter of fact, they had only questionably disproved the provisional interpretation of some Catholic exegetist. Where they had aimed a blow at the Church they merely struck a conjectured explanation of the Sacred Text. One is often saddened to see how their discomfiture at encountering such an elusive opponent, develops into a deep contempt for all interpretations and interpreters—particularly, of late years, for the ‘Concordist’ school.<sup>6</sup> However, our enemies must learn to be patient as well as ourselves in searching for the true meaning of Sacred Scripture. Assuredly it is not in answer to their threats or challenges, but under

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<sup>5</sup> Quapropter Scripturae Sacrae doctori cognitio naturalium rerum bono erit subsidio quo hujus quoque modi captiones in divinos Libros instructas facilius detegat et refellat.—Encyclical.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Professor Huxley's animadversions on the Concordists in his memorable controversy with Gladstone on this subject,—*Nineteenth Century*, Dec., 1885 (p. 858).



the influence of the Holy Spirit and to satisfy the wants of the faithful that the Church in her own good time will declare the truth. Meantime all futile attempts of scientists to set Science at variance with the Hexahemeron will be harmless to the Church and hurtful only to the true interests of Science itself: even as the action of the imprudent dogmatizer on interpretation may do a like harm to religion by bringing his own high calling into disrepute.

The Church has never committed herself to any interpretation of the Hexahemeron. Neither Fathers, Doctors, nor Scripture commentators have been at any time unanimous as to its true meaning. Hence it is one of those portions of Sacred Scripture in which—to use the words of our Holy Father,—‘privato cuique doctori magnus patet campus in quo, tutis vestigiis, sua interpretandi industria praeclare certet ecclesiaeque utiliter.’<sup>7</sup> Let the scientist, therefore, pursue his course, and establish his facts and laws, and let the exegetist make a prudent use of them in bringing to light the inspired meaning of the Sacred Text.<sup>8</sup> Let the latter remember also that it is not merely the progress of modern Science that has created difficulties of interpretation in the first chapter of Genesis. It is, of course, beyond all doubt that the later conclusions of Astronomy, and the revelations of Geology and Paleontology, have given an altogether new impetus to the study of the Mosaic Cosmogony: that those sciences have brought to light facts which, perhaps, render old interpretations no longer tenable. But it is no less true that from the very earliest times there has been wide diversity of opinion, arising from difficulties intrinsic to the text itself. Down through all the centuries, it has ever been a puzzle, an enigma, about whose meaning the greatest of the Church’s Doctors have hazarded speculations only with the most cautious reserve.

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<sup>7</sup> Encyclical.

<sup>8</sup> ‘Cavendum est ne quam quisquis semel adamavit et amplexus est sententiam, eam non modo teneat mordicus et prae fracte defendat sed etiam contendit ita esse scripturae propriam ut aliam quamlibet suae vel adversam vel diversam clamet Scripturae esse contrarium.’—Hummelauer, S.J. *Commentarius in Genesim*, p. 57 (from Peyerius, S.J.)

Occupying a unique position at the head of the Sacred Books, it possesses, in addition to ordinary obscurity, difficulties altogether peculiar to itself ; and it is a very superficial perusal that would fail to suggest some of them. Let a plain man read the first page of the Bible for the first time. Ask him what does he think of it?—how does he understand it? Doubtless, he will tell you that he finds there a brief, simple, historical narrative, describing in broad outline how this world of ours came into being, how God created it, prepared it, peopled it ; that it took Him six ordinary days to do so, that He rested on the seventh and sanctified it, that we, too, sanctify the seventh day after that example. On reflection, however, difficulties will suggest themselves to him. Where and how did the sacred historian get his information—since there was no one on earth before Adam, to see what was going on? How three days and nights without the sun, moon, and stars? Why such historical detail about what is in itself a natural and non-religious event, at the opening of what is professedly a sacred history? Other difficulties, too, you may suggest if you are yourself familiar with the whole subject—difficulties such as will leave the plain man filled with mis-giving as to whether he understands at all what appeared to him at first so plain and simple ; difficulties which you yourself may or may not be able to solve to your own satisfaction.

However, notwithstanding all these, the view of our plain man was the common and popular one down to comparatively recent times. In the Christian Church, most of those who were versed in Biblical studies, and all the ordinary faithful who were not, believed the plain literal interpretation of the Hexahemeron to give its true sense. The ordinary faithful believe so still,—those, that is, who are unaware of the new force given to old difficulties by Science in modern times. But our concern at present is with Biblical scholars, and with informed opinion.

The literal interpretation was practically the only one known to the Jews before our Lord's time. In the early Christian Church, however, it was not the only one, as we shall see presently. It was advocated by—amongst others—Saints

Ephrem, Chrysostom, Basil, Ambrose, Gregory the Great, by Theodoret, Venerable Bede, and, at least partially, by St. Jerome; and it came to be the generally accepted view—with, however, some notable exceptions—amongst the interpreters and scholastics of the Middle Ages, and their successors, down to about the beginning of the last century.<sup>9</sup> It evidently had in its favour that fundamental principle of exegesis which is laid down in the Pope's Encyclical in the words of St. Augustine himself: 'A litterali et veluti obvio sensu minime discedendum nisi qua eum vel ratio tenere prohibeat vel necessitas cogat dimittere.'<sup>10</sup>

It is not a little significant then to find the same holy Doctor, St. Augustine himself, foremost in rank amongst those early interpreters, who, after mature consideration, thought that they saw ample reason to doubt if the literal sense were the one intended by the Holy Spirit; and who preferred to believe that God created all things *simultaneously*. This interpretation, which refuses to see in the Hexahemeron a historical narrative of the Creation, found its home in the famous school of Alexandria. The propounders of this view professed to find in the first chapter of Genesis an *allegory* pure and simple, and interpreted its language in an allegorical sense. Chief amongst them may be mentioned Aristobulus, Philo, St. Clement, Origen, St. Athanasius, Procopius, St. Gregory of Nyssa, and St. Hilary,—and, later on, Eucherius, Isidore, and Alcuin. St. Augustine's own interpretation was not allegorical but *ideal*. God first created instantaneously in their proper kinds, the lowest and the highest creatures,—the primal matter and the angels,—the former with the *rationes seminales* of all non-spiritual life. The angels became conscious of themselves and of the material world firstly by natural knowledge—*cognitione vespertina*; and then by supernatural beatific knowledge—*in Verbo, cognitione matutina*; and thus 'there was evening and morning one day.' So, too, the development of the material world is represented to us by the inspired author, not according to the order of actual fact, but

<sup>9</sup> Corluy, S.J., *Spicilegium Dogmatico-Biblicum*, vol. i., p. 183.

<sup>10</sup> De Gen. ad litt. l. viii., c. 7, 13.



in a logical series of pictures suited to our intelligence. It is not within the scope of our enquiry to go any further into detail. As presented by the saint, the ideal theory is undoubtedly sublime in its conception; but, what is more to our present purpose to observe, it is an interpretation which, to say the least of it, if we regard the matter *a priori*, according to what we should naturally expect, fits in *perhaps equally well* with the character of that mysterious introduction to the Sacred Books as does the view which seeks to find in the Hexahemeron a revelation—an inspired and revealed historical narrative—of truths and facts that are the proper subject-matter of the merely natural sciences. Be that as it may, St. Augustine's view got little support amongst the schoolmen of the Middle Ages; and but for the authority of his great name, it would in all probability have got less. At the same time it is noteworthy that the chief of all the schoolmen—the Angelic Doctor himself—expresses his preference for it in no ambiguous terms. 'Est rationabilior,' he says, 'et magis ab irrisione infidelium S. Scripturam defendens . . . et haec opinio plus mihi placet.'<sup>11</sup> However, it never met with general favour, though down to modern times it was the only interpretation in the field against literalism.

The ideal theory has so little to say to the natural sciences that we may be accused of having dwelt too long upon it; but its intimate connection with *modern ideal interpretations* is an obvious justification for noticing it carefully in an essay which professes to deal with the relations not merely of the modern *Concordist Theory*, but of the Hexahemeron itself—under all interpretations—with the findings of Natural Science. Moreover, the same principles as were thought to justify the ancient ideal interpretations are nowadays restated to justify the modern ones. Hence the necessity of considering them.

Commentators usually enumerate very concisely, and refute no less concisely, the reasons that urged St. Augustine to abandon the literal and advocate an ideal sense in the account of the Creation. Here are the principal ones. (1) He

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<sup>11</sup> St. Thom. in 2 Sent. 12, 2, corp.

*misinterpreted* two texts in favour of *simultaneous* creation. In Eccles. xviii. 1, 'Qui vivit in aeternum creavit omnia simul' — *κοινῇ* — *simul*, means *pariter*, without reference to time. In Gen. ii. 4, 'In *die* quo' means simply 'quando.' (2) How could there have been three days and nights without sun, moon, or firmament? This is answered by supposing the existence of a diffused, intermittent, cosmic light. (3) How could God have created the seventh day if He completed His work on the sixth?<sup>12</sup> Moreover, it would have no evening. It is answered that God did not create the seventh day at all, and that its evening is not mentioned because there was no work to finish.

Now, St. Augustine himself could have answered the two latter difficulties just as well as we can with all our improved knowledge of Nature; and, consequently, it is exceedingly probable that he was influenced far more by Scriptural reasons and difficulties than by those he perceived in Nature. We cannot help feeling that he, and the many other holy and learned men who thought with him, including St. Thomas himself, imbued as they were with the spirit of the Sacred Writings, must have been influenced by deeper reasons than those usually catalogued by commentators, when they abandoned what appears to be the plain, obvious, literal meaning of the text; that they must have felt convinced they were at least doing no violence either to the doctrine of inspiration or to the historical trustworthiness of the Bible. And this point is strongly emphasised by the rising school of idealist interpreters—a fact which further shows the close connection between the ancient and the modern school. Indeed it will make for clearness to state here plainly that there are and always have been, broadly speaking, two great schools of thought relative to the interpretation of the Hexahemeron. The one advocates the historical truth of the narrative, either fully with the Literalists, or with certain limitations and modifications as set forth by the Diluvianists, Restitutionists, or Periodists; the other advocates an allegorical or ideal sense,

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<sup>12</sup> In Genesis ii. 2: 'Complevitque Deus die *septimo* opus suum,'—the Septuagint, Samaritan and Syriac have '*sexto*.' In the Hebrew, '*septimo*' is a copyist's error.

either with St. Augustine and the Allegorists, or after the manner of the moderns, whether according to the 'Poetry' theory of Clifford,<sup>13</sup> the 'Vision or Revelation' theory of Kurtz,<sup>14</sup> Schæfer,<sup>15</sup> Hummelauer,<sup>16</sup> and others, or the newest theory of 'Critical Literalism,' as it is called, by Guibert<sup>17</sup> in his very excellent book, *Les Origines*. As we proceed to examine the gradual transition from Literalism to Concordism and thence under press of scientific difficulties to Revelationism, we shall learn that the real difficulty is to discern how much historical truth are we to expect in the Mosaic Cosmogony, and how far it is merely—after the nature of a parable or allegory—a setting in language for the conveyance and inculcation of a few important religious truths.

And just as there are two main schools of thought, so too there is recognised by both in common a distinctly two-fold element in the Hexahemeron. There is the religious element about which all Catholics have ever agreed and which the Church will not permit us to call into doubt. All the rest is debateable, and the Church is silent in its regard. To the former domain belong the dogmatic and moral truths embodied in the chapter: that there is One Personal God Who created all things including man himself by the mere expression of His Almighty Will—*Dixitque Deus*; that the works of God are good—*et vidit Deus quod esset bonum*; that the mystical rest of God, sanctifying the Sabbath day, is a type of the Sabbath Law,<sup>18</sup> and expressive of man's obligation to worship his Creator.<sup>19</sup> But besides those great fundamental religious truths, is there any further information or teaching to be expected from the first chapter of Genesis? Is it likely that God should purpose to teach us there, in addition, some

<sup>13</sup> *Dublin Review*, 1881, April.

<sup>14</sup> *Bibel und Astronomie*, p. 72.

<sup>15</sup> Guibert: *Les Origines* ('In the Beginning'), translated from the French by G. S. Whitmarsh. London: Kegan Paul. 1900.

<sup>16</sup> *Commentarius in Genesim*, p. 68.

<sup>17</sup> *In the Beginning*, p. 47.

<sup>18</sup> Exodus xx. 11 and xxxi. 17; Deut. v. 14.

<sup>19</sup> 'In short, it lays the foundations of all theology—it destroys all the errors of the ancient world; it establishes all the fundamental dogmas of religion: the unity of God—creation *ex nihilo*—Providence—the unity of the human race—the dependence of man on his Creator—the condemnation of Polytheism, Naturalism and Materialism.'—Vigoureux, quoted by Guiber., p. 21.



purely natural truths about the formation, development, and laws of the universe? Besides the Sacred Books has He not left us the great Hidden Book of Nature wherein we are to explore and bring to light by the aid of our own natural powers, those wonderful facts and grand majestic laws of Nature that show forth so admirably the splendour of Him Who made them and Who thus *naturally* reveals them to mankind? So those reason who consider themselves justified in denying that the Hexahemeron gives us a historical account of facts that took place in the order of Nature just as they are there described.

On the other side, however, it may be urged with equal show of reason that the Pentateuch is a sacred history, purporting to trace, in outline, the destinies of the chosen people from the very beginning of the world; that we cannot well conceive what could be a more natural introduction to such a work than a historical account of the creation and preparation of the world for the first parents of the human race; that as other ancient nations—the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Babylonians—had their cosmogonies, so must the Jews have had theirs; that when as a matter of fact we find such a cosmogony at the beginning of Genesis, a brief, sententious, condensed narrative of the origin and evolution of this world, a literal statement, on the one hand not poetic but in prose, on the other hand, not of course scientific, but in popular language, intelligible to the plain man; when we find such a statement, circumstantial and detailed in so far as is consistent with its brevity, that the world and the contents thereof were created and fashioned by God in six days, we ought consequently to accept it, like all other historical statements of the Bible, as bearing on it the guarantee of divine inspiration for its historical truth. Then, moreover, if the literal sense be not the sense intended by the Holy Spirit, men have been and are being unavoidably led into error, seeing that there is no indication in the context that a higher sense is the only one intended.

So argue the Literalists. But again the Idealists reply. Even if such an error *were* unavoidable, they say, it would be harmless—concerned as it is with natural truths and not with

faith or morals—but in truth such an error *never was* unavoidable, seeing that many of the great commentators embracing the idealist view *have* avoided it. And, furthermore, even though there be no warning *in the context* that the literal sense is not intended, still are there not analogies throughout the Sacred Books abundantly sufficient to put us on our guard? Are there not, for instance, many parables and allegories, in the New Testament especially, which might be taken for historical narratives, so far as any warning to the contrary in the context is concerned? Are not passages of a like nature quite common in the Prophets? And yet would not an Oriental race, highly imaginative and poetical, and given to allegorical language, perfectly understand all such narratives without the least fear of being misled by them?

There are o'her difficulties, too, about that alleged popular use of language. But it is needless to adduce them now, when we are merely considering the lines of argument followed by either school. It is well, though, to have noted particularly here the principles and reasons brought forward on the side of the Idealists, because they are practically the same as those adduced by the modern Idealist school, and they will turn up again for discussion later on.

Those old arguments were all well known and time-worn when the new sciences of Geology, Paleontology, and Astronomy—for we may call this latter also a new science though old enough in name—began to shed a new light upon an old subject. Since the Copernican replaced the old Ptolemaic system, especially since it called in the telescope to its aid, Astronomy has made such giant strides and has accomplished such wonderful feats in extending the boundaries of man's knowledge about the vast visible universe that it well deserves the name it has won for itself, and to be designated *par excellence* the 'wonderful science.' Never, perhaps, was such a sweeping and mighty revolution compassed in human thought. We have found this earth of ours to be a veritable speck in the great Universe, a mere unit in a myriad of worlds, a very small, humble part of the solar system, a mere planet of the great Sun, which is, itself, only one of an almost limitless multitude of stars. We may not, however, linger contemplating

those stupendous facts which Astronomy has brought within our ken: our enquiry is concerned with its practical bearing on the interpretation of the Mosaic Cosmogony. Astronomers assure us that this vast orderly universe of ours has been gradually evolved out of uniform, shapeless, nebulous matter. It is a verified fact that such a process is still going on, that new worlds are still being formed out of the rarefied cosmic matter. And the cycles of evolution through which our solar system has passed must be analogous to those that are still going on in all the regions of the starry heavens: a rarefied, revolving spherical system, condensing by centripetal force, and by centrifugal force throwing off flat, concentric, equatorial rings: these break up to form planets: these in turn throw off in like manner other planets. In each and all, condensation produces heat and combustion: each burns on for long ages, like our own Sun, till, gradually extinguishing, it loses its light and heat, and, cooling down, solidifies like our earth and moon. Such is the merest outline of Laplace's theory, now universally received by astronomers. In so far as this theory regards the actual process of formation of our earth it is of course only a scientific hypothesis, and must ever remain such, since the past actual fact can never be verified. *But it is a highly probable hypothesis in favour of which most weighty reasons exist.*<sup>20</sup>

Turning next to Geology, which is as yet an infant science, we find that it has literally thrown open to us the crust of our planet, and has let in an altogether new light upon the probable age of the earth, and upon the process of its gradual development. The evidence borne by the existence and nature of the stratified rocks, although often wantonly misused in the hands of early erratic geologists to throw discredit on the Bible, and although even yet by no means definite or satisfactory, nevertheless seems to point with certainty to *millions* of years during which this earth had been going through its natural process of evolution previous to the appearance of man—that event for which the Bible carries us back only seven or eight thousand years.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Guibert, p. 10.

<sup>21</sup> Dana, for example, supposes the geological phase must have lasted fifty



Finally Paleontology, the sister science to Geology—the science which deals with the fossil remains—has made to us the altogether astonishing revelation that whole cycles of plant and animal life must have arisen, flourished, and gone on developing for millions of years before man appeared on the scene; so that in very truth it would appear that man is but of yesterday on this globe.

Now, in face of all those new and amazing facts, how did the Mosaic Cosmogony fare? At first the light of the novel discoveries almost dazzled scientist and exegete alike. Wild assertions were often made by the former: authenticated facts and warranted conclusions were sometimes denied by the latter. While the former succeeded only in displaying an unholy zeal against the Bible, the latter seemed to forget for the moment that after all scientific certainty is better than doubtful exegesis, and ought to be admitted when proved, *ne Scriptura ab infidelibus derideatur*, as St. Thomas says.<sup>22</sup> But the futility of such action has long been recognised, and nowadays scientist and interpreter work calmly and cautiously in their respective spheres. Although, as I have already hinted, the stratified rocks with their wealth of fossil remains do not furnish the scientist with such *exact* data as would lead *demonstratively* to definite conclusions regarding the approximate thousands or millions of years required for their formation, according to the ordinary working of natural laws as now known to us, still, their cumulative evidence points so distinctly and forcibly to the gradual evolution of plant and animal life through long remote ages, that most interpreters have felt the necessity of revising and modifying in some way or other the old literal interpretation of the Hexahemeron. Some, however, undertake still to defend it unchanged.<sup>23</sup> These question the certainty of modern scientific conclusions, and the reliability of the methods employed. The evidence, however, seems too strong to be thus lightly put aside. The

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millions of years. The duration of the previous astronomical phase can scarcely be conjectured. Lord Kelvin has concluded, from the principles of Thermodynamics, that *life* could not possibly have appeared on our globe earlier than about 15,000,000 years ago.

<sup>22</sup> 1 p. q. 68, a. 1, o.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Mazzella, *De Deo Creatore*, and others quoted by him, art. 10, § iv.

appeal to our ignorance of the conditions under which the laws of Nature may have operated in the remote past, is, of course, a perfectly legitimate appeal. No doubt, the forces of Nature could have acted so intensely under the absolute power of God as to have formed all the stratified rocks, with their fossils, within a few thousand years; or within a week of six days, for that matter; not, however, without very extraordinary interference on the part of the Creator. Indeed the natural sciences themselves tell us of mighty forces that produced terrific cataclysms in Nature when operating under conditions altogether strange to human experience. Astronomy speaks in eloquent language of grand and sublime revolutions on our own planet, and in the universe of which we form an infinitesimal part. Geology synchronises man's appearance on the earth with the great Glacial Drift, when mountains of ice covered up what are now fertile and smiling countries; and, again, it tells us of an epoch of colossal vegetation—the Carboniferous Period—when a series of gigantic forests, repeatedly submerged by oceans rolling over them, went to form those coal beds which are now dug up to furnish fuel to a new world from the ruins of an old. But, though these things are so, nevertheless, the demand which the old literal theory makes upon our credulity as to the pliability of the natural laws, would seem to be somewhat exorbitant; especially when Nature's own interpreters assure us that any differences they can discern between the past and present modes of operation of her laws, contradict rather than fulfil the requirements of the literal school of exegesis.

There are, of course, scientists who put mighty faith in the potency of Nature when acting back 'beyond the abyss of geologically recorded time,' as do those, for instance, who believe in the unverifiable assumption of spontaneous generation at that distant epoch. But, like the literalists, they have a purpose, though a different one, in eliciting such faith. For our own part, just as our credulity will not reach back to abiogenesis with the scientist, so neither is it inclined to stretch back the whole way with the literalist interpreter of the Hexahemeron. We are also reminded by the literalist that God could have created the world in six days in such a state

of development—as regards stratified rocks and so forth—that the time allowed by the Bible might quite suffice to give us all the *data* that modern sciences have brought to light. This, of course, is also true, but it does not strike one as a *modus agendi*, likely to be pursued by an All-Wise Creator.

Influenced by such reasons, a large proportion of Scripture scholars, feeling the impossibility of defending the old literal view, gradually came to advocate what is known as the 'Period' theory, by modifying somewhat the obvious literal meaning of the language of the text. The transition was marked by the proposal of a few other theories which met with only a passing and temporary popularity. They are known as the 'Diluvianist' and 'Restitutionist' theories. The former sought to explain away the stratified rocks and their fossil remains by referring them to the Noachian Deluge; the latter by referring them to a past order of creation mentioned in Genesis i. 1, and entirely destroyed by some mighty cataclysm at the end of the Tertiary Geological Period, after which 'the earth was void and empty' (Genesis i. 2), and God commenced the work of restoration (Genesis i. 3), which He completed in six ordinary days.

The Period theory, however, soon attracted practically all Bible scholars who still wished and hoped to effect a harmony between the Cosmogony and Science. Hence it is known both as the 'Concordist' theory *par excellence*, on account of the object at which it explicitly aimed, and as the 'Period' theory, because of the chief means by which it undertook to achieve that object—interpreting the six days of Genesis i. to mean not civil days, but *indefinite periods of time*. St. Augustine had abandoned the six days' creation in favour of simultaneous creation. The Periodists abandon it in favour of the creation and development affirmed by Science; but, unlike St. Augustine, they maintain strongly the historical character of the Hexahemeron. They steer a middle course between literalism and idealism. Facing the facts of Science they allege that they see therein a concord with the inspired narrative, and a consequent new proof of the inspiration and divine origin of the latter.<sup>24</sup> Obviously, then, this system

<sup>24</sup> 'Without the miracle of Revelation, the miracle of this agreement



demands particular notice in these pages, since their chief purpose is to discuss whether such a relation of harmony between the Hexahemeron and Science can still be fairly maintained. For this purpose, however, it will be needless to go into the many reasons *in favour of* Concordism; it will be sufficient to outline the main difficulties *against* it.

Geology certainly demands very long periods for the formation of the various *strata* of rocks; but Concordism grants it indefinite periods, and hence there can be no difficulty on the score of *time*. Paleontology, however, has revealed momentous facts about the *order* in which the different *genera* of plant and animal life first manifested themselves on this globe. Can this order be in any possible way reconciled with the order found in Genesis?—a crucial question for the Concordist. The subjoined table, showing some of the conclusions of modern research, will, by a little perusal, help to convey an idea of the sort of difficulties Concordists have had to face:—

GEOLOGICAL DEPOSITS.		FOSSIL REMAINS.
QUATERNARY, after glacial period		Man.
TERTIARY	(a) Pliocene (b) Miocene (c) Eocene	} Huge herbiferous quadrupeds now extinct. } <i>Our present plant world,—grasses, fruit-trees.</i> First appearance of <i>Bats</i> .
SECONDARY	(a) Cretaceous (b) Jurassic (c) Triassic	
PRIMARY	(a) Permian (b) Carboniferous (c) Devonian (d) Silurian (e) Cambrian (f) Laurentian	Amphibious reptiles of stupendous size. <i>The age of reptiles; flying-reptiles.</i> <i>Foot-prints and first vestiges of birds.</i>  Amphibia, Reptiles, Lizards. Wonderful luxuriance of <i>vegetable world</i> that formed the coal-beds; <i>of an entirely different order from present plant world.</i> Ganoid fish; lichens, mosses, ferns and other cryptogamous plants (terrestrial). <i>Flying insects; scorpions</i> (land creeping-things); vertebrate fish; plants (marine or terrestrial?). Marine organic life (invertebrate), molluscs, corals, crustacea, zoophytes (Oldhamia), traces of plant remains of the <i>fungus</i> type. Eozoon Canadense,—disputed whether animal, vegetable or at all organic.
Granite and Crystalline Rock		Azoic; no trace of life.

could not be explained.' (Castelein, *La première page de Moïse*, p. 528). If, this document [the Mosaic writing] be true . . . it follows that it has a divine origin' (Dana, *Manual of Geology*, p. 767).—Guibert, p. 34.

Now, while scientists have been constructing tables, of which the one above will give a very rough idea, Concordists, on their side, have been elaborating their tables of concordance also. Taking the first chapter of Genesis, we find that interpreters agree in main outline upon the following distribution:—

vv. 1-5 describe the astronomical phase of our earth down to the end of the first day.

6-8 correspond with beginning of geological phase ; with *beginning of life* in Laurentian or Cambrian deposits. Second day.

9-10 with Silurian and Devonian deposits. Third day.

11-13 with Carboniferous deposit. Third day.

14-19 with Permian deposit. Fourth day.

20-23 with Secondary Epoch. Fifth day.

24-31 with Tertiary and Quaternary Epochs. Sixth day.

If the reader compare the contents of the above verses of Genesis i. with the fossil remains assigned to the respective *strata* in the foregoing table, he will find, no doubt, a general harmony. But let him look to details. He will soon perceive such discrepancies and contradictions, such a maze of difficulties, as may well set him thinking deeply over the *meanings* of the *words* in Genesis, and doubting whether the alleged harmony may not after all be more apparent than real. It would take a volume to discuss all those difficulties. Indeed volumes have been written discussing them. A few typical ones will suffice here.

Take for instance the plant world. Of that which is mentioned in the language of Genesis i. 10. 11, descriptive of the work of the *third day*, we find no traces earlier than the Tertiary epoch, which corresponds with the *sixth day*. The vegetable world of the Carboniferous deposit is not 'green herb' or 'fruit-yielding tree,' it is of a *totally different order*. Can it be said, in answer, that the inspired author described the earlier one in terms of the later one, its descendant? Perhaps. At least that is the only answer we have heard made by those who hold that Moses *does* refer to the Carboniferous vegetable world in the verses alluded to. And if they are to maintain the historical character of the Hexahemeron, they *must* hold that Moses *does* refer to the Carboniferous age ; for it is certainly the Vegetable age *par excellence*, and their

latest great canon of interpretation is that the Scripture language, descriptive of the work of each day, depicts that work, or rather the result of it, not at the time of its beginning but *at the time of its highest stage of development*. Of this canon more anon: its necessity will be obvious from the consideration of the following further difficulties.

In the second place, then, it will be observed that the *birds* and *reptiles* create no small trouble; especially the latter. And the difficulty is increased both by the obscurity of meaning attaching to the Hebrew words of the original text, and by the variety of translations given them. Of this obscurity hostile scientists have made great capital, as, for example, Professor Huxley did in his controversy with Gladstone in the *Nineteenth Century*.<sup>25</sup> And indeed Concordists have made an equal use of the same obscurity in answering the objections proposed, with what success, however, remains to be told. Huxley's contention, drawn from the early appearance of the insect, the scorpion and the lizard in the geological *strata*, from the late appearance of birds, and such like *data*, was, that, if we are consistent in the meaning we give to Hebrew words, the order of priority amongst living things, as established by Science, does not confirm, but contradicts the order given in Genesis. It will be instructive, therefore, to examine the *data* which Genesis furnishes in reference to the *reptilia*. They may be tabulated as follows:

TEXT.	HEBREW.	VULGATE.	DOUAY.
v. 20 (Fifth day)	' <i>sherets-nephesh-hayah</i> '	' <i>reptile animae viventis</i> '	'the <i>creeping-creature</i> having life'
v. 21, do.	' <i>kol-nephesh-hayah-haromeseth</i> '	' <i>omnem animam viventem atque notabilem</i> '	'every living and moving creature (which the waters brought forth)'
v. 24 (Sixth day)	' <i>behēma-varemes</i> '	' <i>jumenta et reptile</i> '	'(Let the earth bring forth) cattle and <i>creeping things</i> '
v. 25, do.	' <i>kol-remes-haadamah</i> '	' <i>omne reptile terrae</i> '	'everything that <i>creepeth on the earth</i> '
v. 26, do.	' <i>kol-haremes-haromeseth</i> '	' <i>omneque reptile quod movetur</i> '	'every <i>creeping creature that moveth</i> '
v. 28, do.	' <i>haromeseth</i> ' <sup>26</sup>	' <i>quae moventur</i> '	'that move'

<sup>25</sup> November, 1885, to February, 1886. 'I have great faith,' remarked Huxley, 'in the pliancy of that tongue in the hands of Biblical exegetes.'

<sup>26</sup> In the Heb. this participial form is here predicated of *hayāh*, 'animantia' 'living things.' But the *hayah-beasts* of the earth—do not *creep*, and, consequently, it is more likely that in accordance with the Septuagint and v. 36, *haromeseth* refers here to the same class of things as in v. 26—creeping things. There is an elipsis in the Hebrew text.—Guibert, p. 17.



Now, in the above extracts there occur two important Hebrew words: *sherets* and *remes*, about whose meaning there has been so much dispute—particularly about the former. It will be observed that *reptile* of the Vulgate translates both *sherets* of v. 20, *i.e.*, the product of the *fifth* day, and also *remes* of vv. 24, 25, *i.e.*, the product of the *sixth* day. Furthermore, the Vulgate is justified in translating by *reptile* the two different Hebrew words, because the word *remes* is applied in its participial form in v. 21 to the products of the *fifth* day—to the *sherets* of v. 20. Hence the two words must have a kindred meaning. Now, the words *remes*, *romeseth*, are from *ramas*, to creep; but what is the meaning of *sherets* in v. 20? Does it include the *scorpion* of the *Silurian* deposits that are contemporaneous with the *third* day? Does it signify land-reptiles as well as sea-reptiles? Let us see what light Scripture usage throws upon the matter. Hebrew scholars tell us that *sherets* is a collective noun from the verb *sharats*, which means to bud, sprout, spawn, bring forth abundantly, *pullulare*, *scatere*.<sup>27</sup> Hence *sherets* means, strictly, creeping, crawling things, *reptilia* proper, such as tortoises, lizards, snakes, creeping things of the sea. But in a wider sense it seems to have been applied to living things which, whether great or small, on land or in the ocean, either really creep or otherwise move *on or near the surface of the earth*. Thus, in Leviticus xi. 29-31, it includes the weasel, mouse, crocodile, shrew, chameleon, lizard, mole, some of which certainly are land animals and mammals, though these latter in Genesis i. are ascribed to the *sixth* day. It is clearly, then, a widely generic term applicable to many classes; and if Moses used it to indicate so many classes in Leviticus, did he use it in a narrower sense in Genesis i.? The context in the latter place seems to limit it to the *water* population as distinct from the *air* population produced on the same (fifth) day, and from the *land* population produced on the following day. But then one would expect that Moses would use the word *sherets* of the creeping things produced on the *sixth* day (*remes* in vv. 24-25), if the word in his mind connoted *land*-creeping things.

<sup>27</sup> Corluy, p. 201. The references are to Ex. vii. 28, viii. 3; Ps. cv. 30; Gen. viii. 17, ix. 7.

Then, if we inquire what *water* population can *sherets* in v. 20 designate, we are met by another great difficulty, namely, that, from the testimony of the Cambrian and Silurian rocks, the waters must have been swarming with life on the *second* and *third* days. Concordists solve this and similar difficulties on the principle already referred to, that Moses does not commemorate the *beginnings* but the *most developed stages* of the different kinds of life to which he refers. And they lay down another principle which helps them in the present and a few other cases. It is this: that Moses, describing the process of creation in broad outline from the point of view of a plain observer stationed on the earth, is not to be expected to mention anything except the main and striking facts. Consequently he has no mention of the production of fish and sea-life proper;<sup>28</sup> and by *sherets* in v. 20 he must mean to indicate the huge *amphibia*, the crocodile and the various other sea-monsters that are usually visible to man, and which he contrasts with the air population spoken of in the same context.

Whether this solution is satisfactory or not, the reader must determine for himself. At all events it raises the other difficulty already hinted at: what are the *fowl*, said to have been produced on this same fifth day? The Hebrew word, translated by *volatilia* in the Vulgate, is *hoph*, and occurs in vv. 20, 21, 22, 26, 28 and 30.<sup>29</sup> If it mean 'birds' proper, then Paleontology is far from testifying that birds were a characteristic feature of the secondary epoch<sup>30</sup>—the fifth day. If it signify or include flying *invertebrates*—insects—the

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<sup>28</sup> *Sherets* evidently cannot mean *fish* proper for the fish are mentioned for the first time in v. 26, under their proper name, *dagah*. Similarly Concordists point out that Moses is silent about the invertebrate water-kingdom of molluscs, cephalopods, zoophytes, etc. They doubt whether Moses would have regarded them as 'living' in the sense of being 'respirantia.' Likewise, to the scientists' contention that *marine* plants are prior to *terrestrial*,—prior even to the appearance of dry land,—they reply that possibly it may be so, that Moses did not concern himself with such obscure, and, from his point of view, insignificant details.

<sup>29</sup> In v. 22 it is translated *avesque*, and in v. 30 *volucris*.

<sup>30</sup> It is answered, I know not with what force, however, that *birds* are not a class whose fossils would have any likelihood of being treasured up extensively in the rocks.

fossils of these are found in the silurian deposit which is contemporary with the *third* day. Concordists emphatically assert that what Moses primarily, if not exclusively, designates here by the word *hoph*, is the immense flying reptile, whose fossils are so numerous in the rocks of that remote 'age of reptiles' as it is called, the secondary epoch. They are, however, referred by their opponents to Leviticus xi. 13, where *hoph* stands for a large class of flying things, amongst which, they remark, is enumerated the *bat* (*vespertilio*), which is a *mammal*,<sup>31</sup> and whose first traces appear not any earlier than the Eocene deposit—the early part of the *sixth* day!<sup>32</sup> Moreover, in the twentieth verse of the same chapter of Leviticus we find the expression '*sherets-hahoph*,' 'flying-creeping things,' translated in the Vulgate: *Omne de volucris quod graditur super quatuor pedes*;<sup>33</sup> from which it would appear to follow that *hoph* like *sherets*, with which it is compounded, is a very wide, descriptive term for flying things in general.

I know not what impression the reader will have formed about the validity either of those objections or their attempted solutions. Even admitting, as all do admit, that it was not the aim of the inspired author to follow any scientific classification but only to give, in popular language, broad divisions of living things, according to appearances that ordinary people could understand, still, in the said popular language, abstracting altogether from Science, there is obviously a good deal of obscurity and uncertainty as to meaning. And this obscurity is, of course, equally efficacious, or equally inefficacious, in proving either a concord or a contradiction between the Hexahemeron and Science. Many of the objections drawn from Science have often been propped up and supplemented by a prejudiced use of this vagueness of meaning in the language of Genesis. But in so far as they were based on such obscurity they were generally as futile as were the exaggerated concordances drawn by interpreters from the same unsatisfactory source.

<sup>31</sup> The secondary age, corresponding to the *sixth* day, is the great age of gigantic mammal remains.

<sup>32</sup> See Prof. Huxley in the *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1886, p. 197.

<sup>33</sup> Not *vespertiliones*, as Corluy has it, p. 201.



Apart altogether, however, from individual difficulties such as we have just examined—difficulties drawn from isolated scientific discoveries—there arises also from the domain of the natural sciences what may be termed a general difficulty against the Concordist theory. It is briefly this. While the text of Genesis represents the *first origin* of the various kinds of life on the successive days, Geology clearly testifies to the *simultaneous* existence of plant life and animal life *from the beginning*. Space forbids us to deal with this objection or to pursue our enquiry further for the present. We have briefly investigated the earlier views on the work of the six days, with the comparatively modern transition to Concordism. The present position of this latter system, its modifications, the latest theories to which it, in turn, is giving place, these will form the subject of a future article.

PETER COFFEY.

## QUORUMDAM CONSCIENTIAE CASUUM RESOLUTIO

JUXTA PATRIS BALLERINI DOCTRINAM <sup>1</sup>

DE ABSOLUTIONE PEREGRINI

### I.

Arcadius, sacerdos alienus, in Hibernia itinerans confessarium quemdam ad confitendum adiit. Peccatis autem rite declaratis confessarius absolutionem illi denegavit, eo quod unum eorum erat in dioecesi sua reservatum et ipse simplex tantum confessarius. Arcadius vero asseverabat vehementer, se injuste tractari utpote peregrinum [in patria sua nulli obnoxium reservationi: sed frustra; confessarius enim liti finem imposuit dicendo cum Gury, propriam jurisdictionem limitari.

Quaeritur, an recte egerit confessarius?

R. 1. Si Arcadius erat Regularis, confessarius sine dubio erravit absolutionem illi negando; quia jurisdictio pro hujusmodi absolutione non ab Ordinario dioecetano, sed a Summo Pontifice provenit. In nulla vero hypothesis valet ratio Guryana: etenim ratio non est, sed ipsa thesis controversa.

2. Si vero Saecularis erat, haud minus errasse confessarius videtur. Nam si valide et licite absolvere poterat, tenebatur et quidem sub gravi (secluso dilationis rationabilis casu) poenitentem absolvere. Atqui utrumque certum est; quippe intrinsece et solide probabilis est sententia quae docet, jurisdictionem super peregrinum procedere ab Ordinario suo et hic in casu nostro nullam posuit limitationem. Ergo: qui ejusmodi jurisdictione utitur, et valide et licite absolvit.

Objici possit, Synodum Maynutianam statuisse quod 'casus reservatus in dioecesi confessarii non subtrahitur reservationi ea de causa quod non reservetur in dioecesi poenitentis.' Sed respondetur (1), immerito assumi Synodum aut

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<sup>1</sup> I have given no references either to *Ballerini-Palmieri*, to my *Compendium* of same, or to the *Notes* to Gury, as each priest can readily consult whichever of these works he may have at hand.

voluisse, aut quidem potuisse usum legitimum opinionis vere probabilis interdicere. (2) Statutum Synodi de quo agitur ad summum obstringere confessarium quoad subjectos tantum Episcoporum, qui illud inter statuta sua dioecesana inseruerint ; quoad alios vero libertate plena gaudet.

Alia insuper ratione poenitens absolvi potuisset ; scil. propter ejus ignorantiam reservationis, cum reservans aliter non decreverit.

## II.

Altera vice idem Arcadius apud eundem confessarium clavibus subiecit peccatum in patria sua reservatum, non autem in loco confessionis. Sed ecce, iterum absolutio denegetur ! Iratus valde Arcadius confessarium acriter objurgat dicens : olim me absolvere renuisti, quia Ordinarius *tuns* peccatum confessum reservaverat ; nunc vero quia *meus* reservavit ! Quo principio, quaeso, semper in partem deteriorem declinas ? Confessarius tamen ulterius disceptare noluit quam adagia proferendo : pars tutior eligenda, et qui legis commoda sentit, ejus incommoda quoque sentiat oportet.

Quaeritur, an hac vice bene egerit confessarius ?

R. 1. Si confessarius ipse Regularis erat, male fecit negligendo privilegium Clementis X., cujus virtute absolvere potuit poenitentes extraneos a reservatis in suis dioecesibus non vero in loco confessionis, 'dummodo non discesserint in fraudem reservationis : ' quae fraus in nostra hypothese abest

2. Si vero confessarius Saecularis erat, melius non fecit : quia confessarii saeculares eodem privilegio gaudent.

3. Sed, ni fallor, adhuc alia non deerat absolvendi copia : nempe juxta sententiam S. Alphonsi aliorumque docentium peregrinos hodie judicandos esse secundum leges loci ubi confitentur, et confessarium non teneri de aliarum dioecesium legibus inquirere atque Episcopos amplius prohibere non posse, ne subditi sui extra dioeceses proprias absolvantur. Haec omnia probabilitatem saltem extrinsecam praebent, quae sufficiat ad absolutionem validam.

4. De obligatione autem partem sequendi tutiorem in sacramentorum administratione, non solum tuta sed tutissima est sententia, quae validitati eorum prospicit nec tamen a



tribunali repellit. Quoad vero dictum circa commoda et incommoda, poenitens contra hoc minime offendit absolutionem petendo in casibus diversis.

Postremo venit memorandus modus in necessitate peccatum reservatum indirecte absolvendi, cum onere utique idem dein confitendi alii facultatem habenti. Raro nunc opus erit hunc modum adhibere in reservationibus papalibus; in episcopalibus tamen usus ejus facile accidere possit.

### III.

In lite coram Magistratu civili Episcopum quemdam inter et sacerdotem dioecesis suae circa temporali cujusdam ecclesiae bona, David, presbyter alienigena in jure ecclesiastico versatus, officium causidici huic sacerdoti praestabat. Aestu autem eloquentiae forensis abreptus Rmum. Episcopum *mendacem* publice pronunciare non dubitavit.

Verum peracto judicio Episcopus pro auctoritate sua nostrum David ante curiam suam ecclesiasticam *ob laesam dignitatem* citavit. Sed hic, suo *advocati* privilegio fretus, citationem irrisit adeoque non comparuit. Domum autem reversus ecce iterum citatur et quidem per propriae dioecesis Cancellarium ad comparandum coram Episcopi laesi tribunali. Verum hac quoque citatione spreta tranquillus domi permanebat, nec ulterius in re progressus est Episcopus.

Quaeritur igitur utrum Rmus. Episcopus habuerit necne potestatem pro tali culpa non subditum trahendi in jus coram tribunali proprio?

Resp. Prima facie videretur affirmandum cum S. Alphonso, qui dicit: <sup>2</sup> 'quicumque delinquens sortitur forum illius loci, ubi delinquit.' Sed P. Ballerini ostendit hanc doctrinam, ita universaliter propositam, sustineri non posse; nempe advenam sortiri forum loci in quo delinquit, non ob delictum quaecumque, sed aut ob 'delictum (verba sunt Lugonis) prohibitum lege ecclesiastica de jure communi canonico, vel lege pontificia sub excommunicatione aut aliis poenis a iudice eccles. infligendis:' aut ob delictum contra jus commune ubi etiam nulla edicatur censura infligenda, sed quia reus est contumax contra ea quae iudex juste ab eo exigere potest (ut in casu sequente).

<sup>2</sup> l. 7, n. 26.

Itaque vix dubitandum est, quin Episcopus erraverit citando David et vindicando potestatem censuras in eum ferendi. Nemo tamen ideo David ab onere contumeliam publice reparandi liberaret, et proculdubio proprius Ordinarius illum ad hoc sub censura adigere poterat.

## IV.

Eugenius sacerdos per dioecesim alienam transiens Missam ibidem celebravit, invito loci Ordinario, qui sub comminatione suspensionis illum prohibuit in posterum intra dioecesim celebrare. Eugenius vero, se prorsus immunem ab Ordinarii jurisdictione existimans, iterum celebravit, et illico Episcopus in eum, citatum sed non comparentem, suspensionis sententiam tulit et pro suspenso publice denunciavit.

Quaeritur nunc an suspensio haec valida fuerit?

Resp. Non est cur de validitate ejus dubitetur. Agebatur enim de legis Ecclesiae communis violatione et in jure canonico constituuntur Episcopi custodes super omnia ad debitam SS. Sacrificii celebratione pertinentia. Atqui parum efficax ad hoc munus implendum auctoritas eorum esset sine potestate censuras in omnes contumaces adhibendi. Praeterea peregrini ubique legibus Ecclesiae communibus subsunt, et si per censuras ad illas servandas ab Ordinario loci adiginequeant, hujusmodi leges undequaue violarentur.

Et sic novimus haud longe abhinc in casu omnino simili decusum Romae, reo illuc recurrente. Imo etiam Regulares exempti hac in re delinquentes, v.g. si vagos et ignotos celebrare permittant, censuris per Episcopum puniri possunt.

Isti quidem sunt duo casus, seu potius casuum genera, in quibus solis, teste Ballerini, Episcopi potestate ferendi censuras in advenas delinquentes gaudent.

## V.

Neosacerdos, a muliere Catholica rogatus ut Missam pro anima reginae Victoriae nuper defunctae offeret, stipendium pingue simul oblatum in hunc finem accepit. Postmodo autem de obligationis implendae liceitate anceps, consilium parochi sui quaesivit; qui susceptum onus declaravit illicitum, utpote

pro persona quae, licet baptizata, nihilominus extra visibilis Ecclesiae communionem vixerat ac obierat, ideoque, ait, inter excommunicatos *non toleratos* recensenda. Consule tamen, inquit, probatos Auctores.

In limine autem neosacerdos apud Ballerini (*de Excom.*) legit: 'Certum est penes omnes, quod (excommunicatio) privat excommunicatos *non toleratos* omnibus *communibus* Ecclesiae suffragiis, non vero *privatis* . . . Privata vero suffragia dicuntur, quae *praestantur nomine singulorum fidelium*, quo censu comprehenduntur ipsi quoque Ecclesiae ministri, ut particulares personae sunt: ejusmodi sunt oratio, eleemosynae aut cujuslibet boni operis exercitium, et *oblatio quoque actus Sacrificii, quoties privato cujusque nomine ac privata intentione fiant.*'

His itaque contentus indaginem praetermisit ulteriorem atque Missam *de Requie* pro anima reginae privatim celebravit: an licite, jam quaeritur?

Resp. Controvertitur. Quidam enim putant *nunquam* licere Missam pro acatholicorum animabus offerre: quidam vicissim, ut Marc,<sup>3</sup> dicunt pro ejusmodi defunctis licere occulte offerre Missam de die (non *de Requie*), secluso scandalo.

Alii tamen, ut Salmanticenses<sup>4</sup> docent *probabilius* licere, non solum privatim, sed etiam aperte ac publice funera sollemnia, Missas, etc., offerre pro haereticis Germaniae, Angliae et similibus: dum nonnulli, ut S. Alphonsus<sup>5</sup> tenent licere *probabiliter* eadem suffragia pro excommunicatis offerre, minime distinguentes inter acatholicos atque catholicos. Et quidem hodie certum est e pluribus S. Sedis declarationibus *publicam* ejusmodi oblationem pro acatholicis prohiberi quatenus hi distinguantur ab excommunicatis catholicis; secus vero quoad oblationem *privatam*, quia in dictis declarationibus sola ratio alicujus mali extrinseci, nempe scandali, superstitionis, etc., allegatur, non vero intrinseci: e.g., in prohibitione Greg. XVI., 9 July, 1842—'publici funeris causa'—S. Cong. Indulg., 19 Apr., 1837—pro 'Graeco-schismatico *in ecclesia adstante.*'—Et in resp. ejusdem Congregationis, 12 Jul., 1865, permittente

<sup>3</sup> Vol. 2, n. 1601.

<sup>4</sup> *De Cens.*, c 3, n. 59.

<sup>5</sup> l. 7, n. 164.



celebrari pro Turcarum aliorumque infidelium intentione, 'dummodo non adsit *scandalum*, etc.'

Ex his similibusque declarationibus, itemque e facultate data presbyteris in Stat. Foeder. Americae celebrandi, etiam 'praesentibus haereticis, schismaticis, infidelibus et excommunicatis,' liquet solum propter quaedam adjuncta accidentalialia communicatio cum acatholicis prohiberi. Et revera major Anglicanorum pars in bona fide versatur, teste Card. Newman; et sic ad animam pertinent Ecclesiae quae jubet Missam offerri 'pro omnibus fidelibus christianis vivis atque defunctis.' Posita itaque recta intentione dantis eleemosynam et secluso scandalo, sicut in casu nostro, non videtur culpandus neosacerdos: nam distinctio inter Missam *de die* et *de requie* non videtur fundamento solido niti. Utique sunt qui putant Missam *in die obitus* aut *anniversarii* non licere propter nomen personae defunctae orationibus inserendum; quasi celebrans forte sic publicus Ecclesiae minister constitueretur et nomen ipsum circumstantibus proclamaretur. At si hoc ita sit, neque hodie licet vel Missam *quotidianam* offerre, cum in ipsa oratio prima debet esse propria animae, pro qua offertur Missa--saltem juxta ritum Romanum.

Praecedentibus jam scriptis, amicus in manus meas dedit opus clari Jesuitae, Benedicti Ojetti, cui titulus 'Synopsis Rerum Moralium, etc.,' in quo p. 479 sententiam nostram plenissime confirmat. Neque censemus aliam fuisse opinionem Patris Ballerini; quia non liquet cur *acatholica*, probabiliter in bona fide defuncta, peioris debeat esse conditionis quam excommunicati Catholici *non tolerati*.

## VI.

Beatrix, affluens ruricola, in urbe aliquantisper commorans, Severo, confessario doctrina et austeritate apud pietistas celeberrimo, se accusavit, tanquam sola materia absolvenda, de 'ludo chartarum recreationis causa:' propter quod 'vitium flagitiosum' durissime objurgata, primo quidem obstupuit, mox vero sine absoluteione a confessionali fugit. Postridie autem Benignum, non minus doctum aut austum, adiit; qui eadem confessione audita sententiam prorsus diversam de poenitentis culpabilitate tulit: etenim, nulla nova prodeunte

materia, 'vade in pace, inquit, ludus chartarum non est peccaminosus,' atque facto super eam signo crucis sic dimisit.

Quaerit nunc Beatrix perplexa utrinam sit credendum?

Resp. Neutri, prout eorum judicia supra exponuntur, videtur absolute ac sine distinctione fides adhibenda. Benignus tamen veritati propius accedit. Nam ludus (chartarum an alius cujusvis speciei non refert) *per se* non est peccatum omnino, nedum vitium flagitiosum. Utique *per accidens* fieri potest ac saepe fit peccatum et quidem gravissimum: sed quamdiu nonnisi *recreationis causa* fit, sine ulla inhonesta circumstantia, e.g., excessu temporis vel pignoris, scandalo, etc., juxta S. Thomam, post philosophos antiquos et Patres, species est virtutis moralis *eutrapeliae* nempe quae limites justos apponit ludis, jocos et similibus.

Ex multis, quae de hac re scripsit Doctor Angelicus, sufficiat unum vel alterum referre locum: 1. '... omne quod est contra rationem in rebus humanis vitiosum est: est autem contra rationem, ut aliquis se aliis onerosum exhibeat; puta dum nihil delectabile exhibeat et etiam aliorum delectationes impedit. . . . Illi autem qui in ludo deficiunt, nec ipsi dicunt aliquod ridiculum, et dicentibus molesti sunt; et *ideo tales vitiosi sunt*, et dicuntur *duri* et *agrestes*: . . . sed quia ludus est utilis propter quietem et delectationem, delectatio autem et quies non propter se quaeruntur in humana vita, sed propter operationem . . . ; ideo defectus ludi minus est vitiosus quam ludi superexcessus; unde Philos. . . . 'pauci amici propter delectationem sunt habendi; quia parum de delectione sufficit ad vitam quasi pro condimento sicut parum de sale sufficit in cibo.'<sup>6</sup>

2. 'Cum omnis actus bonus ordinetur in finem alicujus virtutis, in finem caritatis ordinatus remanebit, et ita meritorius erit; et sic *comedere* et *bibere* servato modo temperantiae, et *ludere ad recreationem* servato modo eutrapeliae, quae medium tenet in ludis . . . meritorium erit in eo qui caritatem habet.'<sup>7</sup> Ipse Ballerini postrema haec verba citat,<sup>8</sup> ut ostendat actus innumeros, qui juxta Scotistas mere sunt indifferentes, in

<sup>6</sup> 2, 2, q. 168, art. 4.

<sup>7</sup> In 2 *Mag Sent.* 40, 5 in corp.

<sup>8</sup> *De Act. Hum.*

Thomistarum sententia aeternae vitae meritorios esse in gratiam habentibus.

Objici possit, juxta haec votum non ludendi esse invalidum, utpote de 're vitiosa.' Sed respondetur, abstinentiam a ludo moderato aut non includi in ejusmodi voto, sicut theologi communiter docent; aut, si includatur, propter finem majus bonum fieri, ideoque aptam voti materiam. Sic *Regula* S. Benedicti, c. 6, prohibet 'verba risum moventia,' et tamen a pluribus SS. Pontificibus enixe fuit commendata.

Quoad confessarios itaque, liquet Severum fuisse, non dicam Catharum, sed nimis praecipitem, pronunciando Beatricem vitii flagitiosi ream: Benignum vero lapsum esse in errorem directe oppositum, eam ab omni culpa immunem declarando, quoniam sola confessio reatum aliquem prodit, saltem ex erronea conscientia. Quare confitentes hujusmodi culpas docendi sunt quid in rebus istis liceat et non liceat—esse 'tempus flendi, et tempus ridendi; tempus plangendi et tempus saltandi'—ne peccare per actus minime vetitos in posterum pergant.

## VII.

Julius, pastor transmarinus in cujus dioecesi decretum Trid. *Tametsi*<sup>9</sup> nunquam fuit publicatum, littori Hibernico una cum Lucio et Sabina membris suae congregationis appulsus, ecclesiam quandam ingressus est, ubi confessiones eorum audivit eosque in matrimonio conjunxit coram duobus testibus, sed inconsulto paroco aut Episcopo loci. Parochus autem casu superveniens atque de his rebus certior factus sacramenta tum poenitentiae tum matrimonii nulla declaravit. An recte nunc quaeritur?

Resp. 1 Quoad confessiones, videtur parochus illas recte judicasse irritas (nisi forte nulla fuerit materia *necessaria*); cum Julius neque habuerit *beneficium parochiale* neque fuerit *approbatus* ab Ordinario loci, sicut Conc. Tridentinum<sup>10</sup> statuit pro valida saecularium absolutione. Neque prodest quod Julius domi omnibus parochi muneribus fungatur; quia rectores missionum, etsi parochiis lato sensu praesint, jurisdic-

<sup>9</sup> Sess. 24, sec. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Sess. 23, c. 15 de Ref.



tionem mere delegatam possident, neque lege aut consuetudine parochis canonicis aequiparantur quoad poenitentiam (et matrimonium), sicut in Hibernia jamdudum ita obtinuit, ut pastores 'qui parochi vocantur' subditos suos ubique terrarum absolvere atque in connubio jungere valeant.

2. Quoad matrimonium, non aliter videtur judicandum; cum Julius neque parochus neque parochi aut episcopi delegatus fuerit, sicut decretum *Tametsi* prorsus exigit. Secus dicendum esset si decretum aliquando fuerit in Julii parochia publicatum; quia tunc juxta Kenrick a Ballerini citatum: 'opus non est, ut jura omnia parochi habeat sacerdos: sed satis est, ut prope ecclesiam commorans, parochi instar, curam animarum gerat.' Et quidem nemini dubium esse debet, ut peregre facere queat quod domi valide facit.

Recte itaque Ballerini notavit: 'de hisce statutum est, si e loco, ubi Trid. decretum non viget, veniant (sponsi) in locum ubi usa receptum est, validum non esse matrimonium, *si contrahatur sine forma a Tridentino praescripta*. Ratio ducitur ex generali principio, quod exemptio a jure communi est localis. Accedit, quod contractus fieri debent secundum leges et consuetudinem loci in quo celebrantur' (*de imped. cland.*).

Quid vero si, non pastor simplex, sed Episcopus ipse sponсорum absolvere, etc., ut in casu attentaverat? Tunc rationes allegatae supra contra sacramentorum validitatem non valerent; quia omnis episcopus dioecesanus jurisdictione ordinaria gaudet, ac proinde ut verus parochus seu pastor proprius subditos suos ubique absolvere atque in matrimonio conjungere potest.

Non sine aliqua diffidentia de casu tanti momenti locutus sum, et eo libentius judicium meum censuris peritiorum magisque expertorum subjicio.

D. A. DONOVAN, O. CIST

## [CORRESPONDENCE

## IRELAND AND AMERICA—A POSTSCRIPT

REV. DEAR SIR,—It might appear disrespectful to the Rev. John Talbot Smith, L.L.D., of New York, if I passed by in silence his criticism of a paper published by me in the February number of the I. E. RECORD. I was very much pleased when I saw that Dr. Smith had undertaken to write an article on the Irish in the United States, as I naturally looked forward to some valuable information from his facile and practised pen. Great, therefore, was my disappointment when I found no facts whatever in my critic's paper, but only a warm, patriotic effusion, couched, of course, in the graceful eloquence for which the doctor enjoys a high reputation. Not inaptly, perhaps, the doctor puts on a certain *furor theatricus* in dealing with all Europeans who have written an unfavourable word about America, and with myself in particular. Should any real anger stir the doctor's mind against me, I beg to remove some, at least, of its causes by a categorical denial of many of his assumptions.

(1.) I did not go to America to collect, and never did collect a dollar in the country. (2.) I did not direct the shafts of 'an ill-informed and ill-natured criticism' against the Irish Catholics of America, but I lauded them for their piety and their zeal with all the force and energy that I could command. (3.) I did not express or imply the slightest reflection on the earnestness, devotion, and zeal of the American priests and bishops. (4.) I did not use the verb Americanize in the religious sense in which the expression was applied to the late Father Hecker and others, but in the purely political, social, and racial meaning of the word, and I cannot find anything in what I wrote to excuse the misinterpretation. (5.) I never made the remotest reference to the 'heresy of Liberalism' as being 'rampant among American Catholics using the English tongue.' (6.) I never sought, and never found any 'arguments and illustrations' in support of my position from non-English-speaking Catholics, and do not even know the names of the foreign 'leaders' to whom my critic refers. (7.) I did not attribute the falling away

of the Irish immigrant to his using the common language of the country, but I did express my belief that if he had kept to the tongue of his fathers he would have had an additional safeguard to his faith. (8.) I have never read a word of 'the crazy declarations of Parkhurst,' or of 'the lies of Mr. Smalley in the *London Times*.' (9.) I never even thought of 'Cahenslyism' or Cahensly when I was writing my paper for the I. E. RECORD.

The list becomes wearisome and I stop it. Moreover, the charges and the insinuations with which the doctor's article bristles have really little to do with the question at issue. That question is whether there has been an appalling leakage in the Church in the United States—a leakage which for the last fifty or sixty years amounts to 10,000,000 souls? My critic cries out 'No!' emphatically, and almost fiercely. I had answered 'Yes!' with deep repugnance, with infinite sorrow, and with the sincere desire that I could be proved to be in error. He contends that such huge losses are impossible, on account of the perfect organization of the Church in America—a perfection which I for one never questioned. But, as we know from the history of other countries, perfect Church organization cannot prevent men from falling into indifference and agnosticism where the atmosphere is charged with the poison of unbelief. He asserts that the United States is a Christian country, but in that does he not run counter to those, whether inside or outside of the Church, who have made a special study of the subject? I have heard it stated again and again by Americans that, leaving Catholics on one side, you have not more than 10,000,000 people in America who accept the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Indeed, the doctor seems to admit this charge of agnosticism almost in the same sentence in which he denies it. 'The leaders of American thought,' he says, 'have indeed betrayed their people: editors, novelists, essayists, historians, university professors, scientists, and some preachers, have all gone the agnostic way.' What becomes then of the national Christianity?

My sole object in writing the impugned article was to show the terrible dangers to which the faith of our emigrants is exposed in America. It was impossible to carry out my purpose without going into the question of our Church losses in the country. In round numbers I ventured the opinion—



only an opinion—that these could not be less than 10,000,000. I did not adopt that figure quite so blindly or ignorantly as is assumed. The doctor here comes down from the loftiness of his eloquence and gives me an opportunity of meeting him on the *terra firma* of facts and figures. He quotes me as stating that for the last sixty years as many as 4,000,000 of the Irish people had emigrated to the United States (he could have made his position stronger from one point of view by quoting me accurately as having said 4,500,000). Having satisfied myself as to the correctness of my figures, I asserted, not without good grounds, that there must be now at least 10,000,000 people in America of Irish birth or blood. ‘How the shade of Mulhall,’ exclaims my antagonist, ‘must smile at this manipulation of imaginary figures!’ I really do not know whether ‘shades’ smile, or whether the particular shade of the late Mr. Mulhall would be amused at my statistical innocence. What I do know is that it was Mr. Mulhall himself who supplied me with my emigration statistics. The doctor manifestly thinks that during the period referred to only 4,000,000 emigrated from Ireland, and these millions he distributes over various countries, giving, however, the majority to the United States. But what does Mr. Mulhall tell us? Here is what the doctor will find if he looks into Mr. Mulhall’s *Statistics*, under the heading of Emigration: From 1815 to 1888 there were 5,081,000 emigrants from Ireland. Of these, continues Mr. Mulhall, 4,074,000 emigrated to the *United States*. If the doctor will add the 600,000 or so who left Ireland for the States since 1888 he will see that it was not I who blundered in statistics. I am not a statistician, but I can quote figures honestly, and to so quote them ought not to subject me to the taunt of ‘ignorance,’ or ‘manipulation,’ or ‘slander,’ or even to the mocking ‘smile’ of a ‘shade.’

Dr. Smith, contrary to the universal opinion in America, declares my estimate of 10,000,000 of Irish birth or blood beyond the mark, and indicates some causes which have checked the natural fecundity of our race in America. He instances the disasters of emigration, the distress of settling down in new conditions, the early hardships, the civil war, the scattering of relatives. Admitting that all these causes did exist they could not, I submit, have such a prodigious effect as is claimed in diminishing the growth of the Irish-American

population. In those hateful statistics again I find that in 1880, besides the Irish born in Ireland, there were in the States 4,529,523 persons who had Irish fathers, and 4,448,421 who had Irish mothers. What would the figures be if you go back a generation or two farther? Dr. Smith knows that some of his own countrymen believe that there are as many as 20,000,000 of Irish blood in the States.

According to my critic there are no reliable statistics concerning the Church in America. This is a bold assertion, considering the pains taken by bishops and priests to number their flocks every year, with every desire to be accurate. The *Catholic Directory*, a publication which has the sanction of the whole American hierarchy, gives the Catholic population in round numbers as 10,000,000, 'but to my mind,' avers the critical statistician, 'this estimate is from three to five millions out of the way.' Does the doctor mean us to take him seriously?

Dr. Smith surely knows that it is not 'non-English-speaking foreigners' alone who bemoan the awful leakage in the Church in the States. In the May number of the I. E. RECORD, I quoted an American, Mr. E. T. Eldred, as fixing the losses at 20,000,000, and that at a Catholic Congress in Chicago. In 1874, Mr. Patrick Ford, whom nobody will accuse of being anti-American or anti-Irish, gave it as his conviction that 18,000,000 had been lost to the Church in the Republic. To go back further, the illustrious Bishop England in 1836 estimated the Catholic population of the States as only 1,200,000, which means, he says, a loss even then of three millions three quarters at least. The piling up of such proofs is no more agreeable to me than it is to Dr. Smith, but is it not better to look at facts in the face?

My distinguished opponent girds at me fiercely in the first or second page of his article for having said that the Irish emigrant will be too often found godless, faithless, hopeless, sunk into depths of social misery and spiritual debasement, but in his last page he informs us that 'the condition of the less capable among the Irish becomes wretched, they drift into hopelessness, the saloon takes their small earnings, and in time they join the submerged tenth of the population.'

Dr. Smith thinks I have grossly undervalued the religious labours and sacrifices and triumphs of the Irish in the States. I yield to no man in my love and admiration of my countrymen

whether at home or abroad. I have no divided allegiance. I have but one country, and to that I have been always loyal. What I have written was prompted solely by my love for the Irish people and by my desire to save them from spiritual ruin. Without egotism I may be permitted to add that my attempt has been highly appreciated by Irish-American priests who are quite as much devoted to America and the American Church as my critic. It must have been noticed, too, that many of the best organs of Catholic opinion in America have fully endorsed the views to which I have given expression in the I. E. RECORD.

Because I love Ireland at home I love America, and especially the Ireland in America. I should not care, however, to go so far as to proclaim that the 'United States is the *divinely* appointed political teacher of the world,' or that the 'conditions of labour,' by comparison or otherwise, are *celestial*, or that American citizenship is 'nearly divine.'

'Bottled moonshine,' exclaims the doctor, *à la mode* Carlyle, as he inveighs against the 'vapourings of travellers in America.' May I say in all good humour that the doctor has by his criticism uncorked his bottle and released a considerable amount of the precious commodity?

M. F. SHINNORS, O.M.I.

Rock Ferry, Birkenhead,  
*July 1st, 1902.*



## DOCUMENTS

**CONFIRMATION OF THE CULT OF IRISH PATRON SAINTS—  
DECREE OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF RITES**

DECRETUM ARMACANA CASSILIENSIS DUBLINENSIS ET TUAMENSIS  
CONFIRMATIONIS CULTUS SEU DECLARATIONIS CASUS EXCEPTI  
A DECRETIS SA. ME. URBANI PAPAE VIII. QUORUMDAM DEI  
SERVORUM SANCTORUM NUNCUPATORUM

Fidelis Hibernia quae religionem catholicam una cum obedientia et obsequio erga Romanam Apostolicam Sedem a S. Patritio Episcopo suo acceptam iugiter servavit, ab immemorabili tempore quosdam Servos Dei sanctitatis et prodigiorum fama celebratos singulari pietatis studio honorat et colit. Quo tamen huiusmodi cultus publicus et ecclesiasticus suprema Ecclesiae Auctoritate firmetur et amplietur, Rmus. Dnus. Ioannes Healy Episcopus Clonfertensis una cum ceteris Hiberniae Antistitibus a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leone Papa XIII per decretum Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis diei 4 Martii vertentis anni 1902, attentis peculiaribus adiunctis, pro hisce Servis Dei, sanctis nuncupatis, inferius recensitis dispensationem obtinuit a forma consueta de iure praescripta seu a singulis Inquisitionibus Ordinariis et a subsequenti relativa sententia, ea tamen sub lege ut idem cultus per authentica documenta sive antiqua sive recentiora in medium proferenda comprobetur. Praedicti vero Servi Dei ad diversas ecclesiasticas provincias Hiberniae pertinet et sunt viginti quinque, ex quibus primi vigintiduo episcopali dignitate fulgent, postremi tres abbatiali honore decorantur, nempe : ALBERTUS — ASICUS — CARTHAGUS — COLMANUS (Cloynensis) — COLMANUS (Dromorensis) — COLMANUS (Duacensis) — CONLETHUS — DECLANUS — EDANUS — EUGENIUS — FACHANANUS — FEDLIMINUS — FINBARRUS — FLANNANUS — IARLATHUS — KIRANUS — LASERIANUS — MACANISIUS — MACARTINUS — MUREDACHUS — NATHEUS et OTTERANUS, Episcopi. — COEMGENUS — CONGALLUS, et FINIANUS, Abbates. Exhibita autem sunt prae loque impressa authentica documenta de inscriptione praefatorum Servorum Dei tum in antiquissimis Martyrologiis nempe Aengusii circiter an. 780, Gormani circ. an. 1167. et Dungallensi circ. an. 1630, tum in

Actis Sanctorum Hiberniae, Colgani an. 1643, tum in recentioribus Actis Sanctorum Bollandianis. Insuper in medium producuntur praesertim Indulta Apostolicae Sedis super Festis fere omnium praedictorum Sanctorum nuncupatorum sub competente ritu cum officio et Missa celebrandis, una cum testimonialibus Rmorum. Antistitum Hiberniae super continuatione et incremento famae sanctitatis et cultus supramemorati apud gentem Hibernam. Haec enim in honorem illorum Sanctorum ecclesias et altaria erexit atque erigit, peregrinationes instituit, dies festos agit, sancti et patroni titulos adhibet, et saepe etiam infantibus in sacramento baptismi eorum nomina imponit. Eapropter instantibus praelaudatis Rmis. Antistitibus Hiberniae una cum eorum Procuratore Rmo. Dno. Guillelmo Murphy Collegii Hiberni de Urbe Moderatore, Emus. et Rmus. Dnus. Cardinalis Vincentius Vannutelli, Episcopus Praenestinus et huiusce Causae Ponens seu Relator in Ordinario Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Coetu, subsignata die, ad Vaticanum habito, dubium discutiendum proposuit: *An constet de casu excepto a decretis sa: me: Urbani Papae VIII in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur?* Et Emi. ac Rmi. Patres Sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, post relationem ipsius Cardinalis Ponentis, audito etiam voce et scripto R. P. D. Alexandro Verde, Sanctae Fidei Promotore, omnibusque diligenter perpensis rescribendum censuerunt: *Affirmative seu constare.* Die 17 Iunii 1902.

Facta postmodum de his Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII per infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefectum relatione, Sanctitas Sua sententiam Sacrae ipsius Congregationis ratam habuit et probavit, die decimanona, eisdem mense et anno.

DOMINICUS Card. FERRATA,

*S. R. C. Praefectus.*

✠ DIOMEDES PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen.,*

*S. R. C. Secretarius.*

L. ✠ S.

## APOSTOLIC LETTER ON THE NEW CHURCH AT LOURDES

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS PP. XIII LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE. DE CONSECRATIONE NOVI TEMPLI BEATAE MARIAE VIRGINIS A SACRATISSIMO ROSARIO AD OPPIDUM LOURDES IN GALLIIS MENSE OCTOBRI MDCCCCI

## LEO PP. XIII

UNIVERSIS CHRISTIFIDELIBUS PRAESENTES LITTERAS INSPECTURIS  
SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Parta humano generi per Iesum Christum Redemptorem immortalia beneficia in nostris omnium animis penitus insident, atque in Ecclesia non modo memoria recoluntur sempiterna, sed etiam earum commentatio quotidie cum suavi quodam amoris officio erga Virginem Deiparam consociatur. — Nos siquidem cum diuturnum Summi Sacerdotii Nostri spatium respiciamus, atque animum ad acta Nostra revocemus, grato et iucundo perfundimur consolationis sensu, conscientia earum rerum, quas, auctore bonorum consiliorum atque adiutore Deo, ad maiorem Mariae Virginis honorem vel suscepimus Ipsi, vel a catholicis viris curavimus suscipiendas ac provehendas. Illud autem est singulari Nobis gaudio, Marialis Rosarii sanctum institutum hortationibus curisque Nostris esse magis in cognitione positum, magis in consuetudine populi christiani invec-tum: multiplicata esse Rosarii sodalitia atque ea in dies sociorum numero et pietate florere: multa litterarum monu-menta ab eruditis viris elucubrata esse et late per vulgata: denique Octobrem mensem, quem integrum Rosario sacrum haberi iussimus, ubique terrarum magno atque inusitato cultus splendore celebrari. Praesenti autem anno, a quo suum saeculum vicesimum ducit exordium, officio Nostro Nos prope putaremus deesse, si opportunam praetermitteremus occasionem, quam Nobis Venerabilis Frater Episcopus Tarbiensis, Clerus, populusque oppidi *Lourdes* sponte obtulerunt, qui in templo augusto, Deo sacro in honorem B. M. V. a sanctissimo Rosario, quindecim construxere altaria, totidem Rosarii mysteriis consecranda. Qua quidem occasione eo libentius utimur, quod de iis Galliae regionibus agitur, quae tot tantisque Beatae Virginis illustrantur gratiis, quae fuerunt olim Dominici Patris Legiferi nobilitate praesentia, et in quibus prima incunabula sancti Rosarii reperiuntur. Neminem enim christianorum hominum



latet, ut Dominicus Pater ex Hispania in Galliam profectus, Albigensium haeresi per id tempus circa saltus Pyrenaeos, veluti perniciosa lues, Occitaniam fere totam pervadenti, invicte obstiterit; divinatorumque beneficiorum admiranda et sancta mysteria exponens et praedicans, per ea ipsa loca circumfusa errorum tenebris lumen veritatis accenderit. Id enim apte singulis singuli vel ipsi faciunt eorum mysteriorum ordines, quos in Rosario admiramur; ut christianus quippe animus sensim sine sensu cum crebra eorum cogitatione vel recordatione vim insitam hauriat, combibat; sensim sine sensu adducatur ad vitam modice in actuosa tranquillitate componendam, ad adversas res aequo animo et forti tolerandas, ad spem alendam bonorum in potiore patria immortalium, ad Fidem demum, sine qua nequicquam quaeritur curatio et levamentum malorum, quae premunt, aut propulsatio periculorum, quae impendent, adiuvandam atque augendam. Quas Dominicus, adspirante atque adiuvante Deo, Mariales preces primus excogitavit et Redemptionis mysteriis certo ordine intermiscuit, Rosarium merito dictae sunt: quoties enim praeconio angelico *gratia plenam* Mariam consalutamus, toties de ipsa iterata laude eidem Virgini quasi rosas deferimus, iucundissimam efflans odoris suavitatem; toties in mentem venit tum dignitas Mariae excelsa, tum inita a Deo per *benedictum fructum ventris* gratia; toties reminiscimur alia singularia merita, quibus Illa cum Filio Iesu Redemptionis humanae facta est particeps. O quam suavis igitur, quam grata angelica salutatio accidit beatæ Virgini, quae tum, cum Gabriel eam salutavit, sensit se de Spiritu Sancto concepisse Verbum Dei! Verum nostris etiam diebus vetus illa Albigensium haereticorum, mutato nomine, atque aliis invecta sectis auctoribus, novis sub errorum impiorumque commentorum formis atque illecebris mire reviviscit, serpitque iterum per eas regiones, et latius contagionis foeditate inficit contaminatque populos christianos, quos misere ad perniciem et exitium trahit. Videmus enim et vehementer deploramus saevissimum in praesens, praesertim in Galliis, adversus religiosas Familias pietatis et beneficentiae operibus de Ecclesiae et de populis optime meritas, coortam procellam. Quae quidem dum Nos mala dolemus, et gravem concipimus ex Ecclesiae acerbitatibus animi aegritudinem, auspicato obtigit, ut non dubia inde ad Nos profecta sit significatio salutis. Bonum enim faustumque capimus omen, quod firmet augusta

caeli Regina, quum in sacris aedibus de Lourdes tot, ut supra diximus, proximo Octobris mense dedicanda sint altaria, quot mysteria Sanctissimi Rosarii numerantur. Nec quidquam certe ad Mariae conciliandam et demerendam saluberrimam gratiam valere rectius potest, quam quum mysteriis nostrae Redemptionis, quibus illa non adfuit tantum, sed interfuit, honores, quos maximos possumus, habeamus, et rerum contextam seriem ante oculos explicemus ad recolendum propositam. Neque ideo Nos sumus animi dubii, quin velit ipsa Virgo Deipara, et pientissima Mater nostra, adesse propitia votis precibusque, quas innumerae illuc turmae peregre confluentium Christianorum rite effundent, iisque miscere et sociare implorationem suam, ut, foderatis quodammodo votis, vim faciant, et dives in misericordia Deus sinat exorari. Sic potentissima Virgo Mater, quae olim *cooperata est caritate ut Fideles in Ecclesia nascerentur*,<sup>1</sup> sit etiam nunc nostrae salutis media et sequestra : frangat, obtruncet multiplices impiae hydrae cervices per totam Europam latius grassantis, reducat pacis tranquillitatem mentibus anxiis ; et maturetur aliquando privatim et publice ad Iesum Christum reditus, qui *salvare in perpetuum potest accedentes per semetipsum ad Deum*.<sup>2</sup> — Nos interea Venerabili Fratri Episcopo Tarbiensi, et dilectis filiis clero et populo de Lourdes benevolum animum Nostrum profitentes, omnibus et singulis eorum optatis, quae nuper Nobis significanda curarunt, Litteris hisce Apostolicis obsecundare decrevimus, quarum authenticum exemplar ad universos Venerabiles Nostros in pastorali munere Fratres, Patriarchas, Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, reliquosque sacrorum Antistites in orbe catholico existens iussimus transmitti, ut hi quoque eodem ac Nos gaudio et sancta laetitia perfundantur. Quamobrem, quod bonum, felix, faustumque sit, Dei gloriam amplificet, et toti Ecclesiae catholicae benevertat, auctoritate Nostra Apostolica per has ipsas litteras concedimus, ut dilectus filius Noster Benedictus Maria S. R. E. Cardinalis Langénieux dedicare licet possit nomine et auctoritate Nostra novum templum in oppido Lourdes erectum, sacrumque Deo in honorem B. M. V. a sanctissimo Rosario ; ut idem dilectus filius Noster in sollemni sacro faciendo utatur libere Pallio velut si in Archidioecesi adesset sua ; utque post sacrum sollemne adstanti

<sup>1</sup> S. Aug. *De Sancta Virginitate*, cap. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Hebr. vii 25.

populo, item auctoritate et nomine Nostro, possit benedicere cum solitis Indulgentiis. Haec concedimus, non obstantibus in contrarium facientibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub anulo Piscatoris, die VIII Septembris MDCCCCI, Pontificatus Nostri anno vigesimo quarto.

A. Card. MACCHI.

### LEO XIII. AND THE MARIAN CONGRESS AT FREIBURG

EX ACTIS LEONIS XIII ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM.

LEO XIII PROBAT INDULGENTIISQUE DITAT MARIALEM CONVENTUM  
A DIE 18 AD 21 AUG. C. A. CELEBRANDUM IN FRIBURGENSE  
CIVITATE

#### LEO PP. XIII.

Universis Christifidelibus praesentes Litteras inspecturis salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum Nobis nihil antiquius sit neque suavius, quam ut christiani populi pietas erga Deiparam, magis magisque in dies amplificetur, paterno ac sedulo studio ea prosequimur quae ad excitandum Virginis cultum inter gentes bene, prospere ac feliciter eveniant. Et nimirum iam a primis Pontificatus Nostri annis in id curas cogitationesque intendimus, potissimum cum datis Apostolicis Litteris, Catholici Orbis fideles, ad Mariale Rosarium rite recitandum hortati sumus. Nunc autem cum, sicuti ad Nos nuper relatum, auctore dilecto filio Ioanne Klesiser, Protonotario Apostolico et canonico Nostrae Dominae, atque auspice Lausannen. et Geneven. Antistite, Friburgi in Helvetia hoc anno a die decima octava ad diem vigesimam primam adventantis Augusti mensis, solemnis sit habendus in honorem Sanctissimae Virginis Catholicorum virorum conventus, Nos piis hisce coeptis libentissime faventes, dulci quidem laetitiae spiritualis sensu perfundimur, quasi optatum diuturni laboris fructum percipientes. Gratum enim est nobis qui assiduam iugiter Virginis opem imploravimus, in qua suprema mundi salus est, Conventum huiusmodi in civitate agi antiqua in Virginem religione spectata, atque in templo perinsigni septem abhinc saeculis Immaculatae Conceptioni dicato, et certam prope spem fovemus, futurum ut fere innumeri ex universis nationibus peregre illuc confluentes fideles, laudes illius con-



celebrent quam beatam dicent omnes generationes. Quae cum ita sint, Marialem sollemnem in Friburgensi civitate hoc anno habendum Catholicorum coetum Apostolica Nostra auctoritate per praesentes probamus, sancimus, et tum auctori suprapro-minato, cum fautoribus ac reliquis omnibus fidelibus qui illius erunt participes, coelestium munerum auspicem Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter impertimur. Cum vero ex auspiciato contingat, ut Conventus idem infra octavam peragatur Assumptionis Virginis Mariae, quo sollemnia huiusmodi vel in spirituale christiani populi emolumentum evadant, omnibus et singulis fidelibus tam peregrinis quam in ipsum coetum adlectis, qui uno die ad cuiusque eorum lubitum semel eligendo intra memoratae festivitatis octavam, nempe ex intercedentibus a decimoquinto ad vigesimum primum proximi Augusti mensis diem, admissorum confessione rite expiati ac coelestibus epulis refecti, Friburgense in honorem Immaculatae Virginis Sanctuarium visitent, ibique pro Christianorum Principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione ac S. Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effundant de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum Eius auctoritate confisi, Plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum Indulgentiam et remissionem misericorditer in Domino concedimus. Insuper dictis fidelibus tam peregre confluentibus quam qui aderint conventui, quovis ex iisdem septem die, contrito saltem corde, atque ut supra orantes, Sanctuarium praefatam visitent, in forma Ecclesiae solita, de poenaliu dierum numero ducentos expungimus. Tandem largimur fidelibus iisdem liceat, si malint, plenaria ac partialibus hisce indulgentiis functorum vita labes poenasque expiare. Praesentibus hoc anno tantum valituris. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Volumus autem ut praesentum Litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris die  
x Junii MDCCCII, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigesimo quinto.

ALOIS. CARD. MACCHI.

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**DECREE OF THE HOLY OFFICE ON PROBABILISM**

S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE R. D. P. ASSESSOR S. OFFICII AUTHENTICUM TRADIT DOCUMENTUM EMANATUM A S. O. SUB DIE 26 JUNII 1680 CIRCA PROBABILISMUM<sup>1</sup>

SUPREMA CONGREGAZIONE DEL S. UFFIZIO CANCELLERIA

OGGETTO COMUNICAZIONE UFFICIALE DEL DECRETO DEL S. UFFIZIO  
SUL PROBABILISMO

Roma li 19 Aprile 1902.

Deferita a questa Suprema Congregazione una istanza... per avere comunicazione ufficiale del vero testo del decreto del S. Ufficio sul probabilismo, diretta al P. Thirso Gonzalez, S.J., il sottoscritto Assessore... si onora di trasmettere qui inchiusa copia autentica di detto decreto, con espressa dichiarazione che questo è *l'unico vero testo*, che per conseguenza tutti gli altri, in qualunque modo e tempo, pubblicati, debbono considerarsi come apocriefi, e che se qualcuno di questi ultimi rechi per avventura segni, anche non dubbi, di autenticità, deve ritenersi esser ciò avvenuto per mero equivoco.

GIAMBATTISTA LUGARI,

*Assessore del S. O.*

*Feria 4 die 26 Iunii 1680.*

Facta relatione per Patrem Lauream contentorum in literis Patris Thirsi Gonzalez Soc. Jesu, SSmo D. N. directis, Eminentissimi DD. dixerunt, quod scribatur per Secretarium Status Nuntio Apostolico Hispaniarum, ut significet dicto Patri Thirso, quod Sanctitas Sua benigne acceptis, ac non sine laude perlectis eius literis, mandavit, ut ipse libere et intrepide prae-dicet, doceat, et calamo defendat opinionem magis probabilem, nec non viriliter impugnet setentiam eorum, qui asserunt, quod in concursu minus probabilis opinionis cum probabiliori sic cognita, et iudicata, licitum sit sequi minus probabilem,

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<sup>1</sup> Plures vulgabantur versiones circa praedictum textum. Hinc protractae controversiae, quae nuperrime denuo exarserunt inter *Ephemeridem Etudes* (20 Martii 1901, p. 780; *item* 20 Iunii 1902), et *Ephem. Revue Thomiste* (1 Ian. 1901; *item* et Sept. Nov. 1901; et Ian. 1902). Ex indubio praedicti authentici Decreti sensu duo certo constant: 1. Innocentium XI. minime prohibuisse doctrinam circa Probabilismum; 2. eundem Pontificem praecepisse P. Generali Societatis Jesu ut integra daretur Alumnis Societatis libertas scribendi pro opinione magis probabili et impugnandi contrariam. In proximo fasciculo *Anal. Eccl.* edetur dissertatio theologica de vi citati Decreti.

eumque certum faciat, quod quidquid favore opinionis magis probabilis egerit, et scripserit gratum erit Sanctitati Suae.

Iniungatur Patri Generali Societatis Jesu de ordine Sanctitatis Suae ut non modo permittat Patribus Societatis scribere pro opinione magis probabili et impugnare sententiam asserentium, quod in concursu minus probabilis opinionis cum probabiliore sic cognita, et iudicata, licitum sit sequi minus probabilem : verum etiam *scribat* omnibus Universitatibus Societatis, mentem Sanctitatis Suae esse, ut quilibet, prout sibi libuerit libere scribat pro opinione magis probabili, et impugnet contrariam praedictam ; eisque iubeat ut mandato Sanctitatis Suae omnino se submittant.

Die 8 Julii 1680. Renunciato praedicto Ordine Sanctitatis Suae Patri Generali Societatis Jesu per Assessorem, respondit, se in omnibus quanto citius pariturum, licet nec per ipsum, nec per suos Praedecessores fuerit unquam interdictum scribere pro opinione magis probabile, eamque docere.

Testor ego, infrascriptus S. Officii Notarius, suprascriptum exemplar decreti, editi feria IV die 26 Junii 1680, fuisse depromptum ex actis originalibus eiusdem S. Congregationis, eisque, ut constat ex collatione de verbo ad verbum facta, adamussim concordare.

Datum Romae ex aedibus S. O. die 21 Aprilis 1902.

Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. I. Notus.



## NOTICES OF BOOKS

CAMBRIDGE PATRISTIC TEXTS. The Five Theological Orations of St. Gregory Nazianzen. Edited by A. J. Mason, D.D.

THIS is the first volume of a projected series for the use of students of theology. It was a happy thought to commence with St. Gregory Nazianzen, who is amongst the Fathers one of the most learned in dogma, and one of the most cultured in point of style. His excellence as a letter-writer is too well known to need comment. Yet, his epistles, with all their literary charm, are not more beautiful than his discourses, which combine in a remarkably high degree elegance and learning. His teaching on the Blessed Trinity has ever been regarded as a standard of orthodoxy. Even Rufinus says: 'Non esse rectae fidei hominem qui in fide Gregorio non concordat.' Pope St. Agatho calls him 'constantissimum fidei predicatorem,' and St. John Damascene is continually quoting him in *The Orthodox Faith*. Though St. Gregory did not possess the characteristic qualities of his friends, the other two 'great Cappadocians'; though he was neither a man of action as St. Basil, nor an original thinker as St. Gregory of Nyssa, yet he has a better claim than either of them to be regarded as the representative of the belief of the Greek Church at the end of the fourth century. The chief theme of his writings and discourses is the mystery of the Trinity, indeed, we may say he consecrated all his energies to the defence of this truth (its *theology* as distinct from the *economy*, *i.e.*, the doctrine regarding the Incarnation, the human nature of Christ, etc.), and his supreme effort in this respect is contained in these five Theological Orations (against the Eunomians and Macedonians) which have won for him *par excellence* the title of 'Theologian.'

We have left but little space to describe the present edition. Mr. Mason has done his work well; several MSS. have been collated, the Introduction explains accurately the nature and scope of the five famous orations, and the notes are both copious and clear. As the learned editor says: 'The object is to give theological students the same kind of assistance in

reading Patristic works which is so abundantly given to students of the classical authors.' Judging from the present volume, the Cambridge Series will in more than one respect compare favourably with those of either Hurter or Krüger, and we hope that in our theological colleges it will have the wide circulation it deserves.

B. L.

SOME PAGES OF THE FOUR GOSPELS RETRANSCRIBED FROM THE SINAI PALIMPSEST. With a translation of the whole text. By A. S. Lewis. Cambridge University Press.

THE discovery in 1892 by Mrs. Lewis of this MS., containing a most ancient Syriac version of the Gospels, attracted the attention of scholars throughout the world. In the following year, when she was at Mount Sinai again, the text of the precious MS. was transcribed by Bensly, Rendel Harris, and Burkitt. The result of their labour was published in 1894. Then, in 1895, Mrs. Lewis and her sister, Mrs. Gibson, read the palimpsest once more, and succeeded in completing the transcription. The present work contains a reprint of 98 pages hitherto defective. Besides this, numerous lacunae existing elsewhere have been silently filled up. For the benefit of those who do not read Syriac, the whole has been translated so that now one of the most interesting and venerable documents in existence is rendered accessible to many. The learned editor gives also a list of the phrases omitted in the *Sinaitic Palimpsest*, but not in Westcott and Hort's edition; and *vice versa* of phrases found in it, but not found in that edition. As regards the first class, it is well known that the palimpsest, or to call it by its accepted designation, the Lewis Codex, agrees with the Vatican and Sinaitic (Greek) MSS. in omitting St. Mark xvi. 9-20; St. Luke xxii. 43-44; St. Luke xxiii. 34; St. Luke xxiii. 38b; St. Luke xxiv. 51b. It also omits two other portions of this Gospel, and it gives no sign that the last twelve verses of St. Mark's Gospel are left out. In this last, however, it is unlike the great uncials just mentioned. Ever since the time of its publication critics have held divergent views about the relative age of the Lewis, Curetonian, and Peshitta texts. So, too, with regard to the relation existing between the Lewis Codex and Tatian's *Diatessaron*. In 1894, Rendel Harris thought it was the basis of Tatian's work; in 1899, Reubens

Duval believed that the Lewis was later than either the *Curetonian* or the *Diatessaron*, while in 1901 Burkitt was inclined to make the Lewis older than the *Curetonian*. We may observe in passing that Gwilliam, in his excellent edition of the *Tetraevangelium Sanctum* does not enter into the question. Presumably a great deal more must be known with certainty before the matter can be definitely settled, but meanwhile there are many things to be learned from Mrs. Lewis's valuable reprint.

R. W.

THE CHILDREN OF NAZARETH. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

LADY HERBERT has translated this charming work of the Bishop of La Rochelle. His Lordship describes Nazareth, as he saw it for the third time, and especially its children, with whose appearance and manners he was so well pleased. The picture is a vivid one, and enables us to realize what must have been the surroundings of our Lord's early years. In the East there are few changes, so that the ways of the children of Nazareth, their songs and games, are, we may be sure, still such as Mary's Divine Son often witnessed. When we have been told all about the children, the life and daily occupations of the women are described, and we instinctively feel that this was the lot of the Blessed Virgin herself. The artizan's workshop is represented too, just as the Bishop saw it, so that we can easily picture to ourselves St. Joseph engaged in his humble toil. Numerous and excellent illustrations add greatly to the value of the book. With exquisite thoughtfulness the Bishop dedicates it to children, though, indeed, older readers may learn a great deal from it, and we can heartily recommend it as suitable for a present, for a prize, or for a place in parochial libraries.

A. F.

THE LEVITICAL PRIESTS. By S. I. Curtis. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

THIS able work deserves to be more widely known. Its author, who is thoroughly conversant with the theories of Kuenen and Graf, shows in detail their utter falsehood as regards the Old Testament priesthood. As might be anticipated, special care is devoted to explaining in this respect the relations between the middle books and Deuteronomy, and to



proving their complete agreement. We may direct particular attention to the admirable example of textual criticism contained in Appendix IV. (pp. 190-227), where one of Graf's most erroneous and dangerous statements is refuted. At the present day, every such defence of the truth of Scripture is invaluable.

R. W.

TEXTS AND STUDIES (Vol. VII., No. 2). St. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospels. By F. C. Burkitt, M.A. Cambridge University Press.

THIS number contains abundant evidence of the scholarship which is so characteristic of Mr. Burkitt's other contributions to this series. Its subject, we need hardly say, is an extremely interesting one. St. Ephraim, the great Doctor of the Syrian Church, occupies a unique position, and as his quotations from the Gospels in the Roman edition of his works (1737-1743), agreed with the Peshitta, it was naturally inferred that this version must have existed in his time. In fact his assumed use of it was one of the stock arguments for its antiquity, and no one thought even of investigating the matter till quite recently. But now the old position must be abandoned. Mr. Burkitt has taken the trouble to examine the MSS. that were used for the Roman edition, and he finds that it is utterly unreliable. In the first place, it contains several tracts which really belong to other authors. He says (p. 21): 'As a matter of fact, the passages from the Roman edition which have been brought forward to prove St. Ephraim's use of the Peshitta are nearly all taken either from the *Severus Catena* (A.D. 861), or from the *Homilies* preserved in Cod. Vat. Syr. CXVIII., the twelfth century MS. of which I have been speaking.' Mr. Burkitt then gives a list of works that are genuine productions of St. Ephraim, being all found in MSS. earlier than the Mohammedan invasion. It appears that in these the Gospels are often quoted, forty-eight times, but in not a *single instance* does the text of St. Ephraim agree with the Peshitta. So the argument based on his alleged use of this version falls to the ground. On pages 57 and 58, the learned editor gives good reasons for his own belief regarding the origin of the Peshitta. This, and his critical discussion of the forty-eight quotations, will be found most useful to all who are engaged in Biblical or in Patristic studies.

B. L. R.

THE LIVES OF THE POPES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES.  
Vol. I., Part II. 695-795. By Rev. H. K. Mann. London:  
Kegan Paul.

THE second part of the first volume of this important work makes its appearance with commendable promptitude.<sup>1</sup> In it the learned author gives us a description of no less than twenty Pontificates, from that of Vitalian (657-672) to Hadrian I. (772-795), which completes his admirable sketch of the lives of the Popes under the Lombard rule. The account of St. Agatho will be found especially valuable, even where every narrative is interesting to a Catholic, because of his intimate relations with the great St. Wilfrid of York. It was, indeed, a time of strife, when, to protect the discipline of the Church, saints were sorely needed. We are glad to see that in his biography of John VIII., Father Mann avails himself of the information afforded by the recent discovery in the Forum of the Church of St. Maria Antiqua, which this holy Pope decorated. The particularly important Pontificates of St. Gregory II. and St. Zachary receive adequate treatment at the hands of Father Mann. The last biography in this part, that namely of Charlemagne's contemporary, Hadrian I., will be read with great pleasure. Here, as throughout the book, there is evidence of the careful use of all the best and most recent sources of information. We find a concise and graphic description of the great Pope's action in the Iconoclast controversy, and then of his boundless charity and administrative ability in the exercise of the temporal power, which he was the first to possess in reality. We may close this brief notice of Father Mann's work, which is heartily recommended to all, by observing that this second part is in every respect as good as its predecessor, and by hoping that we shall soon have the pleasure of welcoming the second volume.

F. R.

HERMENEUTICA BIBLICA GENERALIS. By Dr. Stephen Szekely, Professor of Scripture in the Hungarian University, Budapest. Herder. 1902.

A THOROUGH knowledge of hermeneutics is a necessary part of ecclesiastical education, for it is obviously impossible to read Scripture profitably, or even to judge of the worth of a

<sup>1</sup> See I. E. RECORD, June, 1902.

commentary, without understanding the worth of the principles of exposition. In hermeneutics, as in many other parts of theology, St. Augustine led the way, his work, *De Doctrina Christiana*, being the first Catholic treatise on this all-important subject. From his time down to our own innumerable treatises have been written. In the century just passed several excellent ones appeared, among which we may mention those of the famous Hungarian professor, Randoler, Kohlgrueber, Patrizi, and Cornely. Each of them has its own special utility: one explains the universal laws of interpretation better, another treats of the linguistic peculiarities of Scripture more fully, another is valuable for its exposition of the nature of types and symbols, another for its history of interpretation; but for the beginner, we think that Dr. Szekely's work is the best that has ever come under our notice. It is clear and orderly, its synoptic tables are admirable, and while it consults for the desires of advanced students it prints in small type all that they wish to read, and thus it provides for the immediate needs of the beginner by showing him at the first glance what he wants to know. It will make an excellent text-book for ecclesiastical seminaries.

R. W.

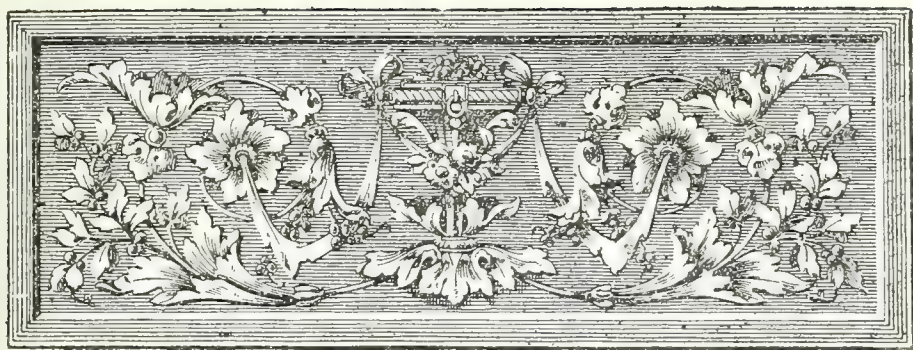
INSTRUCTIONS ON PREACHING. By the Rev. Patrick Boyle, C.M. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son.

THIS little volume, which is given us by the Rev. President of the Irish College, Paris, is a translation of the most famous instructions on preaching and the virtues of the clerical state by some of the great Saints and Fathers of the Church. First in order, a short treatise on preaching by St. Francis Borgia, third General of the Society of Jesus; then the famous letter of St. Francis of Sales, addressed to the Archbishop of Bourges; an outline of the Method of preaching adopted in the Congregation of the Mission, drawn up by M. Almeras, first successor of St. Vincent de Paul, and according to the method recommended by him; a letter of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars; a treatise of St. Augustine, *De Catechizandis Rudibus*; and in the last place, the well-known letter of St. Jerome, on the virtues of the clerical state, addressed to Neopotian. At the beginning of the volume, moreover, the decrees of the Council of Trent on preaching, together with some extracts from the statutes of Irish synods, 'showing how that duty was fulfilled in times of difficulty,' are very appropriately given.



These instructions are some of the chief sources from which most treatises on Sacred Oratory have drawn their teaching and guidance. Needless to say, they contain the truest principles of preaching ; and in those days when some may be thinking that, all things progressing, there should be a progress in the substance and style of utterances from the pulpit, that the preaching of the Word should be likewise modern and ' up-to-date ' : when even preachers themselves may have false notions about preaching, and be inclined to trust too much to their own notions therein, a work like the present, we cannot but believe, must be very valuable ; containing, as it does, ' the thoughts on preaching and on the virtues of the clerical state of men whose sanctity, learning, and practical experience entitle them to speak with authority.' It is a book that should be most useful to ecclesiastical students, a book to make and help and sustain the preacher.

J. M.



## THE SANCTUARIES OF THE CORRIB

### INCHIQVIN

**I**T is probable that the inscribed pillar stone which marked the grave of Lugnedon, son of Liamania, was the only memorial raised to his memory at Inchigoil in the opening of the sixth century. But the 'devout foreigner' needed no monument to perpetuate his memory. The light of his sanctity remained, and continued to shed its mellow radiance on the island sanctuary, as the beauties of the sunset may be reflected on the evening skies. It was reflected far on lake and mountain, on the peaks of Ben Levi and the steep summit of the hill of Doon, as a bright glow from a better world. It rested on the lake and its islands, and low-lying shores, with a softness that spoke of rest and religious peace. What wonder that the example of that 'pious foreigner' should even then attract men from afar, to seek for, and find on the shores and islands of Lough Orbsen, that holy peace which he enjoyed at Inchigoil. History attests that the sanctuaries which gemmed its shores and islands in the sixth and seventh centuries, were amongst the most remarkable even in the golden age of Ireland's holiness. We can realise in thought the satisfaction with which the 'holy foreigner' saw from a better world so many religious foundations spring up around his remote hermitage—at Cong and Annaghdown, at Kilfursa and Kilcoona, at Inchicreeva

and Inchiquin. But amongst those sanctuaries that at Inchiquin seems to have been the oldest and, perhaps, the most interesting.

It was the island of St. Brendan's choice, and was also the largest and the most fertile on the Corrib. Its area measures about 229 acres; and its fertility was such, that it had been regularly reserved by the provincial king, as a park for his stud of horses. It lies near the eastern shores of the lake, and is almost enclosed by the sheltering arms of a wooded creek.

There seems to be some uncertainty as to the exact date at which St. Brendan founded his monastery at Inchiquin. It is, however, generally supposed to be about the year A.D. 552. To quote the quaint language of O'Flaherty, 'On that island of Insequin St. Brendan built a chapell and worked divers miracles.' In a note by the Editor we are informed that Brendan was accompanied by St. Moeni, a bishop. He had been his companion in his memorable seven years' voyage, and is now his helper in the foundation on this remote island, where the '*pater laboriosus*' came to seek for rest and repose in his old age. Assuming that the date just given be approximately correct, the monastic establishment at Inchiquin was founded by St. Brendan, after the completion of his laborious and mysterious voyages. It is certain that it was prior to his celebrated foundations at Annaghdown and Clonfert. And if we except a foundation at Clontuskert in Roscommon, it was his first in the west of Ireland. St. Brendan received a grant of the island from Aedh Finn, the provincial king. But we are assured that his majesty soon after regretted his generosity.

The causes of the change in the royal mind are not clearly set forth. However, it is certain that the king became deeply incensed against Brendan and his disciples, and decided to deprive them of the lands which he previously conferred upon them. 'Full of passion he went towards the island' to effect his purpose. But a storm arose which raged for three successive days, rendering a passage to the island impossible. The delay gave the royal mind time for reflection. On the third night the king had a vision in which he was warned that should he disturb St. Brendan, he should quickly die. As he



awoke he found his mind in harmony with the restored calm of the elements, and renewed the grant of the island which he had already made to Brendan and his companions.

In connection with this religious establishment we find that there was also built a hospice—*cella hospitum*—at a place generally known as Rathmath, *i.e.*, the 'Rath of the Field.' The name is frequently met with in our early writers, and was often used to designate not merely the hospice referred to, but also the entire island of Inchiquin. Dr. Wilde appears to assume that it was situated on the island, Dr. Lanigan, Dr. O'Hanlon, and others show that there is some difficulty about identifying its exact site. Some even attribute the erection of the foundation at Rathmath to St. Fursey, on the adjoining mainland.

Dr. Lanigan writes, 'Fursey having remained for some years with Meldan, erected a monastery for himself at, it is said, a place called Rathmath, near Lough Orbsen.' Colgan would identify Kilursa on the adjoining shore as the site of the new monastery. Harris holds this opinion also.

The question is one which presents some room for reasonable doubt. Dr. O'Hanlon well observes that Rathmath is called an island. It seems most probable that the hospice erected on the island of Rathmath was that erected by St. Brendan at Inchiquin. It may have soon proved unequal to the requirements for which it was intended, and a larger hospice may have been erected in connection with St. Fursey's monastery on the mainland, since known as Kilursa, though known then by the familiar name Rathmath. It was here, within view, one might say, of the holy foreigner's grave, that Brendan would seek for repose and retirement in the evening of his days. But the saints who seek for retirement find it difficult to preserve their solitude free from intrusion or encroachment. It was so with regard to St. Brendan at Inchiquin. Accordingly we find him soon surrounded by many disciples who would perfect themselves in the science of the saints under his holy care, amongst whom we find some of the most remarkable men in Ireland in their day.

Amongst the earliest and most distinguished of St. Brendan's disciples at Inchiquin, St. Meldan deserves a leading place. Indeed he seems to have been his most distinguished

pupil, as he was *his immediate successor* in the government of the monastery. St. Meldan is referred to in our Martyrologies with special clearness. In that of Donegal, he is called 'Meallan Mac Ui Cuinn of Inis Mac Ui Cuinn in Loch Oerbsen in Connachta.' 'He was the spiritual father of Fursa who went to Perrone.' In the *Martyrology of Tallagh* he is also referred to as 'Mellan of Inis Mac Ui Cuinn.' The name Mac Ui Cuinn indicates his connection with the royal house of Connaught. It was from this young prince's family that the island received its name, and became known as Inis Mac Ui Cuinn or Insiquin—the island of the son of Con. Indeed we are told by the learned editor of *Iar Connaught* that the Island became so celebrated 'that the entire lake was often called Lough Insi Ui Chuinn, from it.' It is regrettable that the extant outlines of this eminent saint's career are vague and meagre. But we may hope, with Dr. O'Hanlon, that 'amongst the yet unpublished stores of our manuscript traditions, further discoveries regarding him can be made.' There can be no doubt that he was amongst St. Brendan's earliest pupils at Inchiquin, and that he succeeded St. Brendan as head of the religious community established there.

St. Meldan's distinction as 'spiritual father of Fursa who went to Perrone' is noteworthy; and we shall see that neither time nor death could sever the bond which united the heart of the pupil to his saintly teacher. Inchiquin was in truth the young saint's birth-place.

Even before St. Brendan had left the island to prepare for his dissolution in the adjoining mainland at Annaghdown, we see him raising his aged hands to bless, at the hospice at Rathmath, the holy infant Fursey; and we hear him in prophetic words reveal the secret of his future eminence. Did Brendan see the wonderful future of this wonderful child? Did he, whose voyages were so overladen with the poetry of Catholic thought, as to excite the admiration of Christian readers in every age, and to inspire even some of our poets of the nineteenth century, know that the visions of Fursey would unveil an Inferno as weird and as awe-inspiring, as that which Dante has depicted in the pages of his *Divina Commedia*. He may have known it, as he seems to have forecast his future

greatness. The prophetic forecast must have done much to console and to encourage St. Furse's parents who had then sought and found refuge and protection at the hospice at Inchiquin from the persecution of an angry king.

And here it may be noted that the birth of this remarkable child at the hospice at Rathmath naturally arrests attention. And it may be added that the arrival of his parents at St. Brendan's retreat and their reception there, adds a highly dramatic element to the history of the island and its pious occupants. St. Furse was of royal descent. His father was Fintan, son of Finlog, King of South Munster. Fintan is said to have been remarkable for the many accomplishments which were then supposed to be desirable in men of his high rank. He is said to have left his native province and to have taken service as a soldier of fortune with Aedh Finn, the King of Connaught, to whom reference has already been made. Here he became fascinated by the grace and beauty of the king's daughter, the fair Princess Gelges, and sought her hand in marriage. Despairing probably of securing the king's consent, they were united by a private marriage. When the fact became known to King Aedh, his anger knew no bounds. The legend has it, that he condemned the princess to be burned at the stake. And we are told that when the serpentine tongues of flame began to leap up around her, a fountain burst from the earth beneath the pile, and the rains fell in torrents from the gathering clouds, and extinguished them, and the princess stood unharmed before the cruel father and the pitying spectators. So impressed were the people assembled to witness the dreadful execution that they clamoured for her immediate release. The king yielded reluctantly to the popular cry, but insisted on her departure from his dominions. It was under those circumstances that on her way to the Southern Province, she with her husband sought the hospitality of the religious community at Inchiquin. And here, in the hospitable shelter provided for the fugitive princess and her consort by St. Brendan and his monks, she gave birth to her distinguished son. By such a narrative as the foregoing, are we prepared for the marvellous and the miraculous in connection with his birth.



We are assured that after St. Brendan had received the royal fugitives, and refreshed them with his choicest fare

A light shone forth from the heavens over the dwelling wherein they slept. So bright was it that the master of the mansion thought that the whole house was in flames. Trembling, he told the Bishop what he had seen. The Bishop, inspired by heavenly wisdom, felt that a celestial guard had followed his guests. He summoned his monks, and hastening in silence to the house, he saw the fire, which gave a great light, but did not consume. Listening reverently, he perceived that all were asleep inside ; and he blessed them with the sign of the Cross and then returned on foot to the monastery.

The arrival of the Princess Gelges and Fintan at Inchiquin was quickly noised abroad through the district, and the sympathy of the people for them in their undeserved persecution was quickly manifested. Many of the king's relatives 'dwelling in these parts, as well as the native princes of the country, came bringing costly gifts;' thus testifying their respect.

It is time to inquire in this portion of our narrative, if there were special motives which should have induced the outcast princess and her consort, to seek for protection and hospitality at the hands of St. Brendan and his disciples in this remote island of the Corrib?

The answer is obvious. Prince Fintan, son of King Finlog of South Munster was *brother of St. Brendan*. We have this on the authority of the *Book of Lismore*. We have this important fact also on the authority of the Latin Life of St. Brendan, edited by Cardinal Moran, taken from the *Liber Kilkenniensis*. We find that this opinion is also held by Colgan, and supported by Dr. O'Hanlon. Though Lanigan states that Fintan was son of King Finlog of South Munster, he seems unwilling to admit his close relationship with St. Brendan. He tells us in his text that Brendan was paternal uncle to Fintan, yet he shows in one of his notes, his unwillingness to admit even that. He advances instead the somewhat inconsequent statement, that as St. Brendan as well as Fintan was a native of Kerry, there may have been some relationship between them ; but in either case we see a special reason why Prince Fintan should have sought hospitality at

Rathmath, and why he should have desired that his son should receive baptism at the hands of St. Brendan.

The following is the narrative in which Miss Stokes records these events:—

While those things were happening, his wife, Gelges, bore a son, who was brought to be baptized by the venerable St. Brendan. The Bishop, knowing by revelation that the holy spirit was in the babe, proclaimed a three days' fast, and administered the rite of holy baptism, calling him Furseus, from a Scotie word signifying virtue. This youth he not only supported with the riches of the world, but also instructed in holy doctrine, and the lore of the monks. When Brendan resigned his abbacy, he placed Meldan of the race of Conn, over the island monastery, and he became the tutor of the boy, Fursa, whose father and mother then, after some time, returned to Munster.

The birth of St. Brendan is fixed by Cardinal Moran in the year A.D. 483. As he did not retire to Inchiquin till towards the close of his life, and as the date of his death is about A.D. 576, it is exceedingly unlikely that he could have been St. Furseus's tutor. But as the date of St. Furseus's birth is given to us as A.D. 570, we see no inherent difficulty in accepting the statement, that he had received the sacrament of baptism at the hands of St. Brendan, his uncle. But in the quotation just given the fact that Brendan is referred to as a Bishop may raise a new difficulty, as he is generally referred to only as Abbot. This difficulty might be satisfactorily explained by assuming that the ceremony of baptism was performed by St. Monen or Moonnean, by whom he was accompanied to Inchiquin. But as Cardinal Moran observes 'Some writers have supposed that St. Brendan was Bishop as well as Abbot. And indeed the silence of the martyrologies would not of itself be sufficient to refute that opinion.' O'Clery who styles him Abbot in his martyrology, refers to him as Bishop in his book of genealogies.

There can be no doubt that Brendan's personal influence must have effected much to conciliate the king, and to reconcile him to the fugitive exiles. But the influence of his holy disciple and successor Meldan, to whom the education of Furseus was entrusted, may have done much more in that direction. Meldan Mac Ui Con, being a prince of the reigning

house of the Western Province, and therefore closely united by ties of kindred to the Princess Gelges, must have possessed much influence in effecting a reconciliation. His presence as a member of Brendan's community at the time throws additional light on the course pursued by Prince Fintan and his queen, in seeking the protection and hospitality afforded them in the hospice at Rathmath. From the records which have been preserved by Colgan and the Bolandists, and carefully estimated by Dr. O'Hanlon and others, there can be no doubt that this Meldan was a prince of the royal house of Con; and that he was the same who afterwards acted as St. Fursey's tutor, that he is the same whose relics were, with those of Boean, subsequently carried by his grateful pupil to Peronne in Gaul.

We are not in a position to fix the length of the stay made at Rathmath by Fintan and his queen. Lanigan would have us assume, that they travelled to Munster soon after the birth of Fursey. Father O'Donohoe, however, implies that the stay was much more protracted. In his *Brendaniana* he states that it was during Fintan's stay on 'the adjoining mainland,' that other children were born to them, among whom were probably Ultan and Foilan, the saintly brothers of St. Fursey, and his companions in many of his apostolic missions in his later life.' And he tells us that Fintan returned to Munster only when the intelligence of his father's death had reached him; and that he himself had been elected by the Dynasts of the district to succeed him as king.

Though all seem to be agreed that the hospice at Rathmath was under the care and guidance of the monastery at Inchiquin, it has been already noticed that different opinions were entertained as to its actual site. In the estimation of many it was on the island of Inchiquin, others thought it was on the mainland immediately adjoining; and in the narrative just quoted from *Brendaniana*, we have it expressly stated that Fintan's stay was 'on the adjoining mainland.' Colgan, Harris, and Lanigan also say that it was on the adjoining mainland, and near that particular spot where St. Fursey himself afterwards founded the monastery and church known to our day as Kilfursa.



There seems, however, to be nothing improbable in assuming, that the original hospice at which the fugitives were received by St. Brendan and his community, was on the island of Inchiquin. Under the unusual circumstances of the visitors and of their more or less protracted stay, such a hospice might prove unequal to the needs for which it was unexpectedly required to serve. The special attention which the circumstances of the fugitives might demand, and the birth of an infant which Heaven seemed to have already taken under its care, would, perhaps, disturb the quietude of religious life on the island. And a hospice on the adjoining shore of the mainland which would retain the old name could be built on a scale more suitable to the new requirements. The people of the district could more easily come there and manifest their sympathy and their veneration for their holy and persecuted princess. This arrangement would also protect the religious on the island from the distracting effect of the continuous stream of visitors that would otherwise be continually disturbing the peace of their religious retirement. The assumption thus naturally suggested, would also reconcile the seeming discrepancies between different writers, as regards the true site of the hospice of Rathmath.

It seems to be admitted by all our writers on this subject, that the King Aedh Finn was reconciled to his daughter before Fintan departed for Munster. The influence of St. Brendan and of St. Meldan Mac Ui Con, might have been sufficient to bring about this desirable result. But it is also interesting to find that the influence of his holy grandchild, Fursey, did much in effecting this desirable reconciliation. Even in his early life, St. Fursey is represented to us as a worker of miracles.

There were at this time twin children, a sister and brother, who had died much regretted by their parents and friends. The sorrowing friends had, without Fursey's knowledge, laid the dead bodies of the children before the door of his cell. The Saint when passing from his cell to the church in the early morning, observed the dead bodies, and moved to compassion he besought God to restore them to life. His prayer was immediately heard, and the children were restored to life and health.

They then expressed a desire to be restored to their homes, though ignorant of how they came, and of the direction in which they should return. But Fursey

Touched to the heart by their sorrow led them to the shore, and casting forth upon the waters the scribes' wooden ruler which he carried in his hand, he bade the ruler go forth, and show the way to the tender exiles' home. Then, invoking the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, who walked dry upon the waters, and who granted a like way unto St. Peter, he bade the children to follow the ruler. Behold, a great miracle from the power of the Creator. The ruler, as though it was a reasoning being, was endowed with motion at the holy man's bidding ; and the children following it without any fear reached the port of their own home. Their friends standing on the shore, first hesitating, paused, and then were stricken with wonder when they realised that they were indeed their children, the very children whom three days before they had mourned as dead.

The children name the blessed Fursa as their restorer, and entreat that the wooden ruler which had thus guided them through the perils of the waters might be honourably housed in the church, for the glory of God and in memory of Fursa.

Miracles of this class might be classified amongst those performed of old by the Hebrew Prophets ; no wonder they should have left a deep impression on the minds of the people of the district. Amongst the many who came to seek his prayers and to offer the homage of their respect was the King Aedh Finn, his grandfather, whom he had the happiness of reconciling with the Princess Gelges his mother. The scene between the king and his holy grandchild on the occasion must have been solemn and impressive. He came in state attended by his chieftains and his brethren. All prostrated themselves before the young saint.

They cast themselves on the ground before him ; and the King, folding his cloak around him, poured ashes upon his head, because that in his madness he had driven forth his noble daughter, Gelges. The saint, having sternly rebuked his pride, then spoke holy words of comfort to him. The aged King sought and found pardon of Gelges and her husband, Fintan, and brought them back rejoicing to his house or palace.

The biographers of our saint inform us that it was about

this time that Fintan returned to Munster with his queen.<sup>1</sup> His father, King Finlog had died; and the dynasts of the territory elected Fintan as his successor. And if we accept Father O'Donohoe's narrative which seems exhaustive, he took St. Fursey and his other children with him on his return. But whether St. Fursey accompanied his father to Kerry or not, there can be no doubt that he did travel to Munster, and made a short stay there about this period of his life. But he did not go to sever his connection with Inchiquin. We shall see that he soon returned to place himself again under the guardianship of the friends of his early years.

The venerable Brendan had passed away to his eternal reward at Enachdun, A.D. 576. His pilgrimage was not prolonged to enable him to see how fully his anticipations of St. Fursey's greatness were destined to be verified.

We are not surprised to read that St. Brendan's intermittent stay on the island was made memorable by many miracles. But as the narrative of his whole career is interwoven with the poetry of pious legend, we shall only pause to refer to one miracle, which it was said was commemorated on the island by the monument known as 'Leaba in Tollceand—the bed or grave of the wounded head.' The Leaba existed there at the time of the Ordnance surveys A.D. 1845. Though Miss Stokes gives us this information she does not describe the 'monument which was still in existence there' at that date. As regards the miracle, we find it recorded in the life of St. Brendan, edited by Cardinal Moran. It is also given by Miss Stokes. But as it is given with particular clearness by Dr. O'Hanlon we will quote this interesting narrative.

About that time likewise, St. Brendan sent five monks to the aforementioned island of Detrumna, that they might dwell in it. However, some mutual discord was excited by the tempter, and one of them struck a senior on the head with great violence. He died from the effects of the stroke. When certain monks went speedily to St. Brendan with an account of that transaction he said to them: 'Return and say to him who has been struck, "Brother, arise! for thy Abbot Brendan calls thee."' This instruction they carried out, and the Monk then lying on a bed and lifeless, arose. Afterwards he went to

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. O'Hanlon; *Brendaniana*; etc.



St. Brendan bearing a portion of the weapon of iron with which he had been struck on his head. On seeing him the holy Abbot said, 'Dear brother, do you desire to remain still in this life, or now to possess Heaven?' The religious Monk at once expressed a wish to depart, and to be with Christ. Instantly he happily departed, and he was buried on the island of Inis Mac Ua Cuin. The place of burial was called in Irish 'Lebeyd in Tolleynd,' meaning the 'grave of the perforated head.' It is clear from Dr. Moran's edition of the life of St. Brendan that the monk referred to was buried in Inis Mac Ichumd, that his grave was known by the Irish designation of 'Lebayd in Tolleynd.' The monument or memorial which was raised in this interesting spot should have naturally been regarded with great veneration. It is much to be regretted that every vestige of this monument should have completely disappeared.

It is only about this period that we find references to St. Brendan's holy sister Bryga, to whom he was very much attached. She seems to have been his companion in his early years—when he was privileged to see the angels, who were her faithful attendants and guardians. Early in life she consecrated her virginity to God, and her life to religion—though the particular convent in which she made her religious profession is not mentioned. Some think she was connected with one of the religious establishments in Kerry. Others think that her convent was somewhere in Roscommon.

St. Brendan would have his holy sister associated with him in his apostolic labours amongst the Galway tribes. Now that the tribe of Moy Soela had come to know and love him, and that he had established his great religious community on the shores of the Shannon, and given Hy Maine its first Bishop, he would establish on the shores of the Corrib a community of nuns under the direction of his own saintly sister, who would help him to perfect the work in that district in which he was so successfully engaged. He accordingly selected a little promontory on the Corrib called Eanachduin, and there founded his convent. The King Aedh Finn now reconciled to him and to his religious, made 'to God and St. Brendan, a grant of the site required for the new conventual establishment. Though our annalists tell us of the grant, they do not give the exact date of the establishment of the convent. The site which he selected is a little promontory on the shores of the

Corrib, only a few miles south of Inchiquin. The interesting ruins which are there to our day, speak eloquently of its former religious importance. And now that he had given charge of Clonfert to his friend and associate Bishop Moenu, and had given St. Meldan charge of his community of Inchiquin, he had time to give much of his care to his sister's young community at Annaghdown. Indeed he had foreseen that it was at Annaghdown he was destined to receive from his Divine Master's hands the crown which he had won by his life of wonderful toil. The narrative of his death at Annaghdown is thus given by our hagiologists.

While he was biding there on a Sunday after he had offered the Holy Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, the venerable saint said to his sister and to the brethren who were with him: 'My very dear friends, on this day the Lord, my God, summons me to Life Eternal, and I adjure you in the name of Christ to do exactly what I tell you—if you would have my blessing conceal my death here until my body has been carried to my city of Clonfert, for there I have chosen the place of my resurrection.'

And there his prophetic words had their fulfilment. Having imparted his last blessing to his holy sister and his brethren, he raised his eyes to Heaven, and with the words, *In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum*, his soul passed from earth to eternal rest, and his body was borne to its last resting-place in Clonfert, A.D. 577, amidst such a public manifestation of national reverence and sorrow, as Ireland had not witnessed since the obsequies of her National Apostle.

We have seen that Fursey left Inchiquin to visit his kindred in Kerry. The pomp and royal pageantry of his father's palace had no attraction for him. He seems to have devoted himself exclusively to religious exercises and the study of sacred science. Nor did his parents attempt to place any obstacles to the attainment of his pious desires. We are even informed that his father helped to place him under the charge of teachers who were eminent for sanctity and knowledge.

His stay in the Southern Province does not, however, appear to be a protracted one. It is thought that the great

object of his visit was to impart, as well as to receive instruction; and to inspire with his own heroic spirit as many of his immediate kindred as he could influence to accompany him to his home on the Corrib, and there acquire the science of the saints under the teaching of his master, St. Meldan. In this he seems to have been successful. Having bade farewell to his royal parents he set out for Inchiquin, then regarded in Munster as a remote part of Ireland, and was joyfully received by St. Meldan the guardian of his childhood who had succeeded St. Brendan as Superior of the Monastery.

It was soon after considered desirable that Fursey should found a separate monastery, of which he was appointed superior. Though the new monastery was erected near the old, there is some difficulty about fixing its actual site. As we have seen it is said to be at Rathmath, near Lough Orbsen. This site may naturally have been the hospice on the mainland in which his parents had made their protracted stay under St. Brendan's care. This is the opinion of Colgan and others who recognise the site, as that known in our day as Kil Fursa or Kilursa. We are informed that the new foundation quickly grew into a flourishing establishment, and that St. Fursey had the happiness of receiving there, with some of his brothers, many of his kindred. There can be no doubt that SS. Foilan and Ultan were his brothers, and were inmates of that monastery. And as we find little or no reference to them, till after his return from Munster, it may be assumed that they had accompanied him on the occasion of his return to Inchiquin.

It was about this period that St. Fursey was favoured with those wonderful visions which revealed to him so impressively the condition of the elect and reprobate after death; which have been noticed with respectful attention by his biographers since the time of Venerable Bede. He was accredited with the intention of again visiting his Munster friends with a view to promoting their spiritual interests, when he was favoured with these revelations. Venerable Bede informs us that it was in the monastery which he built for himself that he was 'favoured with a spiritual rapture,' etc. In this statement there does not appear to be anything inconsistent with the general opinion of our Irish writers, that it was during his stay



at the Corrib that he was favoured with those wonderful visions. Lanigan's testimony on the subject is direct. He says 'St. Fursey is said to have had those visions in the year A.D. 627, which was probably about two or three years after he had finished the monastery of Rathmath.'

The conditions under which he had those visions are given to us at some length by Dr. O'Hanlon and Miss Stokes. They are given at much greater length by the original compilers of his acts.

One day as he left his cell to preach, he appeared to be seized with a sudden illness, and was carried back to his cell where he lay for a considerable time. As he appeared to be deprived of sensation and motion, his religious, who knelt around him, burst into tears thinking him dead. At the early dawn of the morning, however, he was restored to consciousness and health; he then spoke freely to his monks of the visions with which he was favoured by God during his ecstasy. The narrative, as it is handed down to us, reads like one of the visions of the prophets of the Old Law. Angelic bodies of surpassing beauty, but partially revealed in the surrounding darkness, appeared to him, and bore his soul aloft under the shelter of their snowy wings. And the motion of their wings filled the air with a sound of wonderful sweetness, and then there was a sweet chant in which one angel led and the others followed. And then a chorus of many thousands of angels, singing as it were an unknown psalm seemingly in anticipation of the triumphs of Christ and His saints.

This was the first occasion when the invisible was revealed to him. But the revelations were to be repeated.

The indications of his trance on the second occasion were equally impressive. On a sudden the feet of the saint became cold and rigid, while his arms were extended in prayer as if in anticipation of the approaching vision. In his trance he became conscious of the presence of three angelic spirits who stood by to guard him. It was then the horrors of hell, and the hideous forms of its demons, were revealed to him, through which he was safely led by his angelic guards and guides.

After this he was shown the beauty of the mansions of his Heavenly Father's house. The angels with their gleaming

wings passed before him in the 'marvellous bright light' that shone around, and the melody of their song of praise to the 'Thrice Holy' filled his soul with unspeakable joy and sweetness. Here, too, was the saintly multitude, the just made perfect; amongst whom he recognises his friends and masters then dead, Meldan and Boean. Their forms were of surpassing brightness, radiant as angels. They impressed on him the great duty of preaching to the world. When restored to consciousness he saw his weeping friends around him and about completing the preparations for his interment. He is said to have on this occasion engaged at once in the great work of preaching amongst his fellow-countrymen in Ireland. He was blessed with an eloquence that was powerful and persuasive, by which he was able to attract and influence the vast multitudes who continued to throng around him. When we add to this the well known character of his sanctity, and the marvellous character of his revelations, we have more than sufficient motives to account for the multitudes that thronged to hear him during the twelve months of his public preaching in Ireland. There can be little doubt that during this period he visited South Munster to propose once more to his kindred, in the strength and warmth of his charity, the powerful motives for doing penance which he was so specially commissioned to preach.

We are told that the year 627 was the date at which he had those revelations which would be, as Lanigan thinks, two or three years after he had founded his monastery at Rathmath.

On the night of the anniversary of the first of his visions, while many wise and religious men were with him, 'he was caught away from the trouble of the body,' and once more the command to go forth and preach was given to him by God's angel; and on this occasion the duration of the period of his preaching was extended to a period of twelve years.

He had already preached with great success in several parts of Ireland. His natural eloquence, and the distinction of his royal birth should naturally attract his Irish audiences. But his reputation for exalted sanctity, and his visions of the hidden secrets of the spirit world which human eyes have not seen, and human tongue may not disclose, did far more to attract

constantly increasing multitudes around him. But the admiration of his countrymen was more than his humility could bear. He accordingly withdrew for a little time to the retirement of a lonely island off the Irish coast, and there he determined to leave Ireland, and seek some other portion of the Master's vineyard, in which the labourers might perchance be few; there to sow the seed of his heavenly doctrine. He was not, however, to leave alone.

A devoted band of young missionaries, who felt as he felt the desire of forsaking all for Christ, sought earnestly to be associated with him. These were the holy brothers Algeis, Etto and Gobban who had been ordained but a short time previously.<sup>2</sup> St. Fursey approved of their desires. He then called upon his brothers Ultan and Foilan, and said, 'Do you desire to serve Christ with me?' And they said, 'Whither you go we will follow.' And Fursey said, 'Let us follow Christ and offer ourselves a holocaust to Him.' So with this heroic band of ardent and devoted followers he bade a last farewell to his beloved monastery at Inchiquin. To Fursey it must indeed have been a heroic sacrifice; though renouncing all for Christ. Yet there was one treasure to which his heart would cling—one which he felt unwilling to renounce, and which he determined to carry with him from the island sanctuary of Inchiquin. Saints Meldan and Boean had been buried there. He would bear their precious relics with him, he would retain and guard them with ceaseless care, until his hour should come, and his body be laid to rest with them in his far off grave at Peronne.

We do not propose in this paper to accompany our saint and his holy and heroic companions in their subsequent successful labours in England, France, and Belgium. We must terminate our sketch with the briefest reference to that portion of their career.

After leaving Ireland, the missionaries received a most generous reception from Sigebert, the King of East Anglia. At the request of the king, St. Fursey founded a monastery on the coast of Suffolk, at a place known then as Cnobhershurg,

<sup>2</sup> These saints are respectively patrons of the churches of Algise, St. Gobain, and Aresnes, in France, Stokes, p. 99.



and more recently as Burgh Castle. Of this religious house King Sigebert himself became soon after an edifying member.

St. Fursey's stay in Suffolk was comparatively brief. The immediate cause of his departure is given so clearly by Venerable Bede, that his words may be given here. 'The country after this, being much disturbed by frequent invasions of enemies from which there was no security even in monasteries, leaving all things in good order he passed over into France. The fame of his sanctity, and the character of his extraordinary visions were known in France, and secured for him a most favourable reception at the hands of King Clovis II. and his virtuous Queen Bathilde.'

Under the immediate patronage of a powerful noble, he founded a celebrated monastery at Lagny, which, as Miss Stokes informs us, was 'close to Chelles, about six miles from Paris, where Clovis and Bathilde had their "Villa Regia," and where this good Queen founded her long-famed nunnery.' The character of the miracles which he is said to have performed here helped to spread his fame far and wide. The holy Princess Gertrude of Brabant, also held him in the highest esteem. His holy brothers Ultan and Foilan she regarded with the same veneration; and we find accordingly that she invited them to Brabant to help in the advancement of religion in that district. Their first religious foundation was at Fosse in the Diocese of Liege. Here Ultan was appointed Superior; while Foilan returned to aid St. Gertrude in the administration of her great Convent at Nivelles. His death in the year 655 is regarded by many as that of a martyr, but by all it is recognised as that of a saint.

At this time a man of wealth and recognised piety named Erchenwald, lived at Peronne, then an important fortress. He was mayor of the fortress and was most anxious to induce St. Fursey to reside there. It was with this purpose that he built or restored its church. He also erected a monastery adjoining it which he wished to place under the saint's authority. St. Fursey's approval of Erchenwald's pious efforts was clearly manifested by enriching that church with the relics of his venerative masters Meldan and Boean. We are informed that it was the saint's own wish that he should end

his days there in the newly erected monastery. But he was summoned to his reward at Lagny before he could realise his wishes; but it was at Peronne in the same shrine which contained the bodies of Meldan and Boean that his body was laid midst the most touching manifestation of popular veneration and esteem.

As regards the particular day and year of St. Fursey's death, there exists a great diversity of opinion. Dr. O'Hanlon regards it as most probable that he died on the 16th of January. The embarrassing and conflicting character of the dates of his death may be inferred from the fact that they vary from A.D. 630 to A.D. 660. Colgan gives the date as A.D. 652, and Lanigan concludes that it was about 650.

On the death of Fursey his brother Ultan was induced to come from his great Belgian house at Fosse, and take charge of the new foundation at Peronne; and we are informed that while charged with the administration of Peronne he was not allowed to resign that of Fosse.

The labours of those holy brothers which attracted such general and wide spread attention abroad, were followed in Ireland with the most respectful admiration; so much so that many of our countrymen followed them in their voluntary exile to be ranked amongst their devoted disciples.

The monasteries at Fosse and Peronne were soon designated *Irish Monasteries*. This was also the case with Lagny, which had St. Emilian, who was trained at Inchiquin, appointed Superior after the death of St. Fursey.

The appointment of St. Ultan as Superior at Peronne had the willing sanction of St. Eligius, Bishop of the Diocese.

In the year A.D. 659 St. Gertrude passed to her reward. When ill

She sent to tell Ultan of her condition and inquire whether God had revealed to him at what time she should die, for the thought of death ever present with her filled her heart at once with joy and fear. The Saint told her that on the next day she should die, but that she need have no fear and suffer no distress, because St. Patrick and the angels chosen of God were ready to receive her into glory.

St. Ultan survived his holy brothers many years. Though

the date of his death is not fixed with certainty, Miss Stokes thinks it was about the year A.D. 680.

His memory is revered at Peronne and elsewhere on the 2nd May. He is honoured as patron of Courcelette. And we are informed that his statue, with those of St. Foilan and St. Fursey, his holy brothers, was erected on the porch of St. Fursey's church at Peronne. He was represented with a crown at his feet—a fitting emblem of the holy heroism of men who sacrificed the perishable honours of earth in order to secure crowns that cannot fade.

J. FAHEY, P.P.

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## HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN IRELAND

TILL YEAR 1843

THE opening years of the thirteenth century were marked by a wonderful literary revival. Hildebrand's policy had at last succeeded; and the Church was rescued from the bondage of State control under which she had lain helpless for ages. Her ministers were full of new life and vigour, while the friendly rivalry provoked by the appearance of new competitors in the persons of the Mendicant Friars contributed much to promote the cause of learning. Under the fostering care of ecclesiastical authorities, the mediæval schools of western Europe were transformed into the great *studia generalia*, or universities which have continued ever since to enlarge their fields of labour, and to suit their studies to the requirements of the different ages. Popes blessed these rising institutions and guaranteed them many valuable privileges; kings and princes proved themselves munificent patrons; bishops encouraged their clerical students to attend their lectures; while the laity, filled with the spirit of faith, bequeathed them money and lands, asking no return save the prayers of the scholars.

But, alas, the Irish schools did not share in this glorious



transformation. They had flourished and sent forth from their halls accomplished scholars long ere the names of Bologna, Paris, Alcalá, Oxford, had been so much as heard of in the world of Science. Still, the day of their glory had passed for a time ; let us hope that it may not have gone for ever. While these younger institutions became centres of life and learning, round which flocked thousands of the brightest intellects of England and the Continent, the Irish schools were deserted and forgotten ; the grass soon grew over the grounds that had been hallowed by the footsteps of generations of saintly scholars, and, to-day, only the walls remain silent witnesses of the past and its possibilities.

Many causes contributed to bring about their dissolution. The Danish invasions by which the country was periodically disturbed, the fratricidal strife between Ard-Righ and Righ, province and province, chieftain and chieftain, must needs prove disastrous to the schools. Learning cannot long find patrons in a land resounding with the clash of arms and the war-cries of restless clansmen. Nor was the situation improved by the arrival of the English invaders. They came to plunder and enrich themselves, not to promote the cause of education. Only too frequently the ties of a common religion were not sufficient to guarantee the scholar from violence and oppression. The once famous schools of Armagh, Lismore, Bangor, and Glendalough, though not completely extinguished, had fallen from their high estate, and ceased to influence the nation.

Still, there were some of the stranger ecclesiastics who could prize learning and scholarship. They saw that unless Ireland was to be a land of barbarism, and not the land of scholars as she once had been, an effort must be made to found a university on the model of the recently founded Continental institutions. In the year 1311 John De Lech was Archbishop of Dublin. He hastened to lay before the Holy See his hopes and his fears for the future of Irish education ; nor was he long left in doubt about its decision. Clement V. immediately forwarded a Brief empowering the Archbishop to erect a university in Dublin in every Science and Faculty and for all time.

We, therefore [says the Pope], giving a favourable ear to the supplications of the said Archbishop, and desirous that out of (Ireland) men may proceed skilful in learning and fruitful in the sciences, who will be able by wholesome doctrines to sprinkle the country like a watered garden to the exaltation of the Catholic Faith, the honour of Mother Church, and the profit of all the faithful, do, by our Apostolic authority, ordain that in the city of Dublin (if the consent of the Suffragan Bishops be had) a University in every Science and lawful Faculty be established to flourish there forever, in which Masters may teach freely and Scholars be auditors in the said Faculties, and such as may be thought worthy of being called to the Doctorate in any of the Faculties may obtain license for that end.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately De Lech died and the project fell through for a time. Seven years later his successor, De Bicknor, continued the work, and in a letter issued with Papal sanction, on February 10th, 1320, he laid down the constitutions for the new university. The Chancellor was to be elected not by the Government, as has been so often insisted upon in this country, but by the masters-regent with whom also rested the appointment of proctors—two in number. On his appointment the chancellor was empowered to draw up statutes for the government of the university in consultation with the masters-regent and non-regent. The graduates might obtain their degrees according to the votes of the different faculties—a bare majority being sufficient to ensure their success. Nor did the university forget to provide for the instruction of the faithful. A regent in divinity was to be appointed to lecture publicly on Holy Scripture in the Church of St. Patrick, so long as the university continued to exist. The Dean of St. Patrick's was appointed as first chancellor, whilst two Dominicans and one Franciscan were created doctors of divinity.<sup>2</sup>

The new university appears to have started work immediately, probably in buildings attached to the old Church of St. Patrick. But there were numberless difficulties to be overcome. In the first place, the Papal Bull had ordered that the consent of the suffragan bishops be obtained; and there is no proof that this clause was ever fulfilled. De Bicknor was

<sup>1</sup> Harris' Ware's *Antiquities*; *Hibernia Dominicana*, De Burgo.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide ut supra*; *The Office and Work of Universities*, by Newman.

an ambitious man, and soon became involved in bitter contests not alone with the Primate of Armagh, but even with his own suffragans, notably the Bishop of Ossory. Hence very little assistance could be expected from these quarters.

Again, the State was not generous in its contributions. The rulers sent to govern Ireland were too much engaged in providing for themselves and their families to do much for the welfare of the nation. They looked upon the struggling young university as an institution that might prove dangerous to their class; whilst, at the same time, the native Irish, the men of the soil, would hardly have been welcome had they elected to come. They were treated as a barbarous and a conquered race, and naturally they had no love for what they regarded as a Saxon school.

Such were a few of the causes that tended to destroy the prospects of the university, and however we may account for it, students from Ireland continued to flock to Oxford and other places in search of higher education. Unfortunately this was not the last occasion during the history of this question when the same tale of shameful desertion might be repeated. The clergy and scholars of Ireland appealed to Edward III. in 1358—thirty-eight years after the foundation—for assistance to continue the studies in divinity, canon and civil law, and other clerical instructions. The king replied by founding a new lectureship in divinity, and granted letters of safe conduct to students whilst going to or returning from the university and during their stay there. Further pecuniary assistance was given a few years later.<sup>3</sup>

Still, however, success did not come. The bishops were too much engrossed in their civil duties to give it the necessary support; and it is not improbable that William De Hardite, the Dominican who had obtained the first doctorate, was appointed rector.<sup>4</sup> The schools of the Franciscans and Dominicans had been from the beginning affiliated to the university, and it is remarkable how when all others seemed to have deserted it, the Dominicans continued the undertaking.

Their priory of St. Saviour's stood in Oxmanstown, over-

<sup>3</sup> Harris Ware's *Antiquities*.

<sup>4</sup> *Hibernia Dominicana*.



looking the Liffey, on the very site where now stand the Four Courts. The grounds were leased from the Cistercian monks, but the rent—the presentation of a candle each Candlemas Day—would hardly be considered excessive by the most extreme opponent of dual ownership. Their schools of philosophy, which were placed under the protection of St. Thomas of Aquin, were erected in Ussher's Island, farther up on the other side of the river. Not unfrequently, when the Liffey was swollen, the masters and scholars found it difficult, if not impossible to cross; and so they set themselves to remedy such a grave inconvenience. At the advice and with the assistance of their supporters the Dominicans resolved to erect a stone bridge—the first ever erected in Dublin—to connect their priory with the schools. It was soon finished and popularly known as the Old Bridge; and to defray expenses a lay-brother stood daily exacting toll of all vehicles passing that way. A holy water font hung by the side in which the passers might dip their fingers and invoke God's blessing on themselves. The bridge with its font stood as the Dominicans had built it till the great floods of 1802, when they were swept away, and a new structure erected. It is interesting to remember that the first stone bridge ever built in the metropolis of Ireland was built by ecclesiastics in the cause of Education.<sup>5</sup>

In the year 1462 the Earl of Desmond was appointed Lord Deputy by Edward IV. He seems to have wished the welfare of the country, and the people looked to him as a protector and friend. He founded and endowed a great college at Youghal to instruct the people of the district; and the next year a parliament was called at Drogheda to prepare the way for a university. The Primates of Armagh and Dublin were jealous of each other's jurisdiction. Both wished to be supreme. Drogheda had been for years the seat of the Archbishops of Armagh; and so, Drogheda insisted on being placed on equality with Dublin in educational matters. The statutes of the Parliament, written in French, the legal language at the time, are still preserved in the 'Records of

<sup>5</sup> This is the story as given by De Burgo from Dominican Records, but Gilbert, in his *History of Dublin*, does not agree in this account of 'Old Bridge.'

Chancery,' and would well deserve perusal by some of our modern legislators.

Because the land of Ireland [they say] has no University or place of General Study, a work of which sort would cause a general increase of knowledge, riches, and good government, and would prevent riot, evil government and extortion within the said land, it is therefore ordained, established, and granted by authority of Parliament, that there be a University in the town of Drogheda, in which may be created Masters, Bachelors, and Doctors in all Sciences and Faculties, as they are made at Oxford; and that they may also have, occupy, and enjoy all Privileges, Liberties, Laws, and Customs which the said University of Oxford hath occupied and enjoyed, so that it be not prejudicial to the Mayor, Sheriffs, or Commonalty of the said town of Drogheda.<sup>6</sup>

Unfortunately, however, Desmond, the founder of the university, was superseded by an Englishman, and serious charges were urged against him—amongst the rest that he had been too kind to the native Irish, and had encouraged rebellion against England. Hardly two years passed from the time when he had begun to arrange for the university when he was hanged on a gibbet outside the gates of the very town wherein it was to have been erected, and his lifeless body was consigned to the care of the Dominican fathers, while his head was carried to Dublin to be spiked at the city gates. Yet Drogheda must have long continued a centre of liberal education, because we find in the records of the Inquisition, made by orders of Henry VIII., 'that every man of any standing in the country sent his sons to be educated in that city.'<sup>7</sup>

If the attempt failed it had at least one good effect. It roused the people of Leinster to make one other effort to continue the work of the old Dublin university. The Dominicans and Franciscans appealed to Sixtus IV. in 1475, pointing out to him that there was no place in the country where degrees might be obtained, and that consequently those anxious to prosecute their studies were forced to cross the seas at great peril and expense. Sixtus IV. issued a Brief empowering them to erect a university. Some people say the

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D'Alton's *History of Drogheda*; Ware's *Antiquities*

<sup>7</sup> Wyse, Pamphlet on Irish Education.

work was never undertaken ; but either a new university was founded, or else, which is most likely, the old university, under control of the secular clergy, began again to make itself felt. Lectures were continued, as we can see from the fact that the provincial synod, presided over by Walter Fitzsimons in 1496, an agreement was entered into that the Archbishop and his suffragans should contribute fixed sums for seven years to maintain the lectures of the university. The parties assenting to this arrangement were the Archbishop of Dublin with his chapter and clergy, and the bishops, chapters, and clergy of Ossory, Ferns, Leighlin, and Kildare.<sup>8</sup>

This closes the first chapter in the history of higher education in Ireland since the fall of the monastic schools, and we cannot say that the story has been one of success. Still those who sneer at the failure should bear in mind the obstacles that had to be overcome. The nation was divided into two hostile camps—the native and the Anglo-Irish—by whose disputes the land was kept in almost perpetual turmoil. The broad acres with which the Irish had endowed their ancient schools were seized by the invader and converted to less generous uses ; nor did any of the rulers appointed to govern Ireland show themselves zealous benefactors of the university. While Oxford and Cambridge were allowed to develop in comparative peace and affluence, while in later years Trinity College was enriched by the lands of Catholic nobles attainted on account of their religion, Dublin University was left to struggle in a land torn by conflicting interests, uncared for by those who should have been its patrons. Still, it should be noted, that upon whomsoever the blame is to be laid for the failure, the ecclesiastics can hardly be held responsible. They were the first to organise the work ; they stood by it in its darkest days, and, as is evident from the action of the Dublin Synod, they were the last to abandon the cause as hopeless.

In a few years the country was disturbed by the reforming policy of Henry VIII. He endeavoured to force his royal supremacy upon the Irish people, but despite his bribes and his persecutions the nation as a whole remained loyal to the See

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<sup>8</sup> Ware's *Antiquities*.



of Rome. While Parliament was determining the religion according to the pleasure of the different rulers, while new forms of prayer and articles of belief were being drawn up, the people remained unshaken in the faith of their fathers.

In times like these there seemed little hope for the university. Yet in 1560, two years after Elizabeth had succeeded to the throne, Father Wolff, the Jesuit, was sent into Ireland as Apostolic Commissary, and the Cardinal Protector of the Propaganda besought him when leaving Rome to leave no effort untried to establish grammar schools throughout the country in order to pave the way for means of higher education. Four years later a Brief was sent to Richard Creagh, and this same Father Wolff empowering them to erect colleges in different parts of Ireland which might confer degrees and enjoy all the privileges of a university. But the English Government were resolved to frustrate their efforts, and Creagh and Wolff were arrested and sent out of the country.<sup>9</sup>

We come now to deal with the efforts made by Elizabeth and her Government in the same direction. From the very beginning of her reign she and her advisers were clever enough to perceive the advantage that must accrue to the English power by having complete control of the higher education of the country. In 1571 when Sir Nicholas Malby was sent as Governor of Connaught, the queen commanded him to found a college in some central town in Ireland for the instruction of the people. She recommended Clonfert on account of its healthy and convenient situation, and the governor was ordered to examine were there any suitable buildings already erected, also what would be the amount of the united revenues of the Sees of Elphin and Clonfert because she intended to suppress these two bishoprics and start the university with the funds so acquired. 'We find,' she concludes, 'that the runagates of that nation, who under pretence of study beyond the seas do return fraught with superstition and treason, are the very instruments to stir up our subjects to undutifulness and rebellion.' For some reason or other these commands were not fulfilled. Passing over similar attempts of which Campion

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<sup>9</sup> *Hibernia Ignatiana*, Hogan. <sup>10</sup> Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*.

speaks in his History of Ireland, we shall come to deal directly with the foundation of Trinity College.

Before doing so, however, it might be well to sketch briefly the position of the Catholic party in Ireland at the time, as it will enable us to understand better the early history of Trinity. It is a serious mistake to imagine that Catholics were completely crushed during the reign of Elizabeth, and that they held no positions of trust and emolument. In the Parliament which Elizabeth summoned after ascending the throne, to discuss the royal supremacy, out of the forty-two Lords who answered to their names nearly every single man was Catholic. The House of Commons had been packed by the Lord Deputy, but despite all his tricks the Catholics were here, too, in the majority. Stanihurst, the Speaker, clearly perceived that the Royal Supremacy could not pass in such an assembly, and so recourse was had to a most dishonest dodge. George Dillon, himself an eye-witness, tells us how it was done. The Speaker sent private notice to those members whom he knew to be in favour of the Royal Supremacy, that Parliament would sit on a certain day—probably the feast of St. Brigid—on which the Catholic Party thought no business would be transacted, and before they became aware of the proceedings, the Act had been placed on the Statute Book. As soon as the matter was discovered there was a general protest against the fraud, injustice, and deliberate treachery of the proceedings. But the Lord Deputy and others having solemnly sworn that the law would never be carried into execution, the remonstrants were caught in the dexterous snare, and consented that the enactment should remain on the Statute Book. As a matter of fact during the whole reign of Elizabeth the oath of Royal Supremacy remained almost completely in abeyance.<sup>10</sup>

In the next Parliament called by Elizabeth, in 1569, the Lords were again Catholic, but the most unfair means were adopted to secure a Protestant majority in the Commons. On the very first day of the session the Catholics protested against the elections. So determined were they that when some of

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<sup>10</sup> *Vide* Tracts Relating to Irish (Arch. Soc. of Ireland); Moran's *Archbishops*; Dr. Kelly in *Rambler*, Jan., 1853; *Cambrensis Eversus*.

the Protestants referred incidentally to the royal prerogatives, they created such a scene of uproar that the Deputy feared to introduce the question of religion and fled into England to seek the queen's advice. In the Parliament of 1585 their position remained practically unchanged.

Besides, Elizabeth looked to the Catholics for support. The war with the great Earl of Desmond had just concluded, while it could hardly have been a secret to the Court that O'Neill and O'Donnell were marshalling the forces of the North for a struggle. Elizabeth turned to the Catholic party for assistance, and to their shame, be it said, many of them drew their swords against their co-religionists. O'Sullivan fortunately supplies us with the list of Queen's Catholics, as he calls them. There you find the names of Butler, Earl of Ormond; Viscount Barry of Buttevant; Butler of Dunboyne; Burke of Castleconnel; Henry, William, and Gerald Fitzgerald, Gormanstown; Nugent of Delvin, and Fleming of Slane; Barnewall of Trimleston, and the Plunketts of Louth, Dunsany and Killeen; Donogh O'Brien of Limerick, and McCarthy of Carbury; Lord Inchiquin and The O'Connor Don.<sup>11</sup> Elizabeth, then, could not well afford to violently offend the Catholic Party.

Now for Trinity. Adam Loftus, a Yorkshire priest, came to Ireland to uphold the religious opinions of Elizabeth. Being a gifted and accomplished courtier he rose gradually, till at last he found himself as Archbishop of Dublin in possession of many important offices in Church and State—so many that the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's forced him to promise that he would never ask anything more for himself or for his friends. Though he had previously opposed the efforts of Sir John Perrot, yet he now resolved to found a university of Dublin; and so, at the Quarter Sessions of John the Baptist, he called a meeting of the citizens in the old Tholsel, and in an eloquent address, still preserved, he laid before them the many advantages of having a university in their midst. His argument prevailed, and the Corporation of Dublin granted as

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<sup>11</sup> *Vide* Harris' Ware's *Antiquities*; Stubbs' *History of Trinity College*, Heron's *History of Trinity College*; Stubbs' Appendix of the Speeches of Loftus.



a site for the new university the grounds of the old Augustinian priory of All Hallows, for the priory was now deserted. Whatever Loftus may have thought of the Protestant character of the new institution, it is certain that he must have carefully concealed his views; for, be it remembered, that the majority of the citizens of Dublin who applauded his address in the old Tholsel were Catholics, and most of the Corporation who granted the site professed the same religion.

Henry Ussher, Archdeacon of Dublin, and Lucas Challoner were despatched to London to obtain a mortmain lease of the land as well as a charter for the new university. By letters issued on the 29th December, 1591, and by others of more solemn form on the 3rd March, 1592, the license and charter were granted by the Queen. In these letters she declares:—

We will grant and ordain for ourselves, our heirs, and our successors, that their be and shall be a College, the *Mother of a University*, in a certain place called All Hallows, near Dublin, for the education, training, and instruction of youths and students in arts and faculties to last for ever, and that it be and shall be called the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, at Dublin, founded by Elizabeth.<sup>12</sup>

Now, in these days when the Protestantism of Trinity College is regarded as sacred and almost inviolable, it may not be out of place to examine on what grounds this opinion is based. We have already noted that the site for the new university was the lands of the Augustinian Priory granted for the purpose by the Catholic citizens of Dublin. The obtaining of the charter was the next step in the undertaking, and not a word is said in the charter of Queen Elizabeth about upholding the Protestant religion or the exclusion of Catholics from the privileges of the institution. 'The want of a university in the kingdom of Ireland,' 'the better education, training, and instruction of scholars in that kingdom,' are dwelt upon, but nowhere is it hinted that these benefits were to be kept from the majority of the people and reserved for a few thousand individuals.

Remember, we say nothing about the intention, we take only the charter as we find it, and we assert that according to

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<sup>12</sup> Ware, Heron, Stubbs, *ut supra*.

the terms of that charter by which Trinity College was called into life, it should have been a university for the nation at large, and not a Protestant stronghold.

But there is still more astonishing evidence that Catholics were by no means excluded; for, amongst the first scholars named by the queen in this very charter we find the name of Stephen White, the son of an old Catholic Waterford family, and himself destined thirty-five years later to hold a prominent place in Catholic educational circles. That the afterwards famous Jesuit, White, was the person mentioned in the queen's charter there can be no reasonable doubt, because no other person of that name is anywhere mentioned; all traces of this student have disappeared from the records of Trinity, while, as if to settle all doubts, we find that James Ussher, one of the other scholars named in the charter, and Stephen White were fast friends, often corresponding with each other, and even in after years when Ussher was using all his powers to crush the Catholics, White was a welcome guest at his table, and had access to his collection of manuscripts.<sup>13</sup>

Now that the site and charter had been obtained it became necessary to seek funds for the erection of suitable buildings, because Elizabeth had practically confined her assistance to her good wishes and blessing. In this difficulty the Lord Deputy, Fitzwilliam, resolved to appeal to the gentry of Ireland, and a circular letter was drawn up and despatched to the sheriffs of the different counties. Religion is never mentioned in this address. He beseeches them for the sake of their children and their children's children to lend their aid in an undertaking which could not fail to confer incalculable blessings on the whole country. Again and again this national character of the university is insisted upon, but its Protestantism is entirely forgotten.<sup>14</sup>

Nor is this to be wondered at when we remember that many of those to whom the circular was addressed and most of those who responded to it were devoted Catholic men who may have been more loyal to their queen than to their country, but who for all that suffered the loss of possessions and life

<sup>13</sup> *Waterford Journal of Archaeology*, April, 1897.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Heron's *Hist.*

rather than deny their faith. There you may find the names of the Taaffes of Louth, the Nugents, the Tyrrels, and the Walshes of Westmeath ; of Sir Turlough O'Neill and the men of Tyrone ; of Sir Hugh M'Guinness and his clansmen of Down ; of the landowners of Limerick and Munster generally ; of the gentry of Connaught, and notably of the town of Galway ; of the inhabitants of the corporate towns of Drogheda and Dublin.<sup>15</sup> All these hastened to subscribe their money to found a university where their children might be trained, but only to find that they had been grossly deceived, and that the bigoted clique led by Loftus who had assumed control of Trinity, had determined to make the attendance of Catholics impossible. Yet, in the beginning, before this was clear to all, Catholic students did go up to Trinity to receive their education ; but, when they found their religion was in danger, no inducements could keep them there, and many of them fled to the Irish Colleges in Spain.<sup>16</sup>

The religious intolerance of the Trinity authorities became more and more manifest, and the Jesuits found it necessary to warn the Catholic parents not to permit their children to attend the university lectures—a course of action which the college deeply resented.<sup>17</sup>

During the opening years of Charles I., the courage of the Catholics revived. They looked to him as a friend, nor were there wanting reasonable grounds for their confidence. He was married to a daughter of the Catholic king of France, herself a devoted Catholic ; he had promised them fifty concessions known as 'the graces,' in return for the assistance which they guaranteed, while the Lord Deputy Falkland was well known to be their sincere friend.

The Jesuits resolved to seize this opportunity to found an Irish Catholic university. Trinity had already clearly adopted its policy of exclusion, while of the Catholics who flocked to foreign universities, many of them sought in other lands the honours denied to them at home, and so their abilities and their services were lost to the country. The Jesuits

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<sup>15</sup> *Book of Trinity College ; College Calendar, 1833.*

<sup>16</sup> *Hibernia Ignatiana.*

<sup>17</sup> *Life of Father Fitzsimons.*



determined to apply a remedy by providing higher education at home.<sup>18</sup>

They had splendid prospects of succeeding. Many of the Irish province were famous all over Europe for their learning—men, like Stephen White, who had already proved his worth as Professor in the universities of Salamanca, Ingolstadt, Dillingen, and Pont-a-Mousson. All these were summoned home to man the new institution. Besides, they were closely connected with the great Anglo-Irish families who relied so much on the royal protection. The superior in Ireland was Father Nugent, a kinsman of the Countess of Kildare, and Lords Westmeath and Inchiquin, his assistant was a Dillon, brother of the Earl of Roscommon; and amongst the Fathers we find the unmistakable names of Nugent, Netterville, Plunkett, Talbot, Segrave, and Eustace. They could well trust to the generosity of their kinsmen for the funds required to begin the work.

Nor were their hopes misplaced. The project was warmly taken up by their friends and by some of the bishops, and money was freely contributed to erect the necessary buildings. The site selected was in the street then and now known as Back Lane, situated in the very centre of old Dublin. Despite the warnings of the Superior-General they persevered in the undertaking, and in 1627 the new university empowered by Papal charter to give degrees in all arts and faculties was declared open. The Lord Deputy, Falkland, if he did not actually approve of the work, certainly must have connived at it. 'I know well,' writes Bedell, the Provost of Trinity, to the Earl of Strafford, 'that his Holiness hath erected a new university in Dublin to confront his majesty's college there, and to breed up the youth of the kingdom to his devotions.' Nor was the university a mere hedge school, as some people seem to imagine. Sir William Brereton, a Cheshire gentleman, thus speaks of it in 1635:—

I saw the Church which was erected by the Jesuits and made use of by them two years. There was a College also belonging to them, both these erected in Back lane. The pulpit

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<sup>18</sup> *Vide Waterford Journal of Archaeology*, July, 1897: Gilbert's *Hist. of Dublin*.

in this Church was richly adorned with pictures, and so was the high altar, which was advanced with steps and railed out like a Cathedral; upon either side thereof were erected places for Confession; no fastened seats were in the middle or body thereof, nor was there any chancel; but that it might be more capacious there was a gallery erected on either side and at the lower end of the Church.

The Protestants were alarmed at this unheard of audacity, and Ussher warmly exhorted the Government to crush the new university. They waited till the Jesuits had completed their houses, and then, owing to some disturbances in the city, they seized the Catholic university and handed it over to the authorities of Trinity College, who placed in it a rector and scholars, and arranged that a public lecture should be given every Tuesday in the church at which the Lords Justices not unfrequently attended. Looking over the Trinity Records as given in Stubbs' History we find that in the year 1630—the year in which the University was seized—there was a rector and nine or ten scholars resident in Back Lane or Kildare Hall as it was named, and a special sum is put down for the expenses of the Christmas dinner from the years 1630 to 1634, in the latter of which there were as many as *ten Fellows* and twenty-two scholars distributed between Kildare Hall and the confiscated Carmelite house in Bridge Street.<sup>19</sup> The college appears to have been restored to the Jesuits; for, amongst the charges brought against the unfortunate Earl of Strafford, the fact is mentioned that he restored these places to be Mass houses. No further attempt, however, was made to continue the university, and the place having changed hands, was used as a public hospital down till the reign of Charles II.<sup>20</sup>

The cause of higher Catholic education seemed irretrievably lost. Trinity College, with all its Protestant restrictions alone remained, and unless the Catholics cared to enter it, they might either grow up in ignorance or seek instruction in foreign colleges—a course adopted by many. Soon, however, affairs had changed. In October, 1641, Sir Phelim O'Neill raised the standard in Ulster, and in a short time the Irish Catholics of the other provinces rallied to the defence of the

<sup>19</sup> Stubbs' *Hist. of Trinity*.

<sup>20</sup> Gilbert's *Hist. of Dublin*.

King, their country, and their religion. The Confederates met at Kilkenny, and a Provisional Government was established. Never for years had Catholic prospects been so encouraging.

While the nation was thus struggling for life or death the Catholic university was not forgotten. A General Council of the Dominican Order met in Rome in the year 1644, at which Father Terence Albert O'Brien, afterwards the martyred Bishop of Limerick, attended as the Irish representative. The state of Irish education was laid before the assembled Fathers, and it was unanimously resolved that five universities should be opened—one in Dublin for Leinster, in Cashel for east Munster, in Limerick for west Munster, in Clonfert for Connaught, and in Coleraine for Ulster. But, unfortunately, the state of affairs in Ireland had changed considerably in the meantime. Disunion had brought misfortune on the Catholic arms, and in a short time the Dominican houses were blackened ruins, and the Fathers fugitives from the cruelty of Cromwell's ruthless soldiery.<sup>21</sup>

So matters stood till the accession of James II. The Protestants felt that their ascendancy was in danger, and the authorities of Trinity hastened to present their congratulations to the new king; but he showed clearly that their exclusion of Catholics was not in accordance with the royal wishes. It is a curious fact that the first open quarrel between King James and Trinity was over the appointment of the Professor of Irish. The king commanded the fellows to appoint a Mr. Green to the place of Irish lecturer, which he declared had been founded and endowed by Sir Turlough O'Neill. The Board met to consult, and a characteristic reply was despatched namely, that there was 'no foundation for any Irish lecturership in any of the College Registers nor in any way whatsoever.' A year later another mandamus arrived commanding the Board to elect a Catholic, Bernard Doyle, to a vacant Fellowship. Doyle had been a student of Trinity and had taken his M.A. in 1685. Afterwards he became a Catholic and was then teaching in a school at Drogheda. James had ordered that no oath be administered, and when Doyle appeared he refused to take

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<sup>21</sup> *Hibernia Dominicana*. Vide Stubbs and Heron.



the customary oath. Explanations were made, an inquiry was instituted, and the matter seems to have been amicably arranged.

Meanwhile it was clear that things were hastening to a crisis in England, and Tyrconnell began to prepare for war. King James landed in Ireland in March, 1689, and the Provost and Fellows of Trinity hastened to pay their respects, and implore his Majesty's protection. A few months later the college was seized by the Catholic troops, and the scholars were disbanded. The old chapel of Trinity was sprinkled with holy water and dedicated to divine service, and for the first time the holy Sacrifice of the Mass was offered up. The bishops met and petitioned James that he should hand over Trinity to the Catholics. They reminded him of the old Dublin University which had been open to the nation, and whose place was occupied by Trinity; they point out the fact that many of their body were educated in foreign universities and were quite competent to assume control, and in response to their appeal the king appointed Dr. Moore, Provost of Trinity, and Dr. M'Carthy, Librarian. In these days of war and pillage the task of the provost and librarian was not an easy one, but even their enemies agree that these men fulfilled them perfectly, protecting the college books from destruction. To show that Dr. Moore, the nominee of the bishops, was a competent man, we need only indicate the fact that when he was forced to leave Ireland he became Rector of the Paris University, Principal of the College of Navarre, and Regius Professor of Philosophy, Hebrew and Greek. He founded a college for the instruction of Irish students, and on his death in 1726 he bequeathed his library to the Irish College in Paris.

Soon, however, the adherents of James were defeated and betrayed. The rights that had been solemnly guaranteed by treaty to the Catholics were denied; their own schools were closed; they were forbidden to seek education abroad; and the only refuge left to them was Trinity College. The history of Irish education during the eighteenth century must ever bring a blush of shame to the cheeks of any honest English Protestant. Though on account of the Cath of Supremacy and Transubstantiation no Catholic could obtain a degree or

any of the university emoluments, yet they were permitted to enter Trinity, to even live in residence, and receive their preparatory training. Such permission, as is evident, was nothing more or less than a terrible temptation to Catholics to conceal their faith if not entirely at least for a time. As Mr. Heron so well puts it: 'Trinity College was thus managed on the principle of a net. All Catholics were permitted to enter; the smaller fry, the lesser talents were allowed to escape, but the good fish were detained for ever.'

Lest these statements might appear to be exaggerated we shall refer to the evidence given at the Parliamentary Inquiry of 1791.<sup>22</sup> The Hon. Francis Hely Hutchinson, a son of the Provost, was one of the candidates for Trinity, and was elected. A petition was lodged by his defeated rival and the case was heard before a Committee of the Irish House of Commons. We will only say that the corruption and venality, proved at this inquiry to have been connived at by some of the authorities of Trinity, from the lowest official up to the Provost himself, was sufficient to destroy all confidence in its administration for years. Here we deal with it only as regards Catholic interests.

Mr. Toomey, a Trinity student, swore that he was a Catholic, that as Catholics were not permitted the elective franchise Hutchinson's electioneering agents—amongst them the Junior Dean—had urged him to conform that he might support the Provost's son, that Lord Doroghmore, the eldest son of the Provost, had personally waited upon him to tender the same advice, adding that his (Hutchinson's) ancestors had been Catholics, and yet that he was now a Protestant, and were he now in a Catholic country he would still be a Catholic. Toomey, however, to his credit be it said, refused to abandon his religion for the favours of the Provost.

Not so, however, with some others. Two students, Casey and Hely, had voted for Hutchinson, and to do so they must have been professedly Protestants. Yet it was sworn on the inquiry that Casey's parents lived at Buttevant in the Co. Cork, that they themselves were Catholics and had reared their children in the same religion, and that Casey, when at

<sup>22</sup> Report of Proceedings in case of Borough of Trinity, Dub., 1791.

home, was seen attending Mass on Sunday in the parish church of Buttevant. On the other hand, it was admitted that Casey on his arrival at Trinity had been appointed roll-keeper, an office which ensured his attendance at the Protestant service and his reception of the Lord's Supper ; nor had he ever been censured for neglect of these duties. His vote was allowed.

Hely's case was still more peculiar. He was from the Co. Limerick, and it was proved that his father and mother were Catholics, that he himself was a Catholic and went to Mass. But on the trial a certificate was produced signed by the curate of the Protestant church of St. Werburgh's, declaring that Hely had made his recantation in presence of witnesses, and conformed to the Protestant religion. Yet there was deception somewhere, for this same curate and witnesses appeared in court to swear that the certificate had been given without Hely's being obliged to take the oaths prescribed for such occasions. His vote was allowed.

But bigotry was at last forced to yield a little. The English difficulties abroad made then anxious to conciliate the Catholics, and in response to the demands of the Catholic Committee a Relief Bill was passed in 1793 by one of the clauses of which it was enacted that any person seeking degrees need not make any oath or declaration except the oath of allegiance. These privileges were confirmed by Royal Letters of George III. in 1794. They were still excluded from the Provostship and Fellowships of Trinity, but, we should note that they were permitted to hold any professorship in, or be members or fellows of any college in this kingdom, provided that such college shall be a member of the University of Dublin.

An extraordinary scene occurred at Trinity on degree day, 1793. The Bill abolishing the obnoxious declaration had just become law, but the Vice-Chancellor, Lord Clare, maintained that since before this act Catholics had no legal standing at Trinity, they could not, therefore, receive any degrees that day. According to the forms observed it is the University Caput consisting of the Vice-Chancellor, Provost, and Senior Master non Regent who confer the degrees, each of whom has the power of absolute veto. The ceremony began and Lord Clare ordered the Senior Proctor to read the customary declaration,



but before he could do so, Miller, the Senior Master, warned them that if they persisted he would veto every single degree, and so Lord Clare was forced to give way, and Catholics for the first time could receive the Trinity honours without violence to their faith.

Still, however, the Scholarships, Fellowships, and other university emoluments remained closed to the Catholics. No one ever dreamed of putting them on a level with the Protestant minority. At last an incident occurred which exposed unmistakably the injustice of their treatment. In 1843 Mr. Caulfield Heron—a man afterwards distinguished in Irish law circles—was a student of Trinity. Sixteen scholarships were open for competition. He entered the lists and by his answering at the examination stood fifth on the list according to the marks. It was then pointed out that for the two Sundays immediately following the examination he had not made his appearance in the college chapel, nor received the Sacrament according to custom, and he was asked for an explanation. He replied that he had stood for the scholarship without the slightest intention of becoming a Protestant, and, furthermore, that he did not consider his religion a sufficient reason for his rejection. But the Trinity authorities decided otherwise; Heron's name was erased from the list, and that of the seventeenth was added on. An appeal was made to the Visitors under a mandamus from the Queen's Bench; the case was ably conducted by Heron's counsel, but the visitors ratified the decision of the Board.<sup>23</sup> But though the legal result was unfavourable everybody felt that something must be done to remove such a glaring injustice, and soon new measures were introduced. With the decision of Heron's case closes the second chapter of university education, and a new one opens for the Irish Catholics. Let us hope that before the third chapter closes they may have obtained that equality for which they have so long struggled. Let us hope that Newman's words may be fulfilled.

I look towards a land both old and young; old in its Christianity, young in the promise of its future. I contemplate

<sup>23</sup> *Vide* Report of Heron v. Provost of Trinity, *Freeman's Journal*, Dec 18th, 1845.

a people which has had a long night and will have an inevitable day. I am turning my eyes towards a hundred years to come, and I dimly see the Island I am gazing on, become the road of passage and union between two hemispheres, and the centre of the world. I see its inhabitants rival Belgium in populousness, France in vigour, and Spain in enthusiasm. The capital of that prosperous and hopeful land is situated in a beautiful bay, and near a romantic region, and in it I see a flourishing University, which for a while had to struggle with fortune, but which, when its founders were gone, had successes far exceeding their anxieties. Thither as to a sacred soil, the home of their fathers and the fountain-head of their Christianity, students are flocking from East, West, and South, from America and Australia and India, from Egypt and Asia Minor, with the ease and rapidity of locomotion not yet discovered, and last, though not least, from England—all speaking one tongue, all owning one faith, all eager for one large true wisdom, and thence when their stay is over going back again to carry peace to men of good will all over the earth.

JAMES M'CAFFREY.

## LYNCH'S MS. DE PRAESULIBUS HIBERNIAE

A.D. 1672

**I**N the Mazarin Library in Paris, there is preserved a manuscript volume, entitled 'Historia Ecclesiastica seu de Praesulibus Hiberniae; potissimis Catholicae Religionis in Hibernia serendae, propagandae, et conservandae authoribus.' Its author is John Lynch, sometime archdeacon of Tuam. In the various published accounts of the life of that learned and distinguished ecclesiastic no mention is made of this valuable Manuscript. It has, therefore, occurred to the present writer that it would be of interest to give an account of it. He purposes, then, in the present paper, to give—1st, an account of the Manuscript itself; 2nd, some details respecting its author; and 3rd, an outline of what the Manuscript contains.

### I

The Manuscript is thus described in the Catalogue of Manuscripts, at the Bibliothèque Mazarine, Vol. II., p. 270, No. 1869 (2871):—

De Praesulibus Hiberniae, potissimis Catholicae Religionis in Hibernia serendae, propagandae, et conservandae authoribus. Début de la Préface. Scitum est plurimorum scriptorum calculis approbatum. . . . .

Papier. 1081 pages, haut 296; large 183 millim. xvii siècle; Oratorii Sammagloriani.

Of this Manuscript at least two other copies exist. One is to be found in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It is thus described in the Catalogue of Manuscripts at Trinity College, edited by T. K. Abbott, B.D. Dublin. 1900:—

560 fol., chart S. xix.

Lynch (Joh.) Historia ecclesiastica Hiberniae.

Copy from MS. in the Bodleian Library.

The other is to be found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The courteous librarian, Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, in reply to a



letter of inquiry, describes it thus:—‘The Bodleian copy is in MS. Carte, 172, and according to our catalogue it is a copy of the original, and was written about 1700. It belonged to Carte the historian.’

It is thus described in the Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Vol. III. Oxford. 1895:—

10,617. In Latin, on paper. Written in about 1700.  $14\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{7}{8}$  in. C + 716 pp.

Title. Authore Joanne Lynchaeco, nuper archidiacono Tuamensi, with Praefatio and Prolegomena. This is a copy of the original. Now, MS. Carte 172.

The Mazarin Manuscript, there is good reason to believe, is the original. The following are the arguments which lead to that conclusion. The Manuscript bears on the title page the words ‘Oratorii Sammagloriani,’ which indicate that it formerly belonged to the Oratorian Monastery of St. Magloire. That monastery was the novitiate of the Congregation of the Oratory. It was situated in Rue St. Jacques, Paris, and its buildings and garden are at present occupied by the Establishment for the Deaf and Dumb.<sup>1</sup>

At the Revolution the libraries of the religious houses of Paris were confiscated or scattered. A portion of that of St. Magloire made its way to the Mazarin Library.

How the Manuscript came to belong to the Monastery of St. Magloire may be explained by a statement which the author himself makes in the preface. He tells us that he was encouraged to undertake the composition of the work by one of the Fathers of the Oratory.

Pluribus [he writes], amice lector, ab hujus operis lectione te non morabor, ad quod aggrediendum, et quoddam ingenii mei (quod hujusmodi studiis unice capitur) impetu latus, et venerandissimi patris Abelis Ludovici Sammarthani, Congregationis Oratorii, dignissimi nunc Generans, dum adhuc decessoris assistens esset monitis incitatus fui.

Now the person here referred to, namely Father Louis

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<sup>1</sup> ‘La Maison de St. Magloire etait le noviciat de la Congregation. Elle etait sise á Paris, rue St. Jacques. Les bñtiments et le jardin sont occupés presentement par l’Institution des Sourds Muets 252<sup>bis</sup>.’—Letter of the Rev. P. Chauvin, Superior of the Oratorians. Paris, 11th May, 1902.

Abel de Sainte-Marthe, was superior of the House of St. Magloire, until the death of Père Senault, General of the Oratory on 3rd August, 1672, when he was elected General. This distinguished man is thus referred to in the history of the College of Juilly.<sup>2</sup>

Le Père Louis-Abel de Sainte Marthe né á Paris en 1621 ; entré dans la Congregation en 1642 ; et mort á la maison de l'Oratoire de Saint-Paul-aux-Bois près Soissons le 8 Avril, 1697, appartenait á une famille considerable dans l'histoire des lettres et des sciences, et etait fils de l'historiographe Scevole de Sainte-Marthe. Lui-même, il avait concouru á la redaction de la *Gallia Christiana*, et dans les loisirs que lui laissaient l'importante direction de la maison de Saint-Magloire, et ses fonctions de premier Assistant, il travaillait avec son frère, á l'*Orbis Christianus*, ouvrage immense, qui devait embrasser l'histoire de toutes les eglises du globe, lorsqu'il fut élu Général de l'Oratoire. C'était un homme recommandable par sa vie exemplaire, son profond savoir, et sa grand piété.

From the fact, then, that the Manuscript was written by the advice of the Superior of the monastery of St. Magloire, and that it bears the mark of having belonged to that establishment, we may without rashness conclude that it was confided to the Fathers of the Oratory by the author himself.

A second reason in favour of the view that the Mazarin Manuscript is the original, is to be found in the Manuscript itself. It is written throughout in Latin, and in a clear hand, evidently that of a professional writer ; but here and there are lines cancelled, and in one case nearly two whole consecutive pages. In other places there are corrections in the margin in the hand, to all appearance, of an old man, and in various places slips, and sometimes entire pages of paper are pasted in, written in the same hand as that in which the corrections are made. It would seem that the author had employed a professional writer to copy out the Manuscript for him, and that, then, he had gone over and corrected it carefully, either obliterating what seemed not sufficiently accurate, or adding details which were necessary to complete the narrative.

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<sup>2</sup> *Histoire de l'Abbaye et Collège de Juilly*, par Charles Hamel, page 130. Paris, 1868.

The Manuscript itself furnishes clear evidence of the date at which it was written. In speaking of Dr. John Molony II. of Killaloe, Lynch says that he was consecrated in the chapel of the Archbishop's Palace in Paris, on the 6th March, 1672, and that, 'nuper in patriam profectus est.' Again, at page 798 he writes, 'Dominicus Rochaeus, decanus Corcagiensis in illius officii exercitio ad hunc annum 1672, sedulo perstitit.' And at page 1081, referring to the death of Fr. Oliver de Burgo, O.P., he says, 'tandem hoc anno 1672, Comiti Clanricardiae a sacris mortuus est.' Moreover, in the preface he refers to Father Louis Abel de Sainte-Marthe as now General of the Oratory. Father de Sainte-Marthe was elected General after the death of his predecessor in August, 1672. The Manuscript must therefore have been completed late in the year 1672.

## II

So much for the Manuscript itself. Let us now go on to speak of the author of it. The authenticity of the Manuscript cannot be questioned. On the title-page the name of the author is not mentioned, but after the preface and prolegomena, the title of the work is repeated with the words, 'Auctore Joanne Linchaeo, nuper archidiacono Tuamensi.' Later on the author refers to the *Pii Antistitis Icon* as his own work; and in giving the list of the Archdeacons of Tuam he gives his own name thus: 'Joannes Linchaeus, hujus libri scriptor, archidiaconatu fere 40 annos potitus, eum resignavit Francisco Joyce, S. Theologiae doctori.'

The main outlines of Dr. Lynch's life are well known.<sup>3</sup> He was a native of Galway, and received his education in France. After his return to Ireland he was appointed Archdeacon of Tuam, and assisted in that capacity at the Provincial Synod of Tuam, held in 1640.<sup>4</sup> His sympathies were with the opponents of Rinuccini, and in favour of the policy of the Duke of Ormond. After the surrender of Galway in 1652 he withdrew to France, where he published his well-known

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<sup>3</sup> See Brennan, *Ecc. Hist.*, vol. ii., edit. 1840, p. 275; *Dictionary of National Biography*, art. Lynch, John; Rev. M. Kelly, Introduction to *Cambrensis Eversus*.

<sup>4</sup> Renchan's *Archbishops*, Append. D., p. 499.



works. The first of these was published in 1662, under the name of Gratianus Lucius, and was entitled, *Cambrensis Eversus, seu potius Historica fides in rebus Hibernicis Giraldo Cambrensi abrogato*. This valuable work was re-published with an English translation and a learned introduction by Rev. Matthew Kelly, of Maynooth College, in 1848-52.<sup>5</sup>

On this work Lynch's reputation as a historian chiefly rests.

His next work was, *Veridica responsio ad Invectivam mendacii, falacii, calumniis et imposturis foetam in plurimos antistites, proceres, et omnis ordinis Hibernos*. This was a reply to a pamphlet by Father Farrel, a Capuchin, and was published under the name, Eudoxius Alithinologus.

In 1667, he published a Supplement to his Alithinologia; and in 1669 his life of Dr Francis Kirwan, Bishop of Killala, under the title, *Pii Antistitis Icon*. This latter work was printed at St. Malo, whence some writers have inferred that Lynch spent the last years of his life in that town.

The Manuscript which we are now considering gives some details concerning him which seem to have escaped notice. In speaking of Dr. Eugene Sweeney, Bishop of Kilmore,<sup>6</sup> he writes as follows:—

Ille literis humanioribus in patria plusquam mediocriter imbibitus, peregre profectus, studiis philosophicis 1618 Rathomagi operam dedit, ubi ego contubernalis ejus in Hibernorum Seminario, quod pridem esse desiit, fui. Postea Parisios eos in haurienda Theologia progressus fecit et doctoris theologiae laurea decoratus fuerit, quo cumulatus honore, in patriam mox concessit. . . .

We learn, therefore, from this passage, that Lynch made his philosophical studies at Rouen. There was an Irish seminary in that town in the seventeenth century, and as but little is known of its history we may be pardoned for inserting here some details concerning an establishment which in the seventeenth century gave to the Church three such distinguished men as Dr. O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick, Dr. Sweeney, Bishop of Kilmore, and Dr. Lynch, Archdeacon of Tuam.

<sup>5</sup> *Cambrensis Eversus*, 3 vols. Dublin: 1848-1852.

<sup>6</sup> MS p. 280.

The earliest mention of the Irish College in Rouen is found in two letters of Cardinal Borghese; and for which we are indebted to the learned Canon Bellesheim's valuable history of the Church in Ireland,<sup>7</sup> and which we here insert by his kind permission. The first of these is dated Rome, 16 March, 1613, and is addressed to the Nuncio at Paris, Mgr. Bentivoglio. It is to the following effect:—

Presuppongo che a Vossignoria sia così noto il frutto che riceve la religione cattolica dal collegio della nazione Bernese (Ibernese) in Rovano; come il bisogno in che si trova di sussidii, essendo per se molto povero. Onde se bene crede sua Santità che l'arciduca serenissimo non manchi di mostrare verso detto Collegio gli effetti della pietà, et liberalità sua, desidera nondimeno che Vossignoria le ne aggiunga stimolo con i suoi officii, accioche si disponga tanto più volentieri á questa opera degna della sua pietà. Et Dio la conservi et prosperi.

The second is dated Rome, 15 March, 1615, and is addressed to Mgr. Ubaldini. It is as follows:—

Il collegio della nazione Ibernese in Rovano nutrice di molti alunni che per vivere nella religione cattolica hanno lasciato ogni altera cosa più cara; ma perchè detto collegio è poverissimo ha bisogno di mano aiutrice, et di quella in particolare della Regina, alla quale, haverà Sua Santità caro che Vossignoria lo raccomandi efficacemente, affinchè li porga qualche sussidio conforme a la pietà sua, et alla speranza che hanno tutti di quel luogo, nella somma benignità et liberalità della Maestà sua; et a Vossignoria di cuori mi offero et raccomandando.

These letters bear witness to the existence of the College at Rouen, and to its poverty; and at the same time they testify to the courage of the students who abandoned all for sake of the faith, as well as to the zeal of the Holy Father to obtain assistance for them. But they tell us little of the number of the students. Information, however, on this point may be gathered from a work entitled, *Hiberniae sive Antiquioris Scotiae vindiciae adversus immodestam parecibasim Thomae Dempsteri. Auctore. G. H. Veridico Hiberno*, published at Antwerp in 1621.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 729.

<sup>8</sup> The reply to Dempster above referred to was printed at Antwerp. From Lynch's MS. we learn that a reply to Dempster was published by

The writer states that he visited Paris two years previously, and he gives an account of the Irish Colleges in Paris, Bordeaux, and Rouen in the following terms (page 25):—

In urbe Parisiensi, orbis compendio, Seminarium habemus viginti quatuor ad minus sacerdotum et studiosorum, magni L'Escalopii olim sumptibus sustentatum, et viduae ejus modo, aliorumque timentium et amantium Deum beneficentia sublevatum sub aequo moderamine viri nunquam satis laudati, D. Joannis Ley in quem tu scurra insurgis. Aliud apud Burdigalas, sub auspiciis purpurati Principis, Illustrissimi Cardinalis de Surdy, non paucio numero et frequentia. . . . Praetermitto istam quam in Rothomagensi civitate Nostrates habent residentiam quae licet praedictis Collegiis aequiparanda non sit; Parisiensi tamen tuo [the Scotch College] longe praeferenda est.

Here we have evidence of the extent of the Rouen College. It was less important than the colleges at Bordeaux and Paris, at a time when the number of students at the latter was about twenty-four. The number then at Rouen was relatively small. At a period later than 1621 it was still in existence. Lynch tells us that Dr. Edmund O'Dwyer, subsequently Bishop of Limerick, made his philosophical studies at Rouen. But towards the end of the seventeenth century it had ceased to exist; for, as has been already mentioned, Lynch, in speaking of his having made his philosophical studies in the Irish College in Rouen along with Dr. Sweeney in 1618, adds that it had ceased to exist when he was writing his Manuscript. 'Quod pridem esse desiit.'<sup>9</sup> From Rouen Lynch went to Dieppe, whither he was induced to go by Dr. Kirwan, as we learn from the following passage in the *Pii Antistitis Icon*<sup>10</sup>:—

Ibi Congregationis Oratorii aggregatum (Kirwan) Dieppae

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Dr. Roche, Bishop of Ferns, in 1621. Whether it be the same as that printed at Antwerp it is difficult to determine. Lynch writes as follows:—

'Dum vero (Dr. Roche) Parisiis in itinere anno 1621, subsisteret, contigit parechbasim Thomae Dempsteri, quae scurrilibus conviciis Hibernos laceravit, e prelo educi; quam ille protinus libro intra triduum elaborato, ita plane profligavit, ut sordes a Dempstero Hiberniae genti oblitae, orationis facundiae verriculo abstersit, tantaeque malidictionis auctorem intra modestiae fines aculeata reprehensione eloquentiae floribus aspersa multaverit.'—MS., p. 453.

A treatise by another Irishman, Dr. Rothe of Ossory, on St. Brigid, published in 1620, was the occasion of Dempster's attack.—MS., p. 501.

<sup>9</sup> MS., p. 280.

<sup>10</sup> Page 32, edit. 1848.



anno salutis 1618 studium philosophicum docendo percurrentem vidi: eo per ipsum Rothomago ductus ut studiis humanioribus incumberem, illo curante ut sumptus subministraretur.

No doubt, like his friend Dr. Sweeney, Lynch in due time proceeded to Paris to make his theological studies and take his degree.

With regard to the time and place of Lynch's death nothing certain is known. The Abbé Henegan, in the Dictionary of Moreri, quotes the statement of Dr. Nicholson, Protestant Bishop of Derry, that Lynch was, shortly before his death, appointed Bishop of Killala. The same statement is made by Rev. P. B. Gams, in his *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae*.<sup>11</sup> The date he assigns is inconsistent with the fact that in his Manuscript in 1672 Lynch merely styles himself late Archdeacon of Tuam. Dr. Kelly, in his Introduction to *Cambrensis Eversus*, considers the appointment of Lynch to the See of Killala improbable; and Dr. Brady in his *Episcopal Succession*, makes no mention of him amongst the Bishops of that diocese. Anyhow the Manuscript furnishes proof that he was alive in 1672, and that his relations with the Fathers of the Oratory in Paris were of the most intimate kind. His acquaintance with them was of long standing, dating back to 1618, when Dr. Francis Kirwan was a member of that body.<sup>12</sup> It is, therefore, not improbable that Dr. Lynch spent the closing years of his life in Paris amongst the Oratorians of St. Magloire. His epitaph, composed by the historian O'Flaherty, was as follows:—

Occidit Armoricis pius, heu! Lyncheus in oris,  
Lyncheus patriae lux columenque suae;  
Asseruit famam, commenta refellit Iernae,  
Eruit e tenebris gesta vetusta stylo.  
Gallia habet tumulum, cunabula Galvia jactat,  
Scripta vigent terris, spiritus arce poli.<sup>13</sup>

### III

Let us now proceed to examine what the Manuscript contains. It is professedly a history of the Bishops of Ireland; and no doubt had the *Orbis Christianus*, which Father Louis

<sup>11</sup> Ratisbon, 1873.

<sup>12</sup> '(Fr. Kirwin) in Galliam trajecti ubi studia sublimiora permenus patribus Congregationis Oratorii se adscripsit, apud quos eum philosophia discipulos 1618 excolentem vidi.'—MS., p. 1042.

<sup>13</sup> See Introduction to *Cambrensis Eversus*, p. xiv.

Abel de Sainte-Marthe contemplated, been completed, Dr. Lynch's work would have found a place in it, as giving the history of the dioceses of Ireland. The title-page gives the title of the work as already quoted above. Below the title is the following sentence:—

In hoc opere pleraeque res Ecclesiasticae per omnis praeteritae praesentisque memoriae tempus gestae referuntur.  
Oratorii Sammagloriani.

Underneath is the motto:—

Mementote praepositorum vestrorum, qui vobis locuti sunt verbum Dei, quorum intuentes exitum imitamini fidem.—  
Heb. xvii. 7.

Then follows the Preface, in which are stated the scope of the work, the sources on which the author relied, and the motives which led to its composition. Next come the Prolegomena, six in number, and filling ninety pages. In the first of these the question of the possibility of the faith having been preached in Ireland by St. Peter and St. Paul is examined. In the second the alleged mission of St. James the Apostle to Ireland is discussed. In the third the author inquires how far it may be admitted that Christianity was known in Ireland in the interval between the time of the Apostles and the third century. In the fourth, he considers the question of the existence of Christianity in Ireland in the third century, and he quotes authors who assert that St. Ursula and her companions were Irishwomen. In the fifth prolegomenon, from the fact that Celestius, the companion of Pelagius, was an Irishman, and from the statements of certain historians regarding Saints Albæus, Declan, Ibar, and Kieran, he infers that Christianity was not unknown in Ireland in the fourth century. In the sixth prolegomenon he treats of the wonderful spread of Christianity in Ireland in the fifth century.

Then follows a dissertation on the name of Scotia as applied to Ireland.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> In O'Flaherty's *Ogygia Vindicated*; edited by O'Connor, 1775, (Appendix) p. 299, there is to be found a letter addressed by Lynch, about 1664, to M. Du Boulay (Bulaeus), author of a History of the University of Paris, in which he remonstrates with that writer for his having assumed that *Scotia* meant Scotland, and *Scoti*, inhabitants of Scotland.

To this letter M. Du Boulay replied as follows:—

'Scriptum illud tuum ingentis literaturae et eruditionis eximiae cum

At the close of the prolegomena the title of the work is repeated with the signature:—‘Auctore Joanne Linchæo, nuper Archidiacono Tuamensi.’

Then commences the history properly so-called. First there is given the history of the diocese of Armagh, commencing with its foundation by St. Patrick,<sup>15</sup> and ending with the appointment of Oliver Plunket. The history of the several dioceses of the ecclesiastical Province of Armagh follows. After these the history of Dublin, Cashel and Tuam with their respective suffragan sees, is narrated. In no case does the narrative come down later than the year 1672. But, though the order of succession in each diocese is in general faithfully adhered to, in the case of prelates translated from one see to another, the author sometimes gives the whole account of a bishop's career under the title of the diocese to which he was first appointed. For instance the account of the life of Dr. Redmond O'Gallagher is given under the diocese of Killala, of which Dr. O'Gallagher was bishop before his appointment to the see of Derry.

Under each diocese is also given a list of the more remarkable ecclesiastical dignitaries whom it produced.

But what were the authorities on which the author relied in the composition of his work? We cannot answer this question better than in the words of Lynch himself. He tells us in his preface that he followed in the footsteps of Ware. Referring to Ware's *Bishops*<sup>16</sup> he writes:—

Hic quidem illius ingenii partus aditum ad tam impervium recessum plurimarum difficultatum sentibus obsitum aperuit. Illo nobis viam ad elucubrationem hanc aggrediendum sternente quae ab illo praetermissa sarcire, et contractius laconismi studio insinuata uberius enarrare subinde conatus seriem Episcoporum ab illo textam multis aliis authoribus in quos ille

lego, incredibili voluptate afficior; et si locus redibit extollendae meritis dignis patriae tuae, nec voto tuo nec officio meo deero. Dum docere lectores affecto, doceri vicissim cupio, nec dedoceri erubesco scio enim quam verum sit, in materia praesertim tot saeculorum, tot negotiorum, personarum, et rerum, quod plus vident, oculi quam oculus.’

<sup>15</sup> Lynch states that St. Patrick's birthplace was Scotland.

<sup>16</sup> The title of Ware's work is:—*De Praesulibus Hiberniae Commentarius a prima gentis Hibernicae ad fidem Christianam conversione ad nostra usque tempora.* Dublin, 1665. It is worthy of remark that in the copy of Lynch's MS. at Trinity College, Dublin, the portions which he takes from Ware are left out. The Preface and Prolegomena are also omitted.



non incidit, auxi ; aliquos ex annalium monumentis plerumque depromptos adjunxi qui dignitates Episcopis inferiores in Cathedralibus Ecclesiis exercuerunt, ut non solum ecclesiae nostrae capita, sed etiam nobiliora membra in ecclesiae ministeriis identidem desudasse, ac in Ecclesiae Hiberniae castris ordinatam sacrorum militum aciem in speculis continenter vigilasse constaret. Alias etiam additiones infra passim occurrentes accumulavi, ita tamen ut in Waraei narrationibus nisi aliunde mihi lux effulserit verba ut plurimum non mutaverim.

It is evident from the foregoing passage that Lynch relied to a large extent on the work of Sir James Ware. But his work is not a mere repetition of Ware. The narrative is fuller and more ornate, and enriched by details drawn from our native annalists of Ireland, and from Roman documents. In one important feature he differs from Ware. The latter, from the period of the Reformation gives only the history of the Protestant bishops who occupied Irish sees, as if the legitimate succession was continued in them. Lynch, on the other hand, regarding the Protestant prelates as devoid of orders, gives the Catholic succession only. From this period to the end of the seventeenth century his Manuscript is particularly valuable. When about to compose his history he wrote, he tells, to the heads of the various dioceses of Ireland asking for information. From some he says he received much information ; from others little ; from many none. In addition to contemporary information he possessed what was still more important. He was himself a witness of many important events in the ecclesiastical history of the country in the seventeenth century. He speaks then, as a living witness. His work presents a vivid picture of the state of the Church in Ireland during that period. We learn from it what was the standard of ecclesiastical education, what was the state of discipline, what were the abuses which existed, and what were the remedies employed for their correction.

The work is written in correct and elegant Latin. In the Mazarin copy the references to authorities are given in the margin. In various places, as has been already mentioned, corrections are made and lines, and in a few cases an entire page is cancelled. No doubt these corrections refer to statements which the author did not consider to be accurately expressed or sufficiently authenticated.

But the style of the work will be best understood by presenting a specimen of it to the reader. For this purpose the account of the lives of Dr. John Molony I. and of Dr. John Molony II. of Killaloe is perhaps the most appropriate. In the former we have an interesting account of the career of an Irish bishop in the seventeenth century, as well as a good specimen of the author's style. In the account of the latter we have a specimen of the corrections made in the Manuscript.

Episcopatus Laonensis a Vicariis Generalibus diu administratus ad Joannem O'Mollony tandem devenit; eâ familiâ procreatum quae genus ad O'Brianorum stirpem refert, et amplius in Tomoniae regionibus possessionibus olim locuples erat; nunc etiam latifundiorum vi, variis Tomoniae regionibus, et plurium virorum nobilitate insignium non expers; inter quos. Glanmoloniae Baro eminere videtur. Ille vero in una scuti genitalitii areâ quae argentea est, duos leones aureos nodosum scipionem utrinque sustinentes, in aliâ aureâ, pharetram miniatam sagittis refertam praefert. Porro Joannes Noster, literis humanioribus in patriâ; philosophicis Galviae, ab Alexandro Linchaeo excultus est, ad cujus scholam ex omni Hiberniae regione multa juvenus confluxerat, ita ut, aliam, nostra patrumque memoriâ, vel numerosiorem aut praestantiori ordine in classes distributam, aut litterariis exercitiis cumulatus informatam, aut accuratiori disciplina administratam Hibernia non viderit; utpote in quâ, scholasticis concertationibus ad progressum in studiis faciendum discipuli assidue incitebantur, ludis theatralibus ad audaciam acuebantur. Sed, proh dolor! fontis hujus ex quo tantum nationi nostrae commodum emanavit cursum Cancellarius Jones coercuit. Datâ enim operâ, Dublinio Galviam veniens, scholae dimissionem indixit, quia, lege post haeresim exortam latâ, Catholicis praeceptoribus ludum literarium, ad juventutem literis imbuendum; Juliani Apostatae more, aperire non licuit.

Dum autem Joannes Galviae studiis incumbens moraretur, ab Andreae Linchaei nunc Episcopi Finniborensis patre, hospitio exceptus est, quem tum puerum Joannes in Galviam proficisens comitem itineris et in sequentes annos contubérnalem et disciplinae suae alumnum Parisiis habuit; qui postea luculentam orationem de institutoris sui gradibus academicis initiandi encomiis, in praeli lucem dedit. Joannes, autem, studiorum Theologicorum stadia tandem permensus, Aureliam, peste Parisios infestante concessit, inde post animam Jurisprudentia non tenuitur tinctum, Parisios reversus ad discipulos philosophicis disciplinis in Collegio Becodiano et Grassano excolendos curam vertit. Postea Parisiis diu moratus liberalem se, cum aliis, tum

praecipue popularibus suis praebuit, ac nominatim iis adolescentibus qui ad litteras capessendas animum adjuxerunt; militiam quoque secutis crebro subveniens. Per omnes denique honorum academicorum gradus ad Doctoratus in Theologiâ fastigium elatus, dignitatibus etiam ecclesiasticis ornari, et a suâ Sanctitate in Episcopum Laonensem adsciri promeruit, Domino Disourre, Antissiodorensi Episcopo a duobus aliis Episcopis adjuto, apud S. Victorem Parisiensem, munus ei consecrationis, mense Novembre, 1630, impendente.

Post Sacros ordines, mense Martio, sequentis anni Parisiis collatos in patriam se recepit; ubi 20 deinde annos episcopalibus quibuscumque muniis accuratissime functus est. Clerum ecclesiasticis disciplinis, populum salutaribus institutis, omnes virtutum exemplis expoliens, et ut rectae institutionis initium a domo sua duceret, memor suum esse ut suae domui bene praepositus esset (1 Tim. 3) domicilium sibi familiamque comparavit, cui alendae, cleri et populi benignitas, non episcopales proventus, quos Protestantes Episcopi percipiebant, sumptus frugaliter suppeditabat; quod quibusvis eum convenientibus hospitio excipiendis expendebat. Foeminam in ministerio nullam habens; in colloquium cum nullâ nisi quando necessitas, et quamdiu urbanitas exigeret, venit; nullam in suis aedibus pernoctare, praeter sororem eum subinde invisentem passus. Ubi strato expeditus veste se induebat; mox in genua procumbens, integram horam, obeso licet et infirmo corpore, praecationibus impendit, et cubitum abiens orationem genibus innixus ad tantundem temporis protraxit; nec sacras meditationes mente sibi ante excidere patiebatur quam somno corripiebatur; sacrum quotidie faciebat etiam in itinere, omnia arae ornamenta ita tenuia, ut pugno includi potuerint in sarcinis vehi curans, praeter calicem cochleâ sic versatilem ut in exiguam involvi formam posset, prolixis precibus Missae praepositis et postpositis, in Rosario recitando assiduus fuit. Nec magis de officio suo adimplendo, quam de animarum salute gregi suae comparanda sollicitus erat. Ad quem bonis institutis excolendum, pio doctoque clero dioecesim suam exornare nitebatur.

Proinde omnibus ad sacros ordines aditus obstruebat quos morum probitas, et scientiae apparatus ad ordinis cujusque ministerium obeundum idoneus non commendabat. In synodis tam crebro habitis, quam jura praescribunt, decreta ferebantur ad parochos erudiendos accommodata.

Dioecesim annuis itineribus permensus omnes, concionibus eruditione conditis, ad fugam vitiorum et virtutum amorem excitabat. Diaconatus cujusque praefectos, sive vicarios foraneos accurate consulebat, quomodo singuli parochi se gesserint. 'Sollicita enim circumspectione providit, ut ait Gregorius (de Cura Pastoralis, lib. 2, c. 6), ne aut districtio rigida, aut pietas remissa fuerit: nam erga subditos inesse rec'oribus debet, et



juste consolans misericordia, et pie saeviens disciplina. Is igitur lenitatem cum severitate miscuit, et quoddam temperamentum fecit ut neque asperitate exacerbarentur subditi neque, benignitate solverentur. In incontinentes clericos gravissime animadvertere non dubitavit. 'Sicut enim, ut ait Petrus Damianus (de Coelibatu Sacerdotum, lib. 2), benedictione digni sunt qui culpas corrigunt, ita nihilominus maledictioni obnoxii sunt qui peccantibus blandiuntur.

Nec in victu superfluous, nec in vestitu spectabilis fuit; ita ut ocreas non nisi aliquantulum a famulo tritas tibiis induxerit; ut ex ocrearum novitate gestiendi ansam non arriperit. Ab aliis lacessitus non ad vindictam exasperatus sed ad se tuendum peritus fuit. Adversariorum labes tacere, laudes enuntiare consuevit.

Exorto jam pro religione bello, ubi duo cujusvis proventus terniones ad sumptus bello subministrandos communi Universae Nationis assensu destinati sunt, e reddituum Episcopatum ternione illi obviente, tantum hausit emolumentum, ut, adhibita frugalitate, non solum uberiore hospitalitate quam antea usus fuerit; sed etiam memorabilem praeterea pecuniae, pro illis temporibus, summam in numerato habuit; quae tamen sexcentarum librarum sterlingarum seu sexies mille Turonensium numerum non excessit; quam illi Ormonius, Regis in Hibernia Optio, ad bellicae cuidam expeditioni e vestigio tum faciendae, tempestive subveniendum ademit, vectigalibus publicis ad eam illi summam persolvendam designatis, e quibus eam ille postea recepit.

Tandem urbe Limericensi a Cromwellianis obsidione cincta inclusus, stipendio militibus persoluto, ad 15 dies obsidionem protraxit, et vasa sacra ex argento, pignori sibi data variis Ecclesiasticorum coetibus restitui curavit; ea solum conditione adjecta ut ejus animae Dei gratiam precibus conciliarent, et a Deo in aeterna tabernacula reciperetur. Quae res a speculatoribus hosti nuntiata tantam invidiam ei conflavit ut inter eos relatus fuerit, quibus impunitas ab hoste denegata fuit. Itaque ad vitam supplicio finiendam destinatus fuit. Sed mors ex levi morbo proveniens, certo moriendi per furcam periculo illum subtraxit. Illo S. Augustinum imitante, Hippone a Saracensis obesso, precabatur ut ecclesiarum profanationi superstes non esset. Exauditus, igitur est pro sua reverentia, nam biduo vel triduo ante deditionem urbis, per noctem intempestam sacro pridie facto, animam septuagena major exhalavit; martyris titulum, licet placida morte sublatus, inde promeritus quod martyrio destinatus elapsus fuerit, pro veteri Ecclesiae consuetudine [Epit. Baronii, an. 223, n. 1]; et quamvis tyrannus ultra mortem Laonensis furere non potuit, in ejus tamen scripta omnia et libros incendio saevit.

Joannes alter Molonius, cognatione decessorem attingens, juvenilis aetatis institutionem in ejus aedibus et comitatu nactus est, qui eo charior huic fuit, quod ei cognominis fuerit. Hic, igitur, perspecta juvenis indole, quae sponte ad pietatem et literarum studia rapiebatur, eruditis et piis praeceptoribus, doctrina et moribus imbuendum tradidit: provectumque non tam aetate quam scientia sacris ordinibus inauguravit, (Joannes Clonfertensis), et idipsum ardentissime cupientem Lutetiam Parisiorum misit, ut Sacrarum literarum eloquia altius et velut e fonte hauriret; nec conceptam ille de se spem fefellit. Brevi enim in humanâ divinaque sapientia sic progressus est ut omnium in se oculos et ora converteret ingenio, modestia, et studio inter aequales eminens, quarum virtutum commendatione probatus, primum magno omnium consensu suorumque laetitia, magisterio artium insignitur; mox etiam doctoralem lauream pari Almae Universitatis applausu meretur. Integritas ejus primae Nobilitatis animos illi conciliavit inter quos Franciscum Harlaeum tunc Rothomagensis, nunc Parisiensem archiepiscopum, ita sibi comitate morumque dulcedine devinxit, ut eum in Canonicorum Rothomagensium numerum retulerit. [Quem honoris et opum accessionem ille non ad elationem sed ad opem Hibernis in exilium a Cromwello pulsus ferendum convertit; et quos opibus non poterat, industria juvabat ab opulentis impetrans quod calamitate oppressis elargiretur plurimis, varios honorum gradus in Ecclesia Republica et militia consecutis, hujusmodi curitate subveniens.

Multos rei familiaris inopia ad deserendae musarum, et sequenda Martis castra coactos cum adhortando, tum opportune succurendo ad prosequendum litterarium disciplinarum cursum revocavit. Author etiam fuit seminarium Hibernorum Juvenum studiis incumbendum in Collegio Divae Barbarae Parisiis instituendi, ne adolescentes quibus Deo serviendi animus esset a tam sancto instituto rei familiaris angustiae abstraherent. Sacerdotes quoque profugos dispersosque in unum collegit, seditiones et intestinas [?]<sup>17</sup> discordias male inter se conviventium variis scissorum factionibus plus simplici vice pacavit. Spiritualia exercitia frequentari curavit, e quorum consuetudine instructi Christi milites paterno solo vexillum crucis inferrent. Deinde militum eorundem tyrones pios exercebat praeludiis et umbraticis exertationibus ad vera et seria praelia. Docendum [?] usum aliquamdiu barbarum incidentium molestiis intermissum postliminio restauravit postea multo fructu et profectu. Ipse nimirum aderat concionantibus, timidos hortabatur, conantes laudabat tardis stimulos adigebat, praecipites retinebat; superflua recidebat, incongrua emendabat, defectus arguebat, nec verbis modo, sed etiam exemplo quid fugiendum

<sup>17</sup> Words marked thus [?] very indistinct.

quid amplectendum erat ob oculos ponebat. Ex hac sacra schola multi praeclari Juvenes jam se in patriam contulerunt a quibus nihil non egregium sperandum est.

Sed non satis habuit sacris initiatos ad obeundas sacras functiones erudire. Zelus ejus se latius effudit; cum enim animadvertisset suos populares qui sub Christianissimo Rege merebantur, militari licentia dissolutiusque agere, quosdam probatos viros sibi adscivit qui a laxa vitae consuetudine abstractos ad pietatem informarent. Hinc effectum est utqui paulo ante in commensationibus pernoctabant per diu nocturnam crapulam obdormiebant, popinas frequentabant; simul cum vino blasphemias execrandas evomebant, et omnibus se flagitiis coinquinabant, intra breve tempus peccata cum fletu et gemitu apud conscientiae moderatores deponerent, ad mensam sacratissimam certatim accederent, precibus vacarent veterem denique hominem exuentes novum plane induerent.] Tot igitur et tantis virtutibus Joannes noster exornatus ad Episcopalem apicem ascendit, cui consecrationis munus impendit Episcopus Tornacensis, assistentibus Angulesmensi et Cenomanensi episcopis in Palatii Parisiensis archiepiscopi sacello 6 Martii, 1672. Nuper in patriam profectus est administrandi episcopatus initium bonis avibus factururus, ita ut ex egregiis his exordiis omen captare posse videamur eum praeclari praesulis partes olim adimpleturum.

In the foregoing extract, the sentences from ‘Quem honoris,’ etc., down to ‘Tot igitur,’ which we have enclosed in brackets, are carefully cancelled in the Manuscript, and in some places are almost illegible. In the margin there is a sentence to all appearance a correction, also cancelled, which runs thus:—

Quem honoris et opum accessionem non ad elationem sed ad meliora charismata comparanda convertit. Sacerdotes profugos et dispersos in unum collegit; spiritualia exercitia frequentari curavit non sine multo fructu profectuque nec verbis modo sed etiam exemplo quid fugiendum quid amplectendum ob oculos ponebat. Tot igitur, etc.

It is not improbable that the author considered that the statements made in the obliterated sentences were either inaccurate or indiscreet. These sentences are omitted in the copy of the Manuscript at Trinity College.

Anyhow, the foregoing sketches of the lives of these two Irish Prelates will serve to show how full of interest is this Manuscript history of the Bishops of Ireland. More recent



researches may have brought to light facts and documents unknown to Archdeacon Lynch; yet his work remains a valuable source of information respecting the ecclesiastical history of Ireland and it is matter for regret that it has not been printed and thus made accessible to students.

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

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## THE HEXAHEMERON AND SCIENCE

### II

AT the conclusion of a previous article<sup>1</sup> on the above subject we pointed to the existence of a general difficulty against the theory of Concordism. It may be thus briefly restated here. Evidently, if we are to take it that the work set forth in Genesis for each day of the Hexahemeron represents *the first origin* of the special kind of life indicated in the text, we should expect to find, in the stratified rocks, the fossil remains of *animal* and *vegetable* life, *side by side*, back to the Permian deposit, to the beginning of the fourth day, and, farther down, to find the remains of *plant life alone*. But the fact is that almost before Paleontology had passed the stage of its infancy as a science it had firmly established this important general truth: that *from the beginning* plant life and animal life, starting simultaneously—perhaps as the outcome of a pre-existing type of life neither animal nor vegetable—*developed concurrently* up through all the Geological epochs, each of these having its own characteristic *fauna* and *flora*. Nay, even Botany and Zoology affirm that such is the nature of some types, so mutually interdependent are they that the one could not have existed or flourished without the other. Certain sorts of flowers, for example, are fertilized and propagate their species solely because they are frequented by certain kinds of insects which carry the fertilizing dust from flower to flower, just as also

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<sup>1</sup> J. E. RECORD, August.

certain species of animals cannot subsist without feeding on certain forms of plant.

The Concordist easily met this general truth with his avowed principle that the sacred writer in Genesis describes each form of life at its highest stage of development, teaching nothing about its first origin at all. Now this principle is not only plausible, it is a fair and reasonable principle on the supposition that Moses writes from the point of view of a dweller on this earth, and especially so if we assume that he got his knowledge from a series of revelations or visions vouchsafed to him by God. Unfortunately, however, such a principle sacrifices not a little the obvious meaning of the words of the text. The plain man would certainly carry away from Genesis i. the impression of a grand series of successive divine acts, each productive of certain forms of life for the first time on our globe. Once admitted, however, the principle goes a long way towards solving all conceivable difficulties arising from Science against the order of the various works described, difficulties which are drawn from discrepancies in details.<sup>2</sup> It also affords a firm basis for enlarging on the marked concordance which exists *in main outline* between the discoveries of Science and the Sacred narrative.

But may it not be questioned whether Concordists have not been obliged to sacrifice too much in order to preserve even such a general parallelism as they advocate nowadays?

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<sup>2</sup> Besides the difficulties urged against the *order* of production of living things given in Genesis there are others urged against the *means* by which God is represented in Genesis to have brought the various species of living things into existence,—difficulties from the point of view of evolution, as, for instance, that birds, being as a class more highly organized than mammals were evolved from the latter and must have appeared later. We have abstained from noticing such difficulties because—(1) the principle given above will meet *them* also; (2) *transformation* of species is a hypothesis still unproven; (3) the language of the Hexahemeron throws no light on the *manner* in which species first arose,—does not say whether God directly formed the *plants* (or their *seeds*) from non-living matter, or gave the latter the extraordinary power of producing the first plants without seeds at all,—whether He *directly* formed *all* the different species of animals, or *only some* from which He caused others to evolve, giving them all afterwards that special stability they now seem to possess. From what astronomy tells us, the inanimate world certainly seems to have been fashioned after a law of evolution that is simply grand in its sublimity,—a law which gives an altogether new force and value, hitherto unknown, to the *Argument from Design*. One effect of proving the actual extension of that law to the animate world would be to enhance still more the value of that ever popular argument.—*Cf.* Guibert, pp. 1-8.

Attenuated and meagre as it is, it seems to be the sum of historical truth, which, over and above modern idealists, the advocates of Concordism endeavour to preserve intact. What if it turned out to be a parallelism that is more apparent than real? When all is said the hard fact remains that, as Guibert well puts it, 'Genesis shows a series of successive objects; Geology presents them to us as a series of parallel objects.'<sup>3</sup> It is no easy matter to make what is successive synchronise with what is parallel. Had the geological strata borne other testimony, or the author of Genesis followed a different order of works, would it not be still just as possible to make out a concordance by means of the above principle?<sup>4</sup>

Besides, the days of Genesis have no exact counterpart in Geology, no divisions at all so definite, nor exactly identical on different parts of the earth's surface. Finally, the principle itself, laid down by Concordists, does not seem to have any firm support from Science, because 'neither the commencement nor the culmination of any scientific fact corresponds exactly with the "day" in Genesis.'<sup>5</sup> And then, moreover, even if the principle be accepted, the difficulties of language already alluded to in the case of plant life still retain considerable force. Suppose that of two classes of living things, *a* and *b*, *a* appeared first on the earth, but *b*, developing more rapidly, became its dominant feature earlier than *a*, then Moses could ascribe the production of *b* to an earlier day than that of *a*. The substratum of historical truth which a principle of that sort leaves behind it in the Hexahemeron, appears sufficiently slender.

Such observations as the above are directed against Concordism mainly from the point of view of Science. It must be confessed that there are some considerations equally telling from the point of view of Exegesis. When, for example, we are asked to take the word day in two entirely different senses<sup>6</sup> in the same breath, we naturally look around for some other alternative. No doubt we have no alternative if the sacred

<sup>3</sup> Page 37.

<sup>4</sup> Guibert points to the possibility of 120 such concordances.—*Ib.*

<sup>5</sup> Guibert, p. 38.

<sup>6</sup> 'Appellavitque lucem *Diem* (12 hours) et tenebras noctem: factumque est vespere et mane, *dies* unus (indefinite period).'—Gen. i. 5.



writer is giving us the actual history of the earth's formation. 'He is doing so, therefore we must give the two senses to the word,' say the Concordists. But what about the alternative: 'we cannot, therefore he is not'? An impartial examination of all the texts quoted in favour of the 'period' interpretation of the word 'day' does not discover in them satisfactory grounds for believing that the word has such a meaning in the Hexahemeron, circumscribed as it is there by its 'evening' and 'morning.'<sup>7</sup> It would be satisfactory, no doubt, if a person could convince himself that the word in Genesis i. can bear such a meaning, for on it the whole system of Concordism rests. But though one may be at first attracted by the plausibility of the system, there is no doubt that difficulties grow in proportion as one studies it. Almost the same violence has to be done the remaining words of the narrative as to the word 'day.' 'Fiat lux' means not that light was then first made, but then for the first time reached the earth in a diffused and scattered manner. 'God made two great lights,' means that the sun and moon, already long existing, then became clearly visible from the earth. The firmament, dividing the waters above from the waters beneath, is the atmosphere or the expanse of the heavens, and not rather a solid vault according to the ideas of the ancient peoples. 'And God made the beasts of the earth,' etc., means not that He then made them, but that, though existing long before, they then multiplied exceedingly. It is not for a moment to be denied that all this may be quite justifiable. But still one cannot help asking himself, does it sound like a true reading of the text?

The assumption of the point of view of an imaginary observer on the earth, and of the condensed narrative in popular language, is also perfectly legitimate. But whither will it lead us? The Concordists' contention is that the inspired writer has given us a true historical *resumé* of the modern cosmogony—assuming as they and we do, that the modern is the correct one. Now, out of this two questions arise. First, could an ordinary Jew of the time of Moses or

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<sup>7</sup> See, on the one side, Corluy, vol. i., p. 185, *sqq.*: on the other Hummelauer, p. 60, *sqq.*

since have got the faintest idea of the true cosmogony by reading the Hexahemeron? Could a Christian of our own time, without a special training in the natural sciences, gather from the original, or from any faithful translation, a knowledge of the true cosmogony? And if not, does it follow that the modern cosmogony is *altogether read into* the text? But, secondly, supposing that the true cosmogony does lie there in outline, concealed somehow or other in the language of the Hexahemeron, the further question arises: was the inspired writer himself aware of the fact? And if so, why did he choose such a misleading word as 'day' (*yôm*), rather than 'epoch' (*eth*)? And, furthermore, how did he come by his knowledge?—since it is out of the question that he could have got it by natural means.<sup>8</sup> These questions are of absorbing interest from the point of view of Inspiration; and, moreover, an outline of the answers given by the Concordists will show how very nearly many of these approach the system of 'Revelationism' that will come up for notice a little later on.

We find Corluy stating<sup>9</sup> that in all probability Moses had the day-periods revealed to him in a series of visions, akin to those we read of in the Prophets; that he knew the number revealed to have been specially intended as a type of the Sabbath rest; that, supposing he knew their real duration, he accommodated himself to the plain intelligence of his people by calling the periods days (*yôm*) instead of epochs (*eth*); but that it is more likely he did not know their real duration. Now, to deal with this last point first, is it not strange to think that the inspired writer could have been ignorant of the meaning, even of any part of the meaning, which the Holy Spirit intended to convey by his instrumentality?<sup>10</sup> No doubt, the inspired writers did not understand strict mysteries

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<sup>8</sup> I. E. RECORD, August, p. 155.

<sup>9</sup> *Spicilegium*, vol. i., p. 193, *sqq.* Corluy follows largely Reusch's well-known work, *Nature and the Bible*. Reusch was amongst the ablest of the early Concordists; and it is, therefore, a significant fact that in the fourth edition of his book he abandoned Concordism and advocated a more or less pronounced Idealism.

<sup>10</sup> We are told in a footnote, by Corluy, that Hansard, in his French translation of Dr. Molloy's *Geology and Revelation*, supposes Moses to have had knowledge of the duration of the periods. So too Castelein, and Concordists generally.

when they wrote them, nor did the prophets, perhaps, understand the full significance or mode of fulfilment of their prophecies, but it is a long step in advance to suppose that Moses could have been ignorant of the historical fact or any portion of the historical fact which the Holy Spirit intended to reveal, and did reveal and describe, in the inspired language of the Hexahemeron. Is it likely that the Holy Spirit, unknown to the inspired writer, conveyed historical truths in language of whose real meaning the writer was, consequently, unconscious? There is a passage in the Pope's Encyclical which says that the Holy Spirit 'supernaturali . . . virtute ita eos [sacros scriptores] ad scribendum excitavit et movit, ita scribentibus adstitit, ut ea omnia eaque sola quae ipse juberet, *et recte mente conciperent* et fideliter conscribere *vellent* et apte infallibili veritate exprimerent.'<sup>11</sup> This would certainly seem to be more natural, that God should use human instruments in a human way—*modo humano*. However, it is a point of minor importance in the present context. If Moses had the knowledge in question we must suppose that he was moved to conceal it from his hearers, judging from the language he was inspired to make use of.

On the above supposition, then, would it not appear that a true cosmogony was revealed to the people, intentionally revealed by the Holy Spirit, and yet in such language as not only hid away the true one, but in all likelihood expressed a false one to any Jew or Christian who might not happen to be particularly versed in the latest discoveries of astronomy and the other sciences? Now, the answer given above<sup>12</sup> by Idealists to a similar difficulty from the Literalists, cannot here be made use of by Concordists; for *these* suppose that the true cosmogony *is* revealed in Genesis, and that the error of reading a false one out of the language of Genesis *is* unavoidable, except, indeed, by falling into what they believe to be the greater error of thinking with St. Augustine and the Idealists that Genesis contains no cosmogony at all, true or false! Allowing, then, that the error of reading a false cosmogony

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<sup>11</sup> Italics ours.

<sup>12</sup> See above, I. E. RECORD, August, p. 150.



out of the Hexahemeron, though it contained the true one, allowing such an error to have been inevitable down to our own times, Concordists answer that the error is a harmless one<sup>13</sup> and that Sacred Scripture is in no way responsible for it, nor the Holy Spirit in any way the author of it. And they refer us, by way of illustration, to the well-known passage in Judges (x. 13), where it is said that 'the sun stood still in the midst of the heavens and hasted not to go down the space of one day,' while Josue was fighting against the kings. It is, then, evidently assumed that the two cases—Judges and Genesis—are exactly parallel, and that the same principle solves the difficulty in each.<sup>14</sup> But let us see are they.

In explanation of the difficulty arising out of Judges x. 13, Exegetists say, and with perfect justification, that it is not the scope of Sacred Scripture to teach profane science; that here evidently the sole intention of the Holy Spirit is to narrate *historically* a certain *phenomenon* in nature; that, in doing so He could and did, with perfect justice, take and use the ordinary language of the people, even though that language was as a matter of fact *based on erroneous scientific concepts*, and without *dispelling those erroneous concepts or modifying the modes of expression based on them*. And Exegetists further maintain, with equal truth, that by such a use of popular language, the Holy Spirit neither confirms nor gives any guarantee whatsoever to the scientific notions that underlie it.

They remark very pertinently also that even now with our changed scientific ideas, we still retain the popular expressions that the sun *rises*, and *moves round from east to west* and *sets*.

This principle is so important and applies with such justice to the case of Judges x. 13, *and to all parallel cases*, that it

<sup>13</sup> See above, *ibid.*, p. 150, where same answer is given by Idealists to Literalists.

<sup>14</sup> Thus Corluy say: ' . . . siquidem usque ad nostra tempora, ob modum loquendi Moysis, longe maxima pars fidelium admisit creationem infra unius hebdomadis spatium tussie perfectam, . . . sic etiam modus quo Scriptura narrat miraculum Josue, per plura saecula omnes etiam eruditos confirmavit in erronea opinione de motu diurno solis . . . '—Page 194.

may be well to quote a few very clear passages bearing on it. The first is from Guibert<sup>15</sup> :—

The sacred writings are intended directly only for instruction in religious truths ; but science studies the natural phenomena for their own sakes, in order to ascertain their laws and to discover their courses. The sacred writer speaks of things concerning the universe *only according to appearances*, and in conformity with the language used in his time ; the man of science, on the contrary, seeks exactness, and the precision of scientific wording ; he wishes to discover *the truth hidden under outward appearances*, and his desire is to dissipate errors which come from a too hasty interpretation formed on the testimony of the senses.

It follows, therefore, that the Bible is a religious, and not a scientific document ; it cannot be invoked as an authority on matters connected with the natural sciences ; *it reflects the ideas which were current in the ages when the sacred writers lived*. For the history of the sciences it is of great value.

The inspired author of Judges is therefore justified in his use of language, because his evident intention is to describe *appearances*, and not 'to discover [or teach] the *hidden truth* under the outward appearances.' But if the latter *were* his aim, would not his language convict him of erring and leading his hearers into error? And now let us ask the Concordists what do they claim to have been the inspired author's aim—or at least the Inspirer's aim—*relative to the cosmogony*, to the cosmogony itself, as distinct from the *religious truths* which it was meant to embody? Confining ourselves to the inspired author, we ask was his aim merely to chronicle what *was revealed* to him in a series of *visions*, abstracting altogether from what may have actually taken place *in ordine rerum*? No, surely, for that would be the vision theory of Kurtz, pure and simple. Do they not rather contend that if the inspired author got his knowledge in visions, these represent what actually took place ; that they mirror forth objective, ontological, historical truth ; that *what appeared* was a faithful image of *what took place* ; that even if the inspired author was not himself aware that he was writing down not merely visions but objective historical truth, still the Holy Spirit was aware of it ; and that the Holy Spirit meant to convey it, and did convey it, so that we of the twentieth century can, by the aid of

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<sup>15</sup> Page 20. Italics ours, except on last word.

Science, find and recognise it there? Can such a contention be sustained?

The following passage is from the Theology of Father Hurter, S.J., as quoted by Guibert<sup>16</sup> :—

Advertendum est, 1° Moysis scopum non fuisse tradere praelectiones . . . de disciplinis naturalibus sed institutionem tradere voluisse *religiosam vulgi captui accommodatam*, . . . 2° de hisce loquiter non more physicorum et doctorum sed *concipiendi loquendique morem sequitur populi*. . . 4° Inde sequitur longe pauciora esse themata seu argumenta communia cosmogoniae mosaicae et disciplinis naturalibus, ac plures contenderre solent. Aliud tractat Moyses, circa aliud occupantur disciplinae naturales ; ille disserit de rerum *initiiis* de quibus scientia naturalis suis observationibus innixa nihil certi statuere potest ; haec observat phenomena, inquit in leges, secundum quas ordo praesens regitur, de quibus non est sollicitus Moyses ; quare ipse, ut nonnemo acute loquitur, *praefationem* veluti scripsit ad disciplinas naturales, exponens rerum exordia ; quae haec insecta sunt, relinquit indaganda physicis peritis, secundum illud Ecclesiastis : *Mundum tradidit disputationi eorum*.—Eccle. iii. 11.

Now, it seems to us that the Concordist cannot admit point 1° above in its universality ; for is it not precisely his contention that though as a rule God does not directly reveal natural truths in the Sacred Scripture, nevertheless, He does so in the case of the Hexahemeron ; that there He gives us the *true cosmogony* ; not only teaches us certain spiritual truths, but gives us also, as a fitting prelude and preface to the history of His chosen people, the natural history of the world's origin and evolution as well? To point 2° above the Concordist must enter a similar *caveat*. For if God had intended to tell His people how He had made this world He would surely have used language that would convey to their minds true ideas and not false ones. Otherwise He would be deceiving them, at least if they understood Him as intending to teach or enlighten them on the matter. And this certainly is as impossible with God relatively to a natural scientific error as to an error in faith or morals. The man in the street may say that the sun moves from east to west and he will deceive nobody. But if the teacher of astronomy use the same language in the

<sup>16</sup> *Les Origines*, p. 20.



lecture-room, who will say that he is not deceiving his hearers unless he has previously so explained himself that they understand him to speak of a motion that is apparent and not real?<sup>17</sup>

Either the Concordist advocates and defends objective truth—historical, natural truth, as apart from religious truth merely—in the Hexahemeron, or he does not. If he *does*, we do not see how he can admit that the inspired author may use without correction the popular language to convey such truth to the people, if that very popular language necessarily involves and supposes an error that is directly opposed to that truth, an error in precisely the same matter as that on which the inspired author wishes to enlighten them. Nor is it clear how the Concordist can apply the principle which solves the apparent difficulty in Judges x. 13, to the Hexahemeron at all; nor how *on his hypothesis* the two cases are parallel. And if the Concordist does *not* hold that in the Hexahemeron the Holy Spirit teaches us with the infallibility of Inspiration *some* natural truths about the origin of our world, *some* historical truths about the manner of formation of this universe, then either we have failed to understand Concordism, or at least fail to see wherein it differs from the ‘Revelation’ or any kindred ‘Ideal’ theory.

Point 4° of the above quotation is instructive in this connection. Referring back to it we may ask: are not the ‘*initia rerum*’ natural truths? Is it quite true to say of them ‘*scientia naturalis suis observationibus innixa nihi<sup>1</sup> certi statuere potest*’? Is a ‘preface’ to the natural sciences something altogether apart from and beyond the reach of the latter? Perhaps. But then if so it only remains that Concordists have been wasting a great deal of time and labour attempting the impossible. ‘*Inde sequitur longe pauciora esse themata seu argumenta communia cosmogoniae mosaicae et disciplinis naturalibus, ac plures contendere solent.*’ Yes, ‘*longe pauciora,*’ far fewer, perhaps, than anyone calling himself a Concordist would be obliged to claim.

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<sup>17</sup> Corluy writes (p. 185): ‘*Ipsi astronomi hodierni in suis libris adhuc de solis motu diurno passim loquuntur nec tamen ideo mendacii arguuntur.*’ This is true only provided that people generally understand what is really meant by such language: it would not hold of an astronomer who would use it unexplained in teaching people liable to be misled by it.

One other passage may be quoted here with profit, this time from Corluy<sup>18</sup> :—

In eis [per se naturalibus, scientificis] rebus exponendis sinit Spiritus Sanctus ut auctor sacer vulgari loquendi vel concipiendi modo se accomodet dummodo *quoad id quod praeise dicere intendit, falsum non dicat*. Ita ubi narrat stetisse solem in coelo, donec Josue hostes expugnasset, vult praeise intelligi lucem diei fuisse solito longiorum, et in hoc verum omnino asserit ; sed quoad modum loquendi accommodat se errori populari, quia ejus scopus non est Hebraeos astronomiam docere.

We would beg to call attention to the italics, which are in the original text. The question then is: *quid praeise intendit dicere Moyses?* What exactly did Moses intend to say? The answer could not be expressed any more lucidly than above as regards Judges x. 13. Moses intended to chronicle the fact that the day was longer than usual, and his language aptly and truly conveyed that information. He merely described a *phenomenon* and had not the least pretension to be ever credited with having attempted anything further. Now let us turn to the Hexahemeron. Moses intended to teach a number of *religious* truths: that all admit. Did he intend<sup>19</sup> to teach further a number of *natural* truths in which he embodied the former? The distinctive contention of the Concordists, in opposition to all shades of Idealists, is that *he did*. Now, notwithstanding this, is it not true, nevertheless, as we have already shown,<sup>20</sup> that down to comparatively recent times—till the true cosmogony was discovered by scientific research—so far from having been put on the right lines, as one would imagine they ought to have been, by reading the Hexahemeron, which ostensibly contains the true cosmogony, men have been positively led astray and confirmed in their belief in a false one? Does the Concordists' appeal to Judges x. 13, meet this difficulty, seeing that though *there* Moses is supposed only to chronicle a *phenomenon* in popular language ; *here* the Concordists themselves suppose him, or Him Who inspired him, to be *teaching the truth* about the *actualities*

<sup>18</sup> *Spicilegium*, p. 185.

<sup>19</sup> Or at least did the Holy Spirit intend it?—we may ask those who think that Moses did not know the full import of what he saw and wrote.

<sup>20</sup> See above, p. 255.

*that lie behind appearances*, to be describing visions if you will, but visions that are *revelations and representations of objective realities?*

This, therefore, seems to be their final position: that primarily God intended to teach certain religious truths, and that in doing so He could neither lie nor lead into error: that secondarily He intended not to teach explicitly but only to reveal obscurely a certain amount of natural truth: that in doing this He could not indeed lie—*dicere falsum*—but could and did use language so obscure that only after centuries of false interpretation would its true meaning be brought to light by the aid of natural scientific research: that while in Judges x. 13 and similar passages the Holy Spirit meant to reveal nothing whatsoever about the natural order of the universe, here in Genesis i. He wished not indeed to *teach* men *anything explicitly* that would of itself correct their erroneous notions or give them new knowledge about natural things, but only *so to reveal the truth* that when men, by natural means, acquired the knowledge of it, they would find it corroborated in the divine revelation itself: that, finally, the language chosen even confirmed many in their erroneous notions, till Science came to the rescue.

Whatever be the value of Concordism as a system of interpretation, these considerations are certainly calculated to raise a doubt as to whether after all we have here in the first chapter of Genesis a revelation of historical truth about natural things, as to whether there is really sufficient reason to think that the Holy Spirit departed from His usual custom (if we may so speak with reverence) in this case, to give us such a revelation. That the Hexahemeron is inspired we know; that it contains a revelation of natural truths we are not obliged to hold. Furthermore, the old question recurs: *how much* historical truth is the present-day Concordist prepared to vindicate for the Hexahemeron? The practical answer is: as much or as little as the established conclusions of the natural sciences allow him. We have seen already that this has been a diminishing quantity. It is scarcely contended nowadays that the Hexahemeron gives the order in which the different forms of life first appeared. It is left to the natural sciences to deter-



mine whether the order of the work of the six days is chronological or merely logical.<sup>21</sup> And that part of the Hexahemeron which is now admitted not to have an historically true sense, and which is still not directly religious, but only part of the setting for the religious truths, how is it to be accounted for? And may not the one great historical, and at the same time dogmatic fact, Creation itself, on which the whole Hexahemeron is based, may not it be equally well defended outside the lines of Concordism as within them? May it not be indeed the only historical truth inculcated in the first chapter of Genesis? These questions and observations lead us naturally to the modern Idealist systems into which many have passed from the ranks of Concordism of late years.

Literalism had followed too closely the literal meaning of the text. Concordism clung tenaciously to the historical sense. Modern 'Idealism'—like the old, in this as in many things—sacrifices both alike. It recognises, indeed, in Genesis i. the great historical fact of Creation, but denies that we have there a historical account of it. It also necessarily departs from the literal meaning of the words, giving a figurative meaning to all of them. It has not, however, followed the lines of the old Allegorical School of Alexandria, nor those of St. Augustine, but has inclined more and more towards the 'Revelation' hypothesis. There are, of course, some exceptions marking the transition from Concordism and the rise of the new school of thought. Some of those have been already referred to in connection with the old Idealism.<sup>22</sup> There is, for example, Dr. Clifford's view, that Genesis is a *liturgical hymn* consecrating the various days of the week to God by allotting to each some special divine work, and that it is in no sense or measure historical. This latter idea was taken up and widely developed: that the framework of the religious truths contained in the Hexahemeron is purely artificial. The former idea about the lyrical or liturgical character of the Hexahemeron attracted but few followers, because the Hexahemeron is *prose*, not poetry. This point, in fact, was always emphasised by the Literalists; but, nevertheless, there is no

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<sup>21</sup> Corluy, p. 186.

<sup>22</sup> See above, I, E. RECORD, August, pp. 146-9.

doubt that the Hexahemeron is a peculiar kind of prose—sublime, majestic prose. What is more important, however, there is the clearest possible internal evidence that the narrative was composed after a set design. It is perfectly symmetrical and orderly. It naturally divides itself into two parts: the first describes the production and preparation of the earth for life; the second the peopling of the earth with living things: the first takes three days; so does the second: the first and second day contain a work each, the third day two works; the fourth and fifth day a work each, the sixth day two works. The part of the universe prepared on each day of the first triduum is peopled on the corresponding day of the second triduum. Then there is for each work the divine edict, its fulfilment, the description, the praise and blessing of the result. No point is wanting in the perfect symmetry of an evidently pre-arranged plan. This whole scheme is fully developed by most of the modern defenders of 'idealist,' or 'visionist' views<sup>23</sup>; great stress is laid upon it by all of them as giving a clear indication of the *artificial* character of the setting in which the religious truths of the Hexahemeron are conveyed. Thus Michelis, who may be regarded as the forerunner of modern idealists,<sup>24</sup> following St. Augustine, vindicates the logical three-day parallelism just outlined. Güttler, passing over from Concordism, subordinates the chronological order to the exigencies of the logical plan. Reusch has been already mentioned as finally embracing an idealism which regards the days of Genesis as mere symbols of the week which must end by the repose of the Sabbath day.

The 'Vision' theory of Kurtz may be here recalled as marking the transition to 'Revelationism' proper. According to the view of Kurtz, Moses narrates in the Hexahemeron the different *stadia* or scenes of a vision vouchsafed him by the Almighty: he narrates them according to the order in which they were revealed to him, this order being not chronological but merely logical, according to the ascending grades of perfection in the various classes of creatures mentioned.

The 'Revelation' theory proper differs but little from the

<sup>23</sup> See, for example, Hummelauer, p. 84.

<sup>24</sup> *Circa*, 1850.

one just mentioned. It was first proposed by Schæfer,<sup>25</sup> and is ably defended by Hummelauer in his learned commentary on Genesis. It claims this advantage over the mere idealist theories just indicated, that it makes an honest effort to trace the genesis and the causes of the cosmogony which we find at the head of the Sacred Books.

It is evident to the impartial reader that the first chapter of Genesis purports to contain a cosmogony of some sort, a history of the formation of the universe. Such as it is, where did it come from? Evidently by *Revelation*; since before Adam was created there was no one to observe and hand down to posterity an account of the manner in which the world was formed. It was revealed by God to Adam himself in a vision analogous to those vouchsafed to the Prophets. The order of the works is that of the successive pictures which formed the whole vision, each work or vision being represented by a day. This tradition was faithfully handed down from Adam to Moses, who was inspired to take it and place it at the head of his Sacred History. The order of revelation is intellectual, not identical with the actual order in which things were produced. The Hexahemeron is, nevertheless, in a certain wide sense historical inasmuch as it is based on the great historical fact of Creation. Thus Hummelauer<sup>26</sup> writes of it:—

Licet . . . Cosmogonia utique sit documentum *aliquo sensu historicum*, non tamen est strictissimo sensu historicum. . . . Consuevere historiographi communiter adhibere documenta latiori sensu seu non stricte historica, ubicunque documenta stricte historica eos deficient. Ita fecere quicunque populorum initia describere, Herodotus, Livius aliique, narrationi temporum stricte historicorum praemittentes quaedam ex populorum legendis et mythis deprompta. Noster igitur auctor, ubi eum documenta stricte historica deficiebant, praemisit Cosmogoniam non ex mythis sed ex revelatione petitam. Sicut vero historici, quamdiu soli fluunt fontes mythici, non possunt in eorum narrationibus ad amussim elementa historica a mythicis segregare, ita neque in Geneseos auctoris potestate erat, in Cosmogonia revelata discernere, quid stricte esset historicum quid intuitu religiosae potius institutionis a Deo esset adjectum.

<sup>25</sup> *La Bible et la Science*, Münster, 1881.

<sup>26</sup> Page 69.



All this seems plausible enough, but it is difficult to see what more historical truth it allows the Hexahemeron than any purely Idealist theory. And, of course, the *prima facie* difficulty against the old Idealist and Vision theories applies with equal force here: how could an inspired writer have set down revelations as historical facts, and their logical order as the chronological order, without giving the slightest hint that would save us from falling into the serious error of mistaking for *inspired history* what is not history at all? We have seen already<sup>27</sup> some of the answers given by old Idealists to this difficulty. Moderns meet it very fairly and satisfactorily by appealing to the principles which guide the Exegetist in that very difficult and obscure department, the interpretation of prophetic visions.<sup>28</sup> These visions are of three classes. Some are historically accurate in every detail, as Acts ix. 12. Some are purely symbolic, as Jeremias i. 13. Most, however, are partly symbolic, partly historical. Perhaps the most notable example of this class is that which Isaias x. 28 records concerning the invasion of Jerusalem by the Assyrians,<sup>29</sup> where the substantial fact is historically true, though the line of march described is not the one actually pursued. To this latter class belongs the cosmogony, and it is to be interpreted accordingly.

It is needless for us to delay longer on this theory. The reader will be able to weigh its worth from what has already been said in discussing the ancient theories. So far, we have endeavoured to touch on all the leading systems of interpretation that have been broached by Catholic exegetists. We have done so with a view to discovering what light each might throw on the relation between Science and the Inspired Text and sense of the Hexahemeron itself. In conclusion, one other system—the newest—calls for at least some measure of notice. Its exponents point out to us that no Biblical scholar can fail to perceive a certain degree of resemblance between the Mosaic cosmogony and some of the contemporary ones, particularly the Babylonian. Hummelauer accounts for those resemblances by claiming for the cosmogonies a common

<sup>27</sup> I. E. RECORD, August, pp. 150, 151.

<sup>28</sup> See Hummelauer, p. 70.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. 2 Mach, xv. 12,

origin, and regards the Gentile cosmogonies, with all their polytheistic extravagances, as so many corruptions of the one cosmogony primitively revealed to man. To this it may be said that the natural curiosity of man, his desire to pry into the secrets of nature and discover the ultimate causes of all things, might have been quite sufficient of itself to give rise to speculations and theories about the formation of the world, altogether independently of any primitive revelation. However, notwithstanding this, there seems to be a good deal of likelihood about the conjecture that such a primitive revelation did actually exist, and did actually come down to Moses through the chosen people, faithfully preserved from error by a special divine providence. At the same time we cannot close our eyes to the difficulty arising from the fact that before Abraham there was no 'chosen people' as such, and that although there may have been a special providence guiding the line of descent from Adam to Noah, and from Noah to Abraham, still it was not 'special' enough to preserve from polytheism and idolatry Abraham's ancestors—even his own father, Thare.<sup>30</sup> Was it 'special' enough then to preserve from all error and corruption the traditional cosmogony of those people? There are Catholics who prefer either to abstract altogether from the question of the *origin* of the Jewish cosmogony, or to admit, if questioned, that it may have arisen by natural speculation and theorizing on the origin of the universe, without any revelation at all. These simply assert the fact that the Jews of Moses' time had their cosmogony, wherever they got it, just as neighbouring nations had theirs. They admit even that it may also have been mixed up with polytheistic notions, and religious errors. Their contention is that Moses was simply inspired by God to take that cosmogony, representing as it did the scientific ideas of his age; to purify it from *religious* errors if it contained such; to recast it, if necessary, into seven sections, so as by means of it to inculcate the Sabbath Law and the other religious truths it teaches; and so to place it at the head of his Inspired History.

This view has not met with favour. It is relegated by Guibert to a footnote<sup>31</sup>—one, however, that gives it a very fair

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Judith v. 7.

<sup>31</sup> Page 47.

and lucid presentation. We venture to take the liberty of quoting it in full:—

For some years [he writes] certain Catholic exegetists have given a new form to Idealism. It is well known that the Sacred writers, as well as the Fathers of the Church, have adopted the scientific ideas of their own times, and by their means supported the religious truth which they sought to transmit. These data, borrowed from the physical world, and the science of cosmogony, do not become of more objective value from the fact of the inspired writers having utilised them. But amongst the ancients there were also cosmogonic ideas; and a history, as well as a description of the universe had been made. When the sacred writer affirmed and propagated the dogma of God the Creator, he thought he could not do better than borrow from his surroundings, and use the received cosmogony; he purified it from polytheism, and adapted it to his ends, but communicated no new scientific value to it. According to this hypothesis, the tale of the Creation should be taken in the literal sense, but without its scientific and strict historical setting. This *critical literalism* is thought by many to go too far. As it has not been taught in the Catholic schools we abstain from developing it; it is mentioned only to show that its existence is known. The elements of it may be found in many authors. Father Lenormant, *Les origines de l'histoire d'après la Bible et les traditions des peuples orientaux*; Loisy, *Les études bibliques*; d'Hulst, *La question biblique*; Lagrange, '*l'Hexaméron*,' in the *Revue Biblique*, July, 1896.

'This *critical literalism* is thought by many to go too far.' So at least Hummelauer thinks in his commentary on Genesis, where it is designated as '*Systema mythistarum*,' and meets with very scant courtesy. Here are his words<sup>32</sup>:—

Primum [systema] est *Mythistarum* qui Cosmogoniam nostram mythum esse adstruunt mythis ethnicorum affinem indeque figmentis hand immunem. Quam sententiam ex catholicis nuper defendebat F. Lenormant (Origines I.). Ea non est catholica, liber in indicem librorum prohibitorum relatus est, auctor se laudibiliter submisit.

We cannot undertake to judge of the justice of this language as applied to Father Lenormant's book; but it seems somewhat severe, to say the least, if we apply it to the system as outlined above. The language of the book in question



must have been *male sonans* to the Catholic notion of Inspiration, or, if not, some other way aggressive or exaggerated. Hummelauer's designation '*Myth-System*,' scarcely describes with fairness the system which Guibert calls '*Critical Literalism*.' The word *myth* has an evil meaning in connection with the Bible. It reminds one of the '*Higher*'(?) Criticism, and it is a title that would condemn any Catholic system.

Would the Jewish cosmogony contemplated by the '*critical literalists*' be a myth? As it seems to us, the cosmogony would have, first and before all, the *scientific* element adopted by Moses, whether it were true or false; and it *might have had*, in addition, a mythical element, *i.e.*, an element of false religion, polytheism for example, *which however, if present, would have been rejected in its entirety* by the inspired writer, when redacting the document or tradition in question.

When thus understood, it may be interesting to enquire in what does this system differ from the '*Revelationism*' of Hummelauer himself. For he too compares the Hexahemeron with the myths and legends that preface the histories of Herodotus and Livy.<sup>33</sup> And he points out the difference between them—that the former is revealed while the latter are not. But how can this difference influence in any way their respective *historical* values, since, *ex hypothesi* neither the inspired writer who redacted the document,<sup>34</sup> nor anyone else since his time, has ever had any means of knowing how much of it was strictly historical, how much merely added '*intuitu religiosae potius institutionis*'? If he and they were thus left in the dark, they might, indeed, have guessed and speculated how much of it was historically true, might, indeed, have guessed and believed too much. Was its mere *revelation* a guarantee of its historical truth? No revelationist claims that it was; yet Moses could have been inspired to take and incorporate it, as it stood, in his Sacred History—was, in fact, so inspired, they contend. Why, then, could he not have been inspired to take and incorporate the current cosmogony, with the same or more or less historical truth in it, *even if it had not been revealed*? For, remember that, on the one hand, the Church is silent and leaves us free to discuss the question

<sup>33</sup> See extract above, p. 263.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*.

whether the non-dogmatic part of the Hexahemeron *was revealed or not*. All she insists on is the *Inspiration* of the whole. And, on the other hand, we admit the principle that an inspired writer can adopt the scientific ideas of his own time without adding any objective value whatsoever to them. It is on that principle we have agreed to meet the difficulty of Judges x. 13. But, the reader may say, surely you cannot apply that principle here, since you have maintained<sup>35</sup> that there *is not* a parity between Judges and Genesis? This difficulty is more apparent than real. We have, indeed, maintained that *on the Concordists' hypothesis* there is no parity: neither is there,<sup>36</sup> for *their* supposition is that in Genesis God is making a revelation of natural scientific truths. But *our* present supposition, that of the 'critical literalists,' abstracts altogether from the assumption of any such revelation of natural truth, and simply affirms that Moses took the current cosmogony for what it was worth scientifically. In this view there is plainly a clear parallel between Judges and Genesis: the inspired author acted in precisely the same manner on both occasions. And if he could so act in Judges consistently with the Catholic idea of Inspiration, why not in Genesis? If in the former case he could legitimately use language that was scientifically false, why not in the latter case also?

Perhaps it may be that in this view a satisfactory answer cannot be given to the old difficulty which has turned up so often already. It may be said, namely, that, while in Judges it is clearly evident from the context that the inspired writer had not the least intention of teaching any natural truth about the universe, in Genesis, if anything at all is evident from the context, it is quite the reverse. The text of the Hexahemeron is so far from indicating that its author is *merely* making use of current scientific ideas, that it leaves quite the opposite impression on the reader's mind. We have seen how the Idealists and Revelationists have met this difficulty by appealing to Scripture analogies, to prophecies, allegories, parables, etc.,<sup>37</sup> and to received principles of exegesis. How are the

<sup>35</sup> See above, pp. 258 and 263.

<sup>36</sup> See above, p. 260.

<sup>37</sup> See above, p. 264.

supporters of the present hypothesis to answer it? Perhaps they can answer it just as satisfactorily as it has ever yet been answered, by appealing to one of those very principles: by reminding us simply that it is not the aim of Scripture to teach Science, that it is futile to look for scientific revelations there,<sup>38</sup> that all passages dealing *per accidens* with scientific subjects are to be submitted to the same canon as Judges x. 13, and that we are not to assume a right, until we have proved it, to make the Jewish cosmogony *an exception* to that *general rule*.

It must be confessed, at least, that the whole matter is sufficiently obscure and debatable. It is of deep interest, though, on account of its bearing on the development of the Catholic doctrine on Inspiration. All that we have just said about this new theory of 'critical literalism' is meant neither as a defence nor as a refutation of the theory, but is thrown out for what it is worth, and simply with a view to promoting further enquiry. The theory itself is novel; but so was every theory once. It may have been unduly pressed; it has not met with favour. At any rate it behoves us in prudence to be cautious in applying general principles of exegesis to the interpretation of obscure and difficult portions of the Sacred Text; it is so easy to press those general principles too far. And above all, we must be ever careful to enquire diligently what is the mind and feeling of the Church, and to permit ourselves to be guided with dutiful submission by her teaching and her spirit. In conjecturing new systems of interpretation, especially, the Catholic will do well to keep his mind firmly fixed on the divine origin, infallibility, and Inspiration of the Sacred Text. It will be well, in this connection, to have before our minds also those significant words of the Pope's Encyclical<sup>39</sup>:

... at nefas omnino fuerit aut inspirationem ad aliquas tantum Sacrae Scripturae partes coangustare, aut concedere sacrum ipsum errasse auctorem. Nec enim toleranda est eorum ratio, qui ex istis difficultatibus sese expediunt, id nimirum dare non dubitantes, inspirationem divinam ad res fidei morumque, nihil praeterea, pertinere, eo quod faso arbitrentur, de veritate sententiarum quum agitur, non adeo exquirendum quaenam dixerat Deus, ut non magis perpendatur quam ob causam ea dixerit.

<sup>38</sup> See above, pp. 255, 256.

<sup>39</sup> *Providentissimus Deus*, Novr., 1893.



What is true of the rest of the Bible is true of the Mosaic cosmogony: that it is divinely inspired and teaches no errors. Ours it is to seek, as best we may, under the guidance of our holy mother, the Church, what it purposes to teach. That the Hexahemeron teaches a number of religious truths all admit and all must hold. Does it teach anything more? . . . We have touched on most of the many opinions, dealing rather with the difficulties against each than with the reasons that might be urged in its favour. We have defended no one view in particular, nor do we know which we should prefer to defend. Very many are in doubt and uncertainty, unable to make up their minds. Nevertheless, strange to say, if you take up any commentary on Genesis, you are pretty sure to find one advocated in preference to all the rest. Thus Hummelauer, after rejecting all the systems, except his own, expresses himself in those words:—

Tot quæ discussimus systematum quid tandem relinquitur? Diluvianismus ignorantia rei geologicae reus scribitur; Restitutionismus ab ipsis, quorum conciliandorum ergo excogitatus fuerit, geologis repudiatur; Periodismus vim infert textui; Poetismus contextui; Mythismus revelationis conceptui; Idealismus ingenita obruitur absurditate. Omnia tenebrae sunt et chaos: unde tandem optata effulgeat lux! Ultima sententia est *Revelationistarum*.

That is certainly a summary judgment on the other systems. Revelationism itself may commend itself to many, and have its day. So had other systems, however, and they are now on the wane. Hence we fear its present champion may be somewhat too sanguine when he proposes it 'non ut meram hypothesim sed tanquam explicationem *unice veram*.' If it is true, of course, in so far, it *alone* is true. And it *may be* the true explanation. At all events, whatever about that, it is refreshing to find a man, even one man, who in this difficult enquiry is able to convince himself so firmly that he has found the truth. The search is a long and laborious one—and to the reader we have no doubt it must have proved a wearisome one—and there are many, very many, who are fully persuaded that they, at least, have not succeeded in finding the truth even yet!

But, withal, it is and will ever remain a noble search and a

fruitful search, a very fruitful one in many respects, and that even though we *do* fail to find the chief object of our quest. And this reflection, too, must afford no small consolation to those who labour long and earnestly in the elucidation of God's Written Message to His children. Nothing is aimless in the Holy Scriptures, not even their obscurity. Such was the opinion of the Fathers of the Church. So much, at least, we too have learned from our Holy Father's Encyclical. We read *its* pages as a first preparation for those we are now drawing to a close. Nor can we conclude the latter more appropriately than by our Holy Father's own instructive and encouraging words:—

Quamobrem diffitendum non est religiosa quadam obscuritate sacros libros involvi, ut ad eos, nisi aliquo viae duce, nemo ingredi possit.<sup>40</sup> Deo quidem sic providente (quae vulgata est opinio SS. Patrum), ut homines majore cum desiderio et studio illos perscrutarentur, resque inde operose perceptas mentibus animisque altius infigerent; intelligerentque praecipue, Scripturas Deum tradisse Ecclesiae, qua scilicet duce et magistra, in legendis tractandisque eloquiis suis certissima uterentur.

PETER COFFEY.

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<sup>40</sup> S. Hier. ad Paulin. *de Studio Script.* Ep. liii. 4.

## DOCUMENTS

## LEO XIII CONGRATULATES THE BISHOPS OF THE UNITED STATES

LEO XIII EPIS STATUUM FOED. AMER. SEPT. DE OBLATIS GRATULATIONIBUS GRATES AGIT, ILLOSQUE DE INCREMENTIS CATHOLICAE REI HONESTA LAUDE RECREAT

*Dilecto Filio Nostro Iacobo Tit. S. M. Transtyberinae S. R. E. Presb. Card. Gibbons ceterisque Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Foederatarum Americae Civitatum.*

*Dilecte Fili Noster ac Venerabiles Fratres, salutem etc.*

In amplissimo Pontificum Romanorum ordine tertios censi Nos, quibus vicesimum quintum maximi Sacerdotii annum inire feliciter datum est, iure plane factum Nos insolens gaudemus atque, ob reverentiam Apostolicae Sedis, catholicum ubique nomen gratulatur. In hac vero gratulantium corona, etsi vox omnium grata, Foederatarum tamen Americae Civitatum Antistites ac fideles peculiari Nos iucunditate afficiunt, tum ob conditionem qua regio vestra facile plurimis antecellit, tum ob singularem amorem quo vos complectimur. — Libuit vos, Dilecte Fili Noster ac Venerabiles Fratres, in communibus quas dedistis literis, ea singulatim recordari quae per emensa Pontificatus spatia, caritatis instinctu, in ecclesiarum vestrarum utilitatem perfecimus. Nobis autem, grata vice, meminisse placet multa atque varia, quae solatium a vobis toto tempore contulerunt. — Nam si munus hoc ineuntes supremi Apostolatus, haud levi Nos suavitate affecit rerum vestrarum adspectus; at modo in eodem munere, quartum supra vicesimum praetergressi annum, profiteri cognimur suavitatem illam pristinam non obsolevisse unquam sed crevisse in dies ob praecleara catholicae rei inter vos incrementa. Quorum sane incrementorum caussa, etsi Dei numini tribuenda primum, vestrae tamen navitati etiam atque industriae est adscribenda. Prudentiae etenim vestrae hoc dandum est, quod, perspecta egregie gentium istarum indole, sic rem sapienter gesseritis, ut genus omne catholicorum institutorum apte ad necessitates atque ingenia promoveretis. — In quo illud longe maximam promeretur



laudem fovisse vos fovereque sedulo semper ecclesiarum vestrarum cum hac principe Ecclesia et Christi in terris Vicario conjunctionem. Hic namque, ut fatemini recte, totius regiminis, magisterii et sacerdotii apex est atque centrum; unde unitas exsurgit, quam Christus indidit Ecclesiae suae quaeque potior nota est qua ab humanis quibusque sectis distinguitur. — Cuius quidem regiminis ac magisterii influxus saluberrimus, sicut nulli per Nos gentium defuit; ita vobis populisque vestris nunquam permisimus desiderari. Enimvero opportunitatem omnem libenter captavimus, quo vobis et rei sacrae apud vos curarum Nostrarum constantiam testaremur. Diuturno autem experimento fateri cogimur, vobis efficientibus, ea Nos docilitate mentium et animorum alacritate praeditos vestrates reperisse, quae omnino par fuerat. Quamobrem, dum ceterarum fere gentium, quae, longo aetatum cursu, catholicis utuntur sacris, conversio atque inclinatio moerorem induunt; ecclesiarum vestrarum status, florenti quadam iuventa, hilarat animos iucundissimeque tangit. Utique, nullus vobis a civili regimine ex lege favor; reipublicae tamen moderatoribus ea laus profecto obvenit, quod vos libertate iusta nullo modo prohibet. Secundo igitur tempore ad agendum strenue vobis catholicoque agmini utendum est, ut, contra gliscentes errores orientesque absurdarum opinionum sectas, veritatis lumen quam latissime proferatis. — Equidem non latet Nos quantam quisque vestrum, Venerabiles Fratres, scholis ac gymnasiis sedulitatem praestet sive institutendis sive provehendis ad rectam puerorum institutionem. Apostolicae Sedis hortationibus et Concilii Baltimorensis legibus id plane congruit. Congruit porro cleri spei augendae ac dignitati amplificandae egregia, quam sacris seminariis impenditis opera. Quid plura? Eis qui dissident, edocendis et ad veritatem trahendis consuluistis sapienter doctos probosque e clero viros destinantes, qui regiones circumquaque peragrent, ac publice, sive in templis sive aliis in aedibus, familiari veluti sermone coronam alloquantur enodentque obiectas difficultates. Egregium plane institutum, ex quo fructus uberes iam novimus percipi. Nec miseras interea nigritarum atque indorum sortes caritas vestra praeterit; nam missis fidei magistris largaque ope adtributa, aeternae ipsorum saluti prospicitis studiosissime. Haec omnia laeto animo prosequi meritaque honestare commendatione libet, ut, si cui est opus, stimulos ad audendum addamus. — Demum, ne gratae voluntatis preatereamus officium, ignorare, vos nolumus qua

affecti simus delectatione ob largitatem, qua gens vestra Sedis Apostolicae angustiis, summissa stipe, ire suppetias nititur. Magnae reapse multaeque urgent necessitates, quibus, ad propellenda damna fidemque tutandam, Christi Vicarium utpote summum Ecclesiae Pastorem ac Patrem, prospicere opus est. Quare et largitas vestra in fidei exercitationem ac testimonium recidit.

His de omnibus causis, benevolentiam Nostram iterum vobis atque iterum profiteri libet. Eius autem sit pignus itemque munerum divinorum auspiciū Apostolica benedictio, quam vobis universis et gregi cuique vestrum credito, amantissime in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xv Aprilis anno MDCCCII, Pontificatus Nostri vicesimo quinto.

LEO PP. XIII.

#### INDULGENCE FOR PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD

INDULG. 50 DIERUM CONCEDITUR TOTIES QUOTIES RECITANTIBUS  
VERS. : REQUIEM AETERNAM DONA EIS, DOMINE, ET LUX  
PERPETUA LUCEAT EIS

LEO PAPA XIII.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Oblatis Nobis precibus annuentes a dilecto filio Paulo Buguet praeposito generali Piacularis Operis pro animabus derelictis loci 'Montligeon' dioecesis Sagien., omnibus et singulis fidelibus ex utroque sexu ubique terrarum degentibus, contrito saltem corde, ac devote qualibet vice recitantibus versiculum cum responsorio '*Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis*' in forma Ecclesiae solita quinquaginta dierum indulgentiam concedimus, qua tantum liceat functorum vita labes poenasque expiare. Non obstantibus contrariis quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuis futuris temporibus valituris. Praecipimus autem, ut praesentium litterarum (quod nisi fiat, nullas easdem esse volumus) exemplar ad Secretariam Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae deferatur, iuxta Decretum ab eadem Congregatione sub die XIX Ianuarii MDCLVI latum et a S. m. Benedicto PP. XIV Praedecessore Nostro die XXVIII dicti mensis adprobatum, atque volumus, ut earumdem praesentium transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu

alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eadem prorsus habeatur fides, quae haberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die xxii, Martii mdcccii Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigesimo quinto.

L. ✠ S.

Pro. Dno. Card. MACCHI.

NICOLAUS MARINI, *Subst.*

Praesentium litterarum exemplar delatum fuit ad hanc Secretariam S. C. Indulg. Sacrisque Reliq. praepositae. In quorum fidem, etc.

Datum Romae ex eadem Secria. die 26 Martii 1902.

L. ✠ S.

FRANCISCUS SOGARO, *Archiep. Amiden., Secret.*

#### AN INDULGENCED EJACULATION

CONCEDUNTUR INDULG. PIAM INFRASCRIP TAM JACULATORIAM  
RECITANTIBUS

LEO PP. XIII.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Supplices ad Nos adhibuit preces Venerabilis Frater Guilelmus Episcopus titularis Porphyreonius Sacrista Noster, ut nonnullis indulgentiis ditare velimus hanc invocationem, *Mon Dieu, mon unique bien, Vous êtes tout pour moi, que je sois tout pour Vous*. Nos, qui pro Pastoralis Nostro officio fidelium pietatem fovere et excitare studemus, piis eiusdem Venerabilis fratris votis libenter obsecundantes, de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac BB. Petri et Pauli App. Eius auctoritate confisi, universis et singulis utriusque sexus Christifidelibus, qui quotidie mense integro, supradictam invocationem quolibet idiomate, dummodo versio sit fidelis devote recitaverint, et uno eiusdem mensis die ad cuiusque arbitrium sibi eligendo vere poenitentes et confessi ac S. Communionem refecti, quamlibet Ecclesiam seu Oratorium publicum devote visitaverint, ibique pro Christianorum Principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione, ac S. Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effuderint, Plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum Indulgentiam et remissionem



misericorditer in Domino concedimus. Praeterea eisdem fidelibus qui corde saltem contriti, quolibet anni die, memoratam invocationem devote recitaverint, tercentum dies de iniunctis eis seu alias quomodolibet debitis poenitentiis in forma Ecclesiae consueta relaxamus. Quas omnes et singulas indulgentias, peccatorum remissiones ac poenitentiarum relaxationes etiam animabus christifidelium, quae Deo in caritate coniunctae ab hac luce migraverint, per modum suffragii applicari posse indulgemus. In contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuis futuris temporibus valituris. Praecipimus autem, ut praesentium litterarum (quod nisi fiat nullas easdem esse volumus) exemplar ad Secretariam Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae deferatur iuxta Decretum ab eadem Congregatione sub die XIX Januarii MDCCCLVI latum et a Benedicto XIV Praedecessore Nostro die XXVIII dicti mensis adprobatum: atque volumus ut earundem harum Litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis, et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur, quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die XIII Martii MCMII, Pontificatus Nostri An. XXV.

L. ✠ S.

ALOISIUS Card. MACCHI.

Praesentium litterarum exemplar delatum fuit ad hanc Secretariam S. Congris Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae. In quorem fidem, etc.

Datum Romae ex eadem Secria. die 17 Martii 1902.

L. ✠ S.

Ios. M. Can. COSELLI, *Substitutus*.

### THE WREATH OF THE HOLY GHOST

CONCEDUNTUR INDULG. RECITANTIBUS NOVAM CORONAM SPIRITUS  
SANCTI

LEO PP. XIII.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Cum dilectus filius Noster Iosephus Calasancius S. R. E. Diaconus Cardinalis Vives y Tuto, nomine etiam hodierni Praepositi Generalis Ordinis Minorum Capulorum atque universi Ordinis ipsius, enixas Nobis preces humiliter adhibuerit, ut fidelibus pie recitantibus Coronam Spiritus Sancti a SS. Rituum Congregatione appro-

batam, nonnullas indulgentias largiri de Nra. benignitate velimus : Nos ut tam frugifera exercitatio uberiori cum animarum fructu fiat, atque erga Paraclitum, plebes christianae obsequium amplificetur, votis huiusmodi annuendum existimavimus. Quare de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac BB. Petri et Pauli Apolorum. eius auctoritate confisi, omnibus ac singulis utriusque sexus christifidelibus ubique terrarum existentibus pie ac saltem contrito corde quovis anni die recitantibus privatim sive publice dictam Coronam Spiritus Sancti quocumque idiomate, dummodo versio fidelis sit iuxta exemplar quod lingua latina exaratum in tabulario Secretariae Nostrae Brevium asservari iussimus, in forma Ecclesiae solita de poenali numero septem annos totidemque quadragenas expungimus. Iis vero qui dictam Coronam habitualiter recitent ac die festo Pentecostes vel uno ad cuiusque libitum eligendo intra eiusdem festi octiduum die admissorum confessione expiati ac coelestibus epulis refecti quamlibet Ecclesiam ve publicum oratorium ubique terrarum stitum visitent ibique pro Christianorum Principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione peccatorum conversione ac S. Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effundant, Plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem misericorditer in Dno. concedimus. Tandem largimur fidelibus ipsis liceat si malint plenaria ac partialibus hisce indulgentiis vita functorem labes paenasque expiare. Non obstantibus in contrariam facientibus quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuis futuris temporibus valituris. Volumus autem ut praesentium litterarum authenticum exemplar transmittatur ad Secretariam Congnis. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, atque earumdem litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis, et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae praemunitis, eadem prorsus adhibeatur fides quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die XXIV Martii MCMII, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigesimoquinto.

L. ✠ S.

ALOIS. Card. MACCHI.

Praesentium litterarum authenticum exemplar transmissum fuit ad hanc Secretariam S. Congr. Indulgentiis sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae. In quorum fidem, etc.

Datum Romae ex eadem Secria. die 8 Aprilis 1902.

L. ✠ S.

FRANCISCUS SOGARO, *Archiep. Amiden., Secrius.*

## CORONA SPIRITUS SANCTI.

In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.

*Brevis Actus Contritionis.*

Doleo, mi Deus, me contra te peccasse, quia tam bonus es ;  
gratia Tua adiuvante non amplius peccabo.

*Hymnus.*

Veni, Creator Spiritus,  
Mentes tuorum visita,  
Imple superna gratia,  
Quae tu creasti pectora.

Qui diceris Paraclitus,  
Altissimi donum Dei,  
Fons vivus, ignis, charitas,  
Et spiritalis unctio.

Tu septiformis munere,  
Digitus Paternae dexteræ,  
Tu rite promissum Patris,  
Sermone ditans guttura.

Accende lumen sensibus,  
Infunde amorem cordibus,  
Infirma nostri corporis  
Virtute firmans perpeti.

Hostem repellas longius,  
Pacemque dones protinus :  
Ductore sit te praevio,  
Vitemus omne noxium.

Per te sciamus da Patrem,  
Noscamus atque Filium :  
Teque utriusque Spiritum  
Credamus omni tempore.

Deo Patri sit gloria,  
Et Filio, qui a mortuis  
Surrexit, ac Paraclito  
In saeculorum saecula. Amen.

V. Emitte Spiritum tuum et creabuntur.

R. Et renovabis faciem terrae.



*Oremus.*

Deus, qui corda fidelium Sancti Spiritus illustratione docuisti : da nobis in eodem Spiritu recta sapere ; et de eius semper consolatione gaudere. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

## I.—MYSTERIUM PRIMUM.

*De Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine Iesus conceptus est.*

*Meditatio.*—‘ Spiritus Sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi. Ideoque et quod nascetur ex te Sanctum, vocabitur Filius Dei.’ (LUC. i. 35.)

*Exercitatio.*—Precare vehementer Divini Spiritus auxilium et Mariae intercessionem ad imitandas virtutes Iesu Christi, qui est exemplar virtutum, ut conformis fias imagini Filii Dei.

Semel *Pater et Ave* et septies *Gloria Patri*, etc.

## II.—MYSTERIUM SECUNDUM.

*Spiritus Domini requievit super Iesum*

*Meditatio.*—‘ Baptizatus autem Iesus, confestim ascendit de aqua, et ecce aperti sunt ei coeli : et vidit Spiritum Dei descendentem sicut columbam, et venientem super se.’ (MATTH. iii. 16.)

*Exercitatio.*—In summo pretio habe inaestimabilem gratiam sanctificationem per Spiritum Sanctum in Baptismo cordi tuo infusam. Tene promissa, ad quae servanda tunc te obstrinxisti. Continua exercitatione auge fidem, spem, charitatem. Semper vive ut decet filios Dei et verae Dei Ecclesiae membra, ut post hanc vitam accipias coeli haereditatem.

Semel *Pater et Ave* et septies *Gloria Patri*, etc.

## III.—MYSTERIUM TERTIUM.

*A Spiritu ductus est Iesus in desertum.*

*Meditatio.*—‘ Iesus autem plenus Spiritu Sancto regressus est a Iordane : et agebatur a Spiritu in desertum diebus quadraginta, et tentabatur a Diabolo.’ (LUC. iv. 1, 2.)

*Exercitatio.*—Semper esto gratus pro septiformi munere Spiritus Sancti in confirmatione tibi dato, pro Spiritu sapientiae et intellectus, consilii et fortitudinis, scientiae et pietatis, timoris Domini. Fideliter obsequere Divino Duci ut in omnibus periculis huius vitae et temptationibus viriliter agas, sicut decet perfectum Christianum et fortem Iesu Christi athletam.

Semel *Pater et Ave* et septies *Gloria Patri* etc.

## IV.—MYSTERIUM QUARTUM.

*Spiritus Sanctus in Ecclesia.*

*Meditatio.*—‘Factus est repente de coelo sonus tamquam advenientis spiritus vehementis; ubi erant sedentes: et repleti sunt omnes Spiritu Sancto loquentes magnalia Dei.’ (ACT. ii. 2, 4, 11.)

*Exercitatio.*—Gratias age Deo quod te fecit Ecclesiae suae filium, quam Divinus Spiritus Pentecostes die in mundum missis semper vivificat et regit. Audi et sequere Summum Pontificem, qui per Spiritum Sanctum infallibiliter docet, atque Ecclesiam quae est columna et firmamentum veritatis. Dogmata eius tuere, eius partes tene, eius iura defende.

Semel *Pater* et *Ave* et septies *Gloria Patri*, etc.

## V.—MYSTERIUM QUINTUM.

*Spiritus Sanctus in anima Iusti.*

*Meditatio.*—‘An nescitis quoniam membra vestra templum sunt Spiritus Sancti qui is vobis est?’ (I COR. vi. 19.)

‘Spiritum nolite extinguere.’ (I THESS. v. 19.)

‘Et nolite contristare Spiritum Sanctum Dei in quo signati estis in diem redemptionis.’ (EPH. iv. 30.)

*Exercitatio.*—Semper recordare de Spiritu Sancto qui est in te, et puritati animae et corporis omnem da operam. Fideliter obedi divinis eius inspirationibus, ut facias fructus Spiritus; charitatem, gaudium, pacem, benignitatem, bonitatem, longanimitatem, mansuetudinem, fidem, modestiam, continentiam, castitatem.

Semel *Pater* et *Ave* et septies *Gloria Patri*, etc.

In fine dicas Symb. Ap. *Credo in Deum* ut professionem fidei, et *Pater*, *Ave*, *Gloria* semel ad intentionem Summi Pontificis.

Concordat cum suo Originali.

In quorum fidem, etc.

Ex Secretaria Sacror. Rituum Congregationis, die 19 Aprilis, 1902.

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., S. R. C. Secret.

## ANGLO-BENEDICTINE ABBOTS

## E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

LIVERPOLITANA. DUBIA CIRCA USUM PONTIFICALIUM PRO  
ABBATIBUS ANGLO-BENEDICTINIS

Rmus. Dnus. Episcopus Liverpolitanus Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi humiliter exposuit, Rmis. Patribus Abbatibus e Congregatione Anglo-Benedictina haud dudum benigne concessum fuisse privilegium ut in Ecclesiis propriis usu pontificalium in Missarum solemnibus gaudere valeant. Quum autem non plane constet quatenam ecclesiae tanquam ipsis propriae intelligendae sint, Rmis. Episcopis Angliae opportunum visum est, ut Episcopus supradictus, in cuius dioecesi multae existunt Ecclesiae Patribus Anglo-Benedictinis addictae, nomine omnium Episcoporum Angliae, dubiorum sequentium solutionem postularet nimirum.

I. Utrum tanquam ecclesia propria cuiusvis Patris Abbatis intelligenda sit sola ecclesia monasterii cui ipse praesit?

II. Utrum cuiusvis Patri Abbati competat jus pontificalium in omnibus ecclesiis quibus praesint terni, bini vel singuli Patres sub eius iurisdictione constituti, curam vero animarum exercentes? et quatenus affirmative.

III. Utrum ad usum pontificalium talibus in Ecclesiis sub cura Patrum Benedictinorum constitutis licite exercendum requiratur consensus Episcopi Ordinarii?

IV. Utrum Patres Abbates in ecclesiis aliorum Regularium cuiusvis Ordinis vel Congregationis, vel in Ecclesiis saecularium usu pontificalium sine consensu Episcopi Ordinarii gaudere valeant? et quatenus negative.

V. Utrum in talibus ecclesiis sive Regularium sive saecularium usu pontificalium de consensu Episcopi Ordinarii gaudere valeant?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibus accurate perpensis rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. *Affirmative*, nisi et aliae sint filiales Ecclesiae quibus et ipse praesit seu illius iurisdictioni subiectae.

Ad II. *Affirmative*, dummodo agatur de Ecclesiis propriis, et detur Decretum N. 2080 *Fesulana* 1 Octobris 1701.

Ad III. *Negative*, si agatur de Ecclesiis propriis, uti supra.



Ad IV. Detur Decretum N. 2923. *Ordinis Monachorum Sancti Basilii* 18 Decembris 1846.

Ad V. Iam provisum in praecedenti.

Atque ita rescipsit. Die 13 Junii 1902.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praef.*

✠ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen. Secr.*

### MISSION CROSSES

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM

RATISBONEN.<sup>1</sup> INDULGENTIAE ADNEXAE ALICUI CRUCI IN S. MISSIONIBUS ERECTAE PERDURANT ETIAMSI NOVA, LOCO PRIORIS DESTRUCTAE ERIGATUR

Vicarius Generalis in spiritualibus Episcopi Ratisbonensis exponit: non raro in sua amplissima Dioecesi evenire, ut in parochiis vel locis ubi SS. Missiones haberi solent, Crux erigatur cum indulgentiis eidem adnexis: quae, sive vetustate, sive aliqua adveniente tempestate aliave simili causa, collabatur, ita ut nova debeat. Iamvero ab hac S. C. Indulgentiarum humiliter petit sequentis dubii solutionem.

Utrum Indulgentiae adnexae alicui Cruci in SS. Missionibus erectae perdurent, etiamsi huiusmodi Crux collapsa vel destructa fuerit et nova loco prioris erigatur; an nova Crux indigeat nova indulgentiarum applicatione?

De quibus facta relatione SSmo. Dno. Nro. Leoni Pp. XIII, Eadem Sanctitas Sua respondere mandavit:

Non indigere nova concessione, dummodo nova Crux erigatur eodem loco quo prima extabat et de consensu Episcopi.

Datum Romae ex Secria. eiusdem S. C. die 22 Februarii 1888.

SERAPHINUS Card. VANNUTELLI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ ALEXANDER, *Epus. Oensis, Secr.*

ALBIEN. CONFIRMATUR RESPONSUM UTI SUPRA, IN UNA  
'RATISBONEN.'

P. Stephanus Mauraud Missionarius Tertii Ordinis Regularis S. Francisci, dioecesis Albiensis, in Gallia, humiliter hujc S. Congni. Indulgentiarum quae sequuntur exponit: Occasione SS. Missionum in paroecia loci v. d. Aiguefonde, praefatae

<sup>1</sup> Vide infra pag. 260, Commentarium circa hoc Decretum.

Dioecesis, in memoriam earumdem Missionum erecta fuit in propinquo monte Crux, cui deinde, vi facultatum alumniis III Ord. Reg. S. Francisci in Galliis per Aplicum Breve diei 2 Apr. 1886 consessarum, adnexae fuerunt Indulgentiae favore Christifidelium eam devote colentium. Porro accidit ut supra-memorata Crux, magna exorta, tempestate eversa fuerit et fere destructa. Nunc vero Christifideles novam ibidem erigere satagunt; haerent tamen dubii an cessaverint indulgentiae primitivae Cruci adnexae. Idcirco Missionarius Orator huic S. Congni. sequens dubium proponit:

Utrum in casu Crux nova erecta in eodem loco, in quo Crux destructa existebat, gaudeat pristinis indulgentiis, an nova earumdem concessio requiratur?

Et S. C. proposito dubio respondit:

*Affirmative* quoad 1 am. partem; *Negative* quoad 2 am. iuxta Decretum in una *Ratisbonen. d. d. 22 Februarii 1888.*

Datum Romae e Secria. eiusdem S. C. die 10 Iulii 1901.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

Pro. R. P. D. FRANC. SOGARO, *Archiep. Amiden., Secr.*  
Ios. M. Cancus COSELLI, *Subtus.*

#### METHOD OF PERFORMING THE WAY OF THE CROSS IN CONVENT CHAPELS

MECHLINIENSIS. CIRCA METHODUM PERAGENDI EXERCITIUM VIAE  
CRUCIS IN SACELLIS SORORUM RELIGIOSARUM

Superiorissa Generalis Instituti Adorationis Perpetuae, cuius domus princeps extat Bruxellis in Archidioecesi Mechliniensi huic S. Congni. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis prae-positae sequentia exponit.

In Decreto huius S. C. diei 6 Augusti 1757 praescribitur in pio Viae Crucis exercitio publice peragendo ob angustiam loci unumquemque de populo locum suum tenere posse, dummodo Sacerdos cum duobus clericis sive cantoribus circumeat ac sistat in qualibet statione ibique consuetas preces recitet. Anno elapso ab eadem S. Congne quaesitum fuit I°. 'An ista methodus servari queat ob angustiam loci, in sacellis domorum communitatum religiosarum' et II°. 'An loco Sacerdotis cum duobus clericis unus tantum e fratribus non sacerdos circumire ac sistere in qualibet statione suetasque preces recitare valeat,' et S.

Congtio. in una *Instituti Fratrum Maristarum a Scholis* diei 27 Februarii 1901 respondit 'Affirmative ad utrumque.'

Nunc vero praefata Superiorissa sequens dubium solvendum proponit :

'Ad loco unius ex fratribus, in domibus religiosarum, una ex sororibus circumire ac sistere in qualilibet statione suetasque preces recitare valeat?'

S. Congtio, audito unius ex Consultoribus voto, respondit :  
'Affirmative.'

Datum Romae ex Secria. eiusdem S. Congnis. die 7 Maii, 1902.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

L. ✙ S.

✙ FRANCISCUS SOGARO, *Archiep. Amiden. Secr.*

### MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATIONS

#### E SACRA POENITENTIARIA

CIRCA AETATEM SUPERADULTAM ORATRICIS PRO OBTINENDA DISPENSATIONE MATRIMONIALI

*Eminentissime Domine,*

Saepe contingit obtineri Apostolicas dispensationes matrimoniales ex causa (unica vel cum aliis) *aetatis oratricis superadultae*, sic et simpliciter expressa, vel interdum sic : *aetas oratricis annor. 25, aut 30, sive aliter, sed plus quam 24.* Cum autem Auctores opinentur causam huiusmodi interpretari quod usque ad illam aetatem *mulier non invenerit virum paris conditionis cui nubere posset*, ab hac Rma. Episcopali Curia Tropien. quaeritur : An in verificatione causae supra memoratae sciscitari etiam et probari oporteat mulierem superadultam usque ad illam aetatem virum paris conditionis cui nubere posset non invenisse ; et hoc ad dispensationis validitatem?

Et Deus, etc. — Tropeae, d. 11 martii 1902.

D., *Epus. Nicoteren. et Tropien.*

Sacra Poenitentiaria ad propositum dubium respondet : *satis esse quod certo constet de aetate superadultae.* Datum Romae in S. Poenitentiaria die 5 Aprilis 1902.

A. CARCANI, *S. P. Reg.*

R. CELLI, *S. Poenitentiariae Substitutus.*



**LEO XIII. ON THE FESTIVAL OF CHRISTMAS**

IN PRAELVDIO NATALIS IESV CHRISTI DOMINI NOSTRI AN. MDCCCCI.

Annua nascentis Iesv solemnia iamiam

Exoriens revehit rite colenda dies.

At non laetitiae praelucet candida ut olim

Nuncia, nec pacis munera grata refert.

Humanae heu ! genti turba undique dira malorum

Instat flebiliter, flebiliora parat.

Numinis en oblita, indigne oblita parentum

Succrescens aetas excutit omne iugum.

Scindit is adversas cives discordia partes,

Ardetque immitis facta cruenta, neces.

Iura verenda iacent ; cessere fidesque pudorque ;

Omne impune audet caeca cupido nefas. . . .

Adsis, sancte Pver, saeculo succurre ruenti :

Ne pereat misere, tu Deus una salus.

Auspice te, terris florescat mitior aetas,

Emersa e tantis integra flagitiis.

Per te felici collustret lumine mentes

Divinae priscus Relligionis honos.

Ardescant per te Fidei certamina ; per te

Victrices palmae, fracta inimica cohors ;

Disiectae errorum nubes, iraeque minaces

Restinctae, populis reddita amica quies.

Si optata diu terras pax alma revisat,

Pectora fraterno foedere iungat amor.

LEO XIII.

**CELEBRATION OF MASS ON BOARD SHIP**

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE PROPAGANDAE FIDEI

DE REMOVENDIS ABUSIBUS CIRCA MISSAE CELEBRATIONEM IN  
NAVIBUS. DECRETUM.

Ad removendos abusos, quos circa Missae celebrationem, durante maritimo itinere, non semel occurrisset relatum est, EE. ac RR. S. Congregationis Propagandae Fidei Patres in comitiis generalibus die 24 ultimi elapsi mensis Februarii habitis, omnibus mature perpensis decreverunt ut intra videlicet Missionariis suae iurisdictione subiectis et specjali

indulto fruentibus celebrandi in mari sacrosanctum Missae Sacrificium praecipendum esse, quemadmodum per praesens Decretum S. Congregatio praecipit, ut, quoties eo per praesens Decretum S. Congregatio praecipit, ut, quoties eo privilegio utuntur, sedulo et religiose servant praescriptas regulas, in ipso apostolicae concessionis rescritto apponi solitas. Videant nempe, utrum mare sit adeo tranquillum, ut nullum adsit periculum effusionis Sacrarum Specierum e calice; curent ut alter sacerdos, si adfuerit, rite celebranti assistat; et si in navi non habeatur Capella propria vel altare fixum, caveant omnino Missionarii ne locus ad Missae celebrationem delectus quidquam indecens aut indecorum praeseferat: quod certe eveniret, si augustissimum altaris mysterium in cellulis celebraretur pro privatis viatorum usibus destinatis.

Porro huiusmodi EE. Patrum sententiam infrascriptus Cardinalis Praefectus vigore specialium facultatum sibi a SSmo. Dno. Nostro Leone div. prov. PP. XIII concessarum, nomine et auctoritate Sanctitatis Suae die 25 supradicti mensis Februarii ratam et adprobatam esse declaravit.

Datum Romae ex Aedibus S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide hac die 1 mensis Martii 1902.

✠ M. Card. LEDOCHOWSKI, *Praef.*  
ALOYSIUS VECCIA, *Secret.*

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN GREEK ACCORDING TO THE SEPTUAGINT. 3 vols. Genesis-4 Kings (3rd ed., 1901): Chronicles-Tobit (2nd ed., 1896): Hosea-4 Macchabees (2nd ed., 1899). Cambridge University Press.

It would be difficult to speak too highly of this edition. The greatest care has been taken with it, the result being that students of Scripture have now the Septuagint in a handy and thoroughly reliable form. It is needless to say that it is much superior to anything that has appeared hitherto.

As the basis of the text, the Vatican MS. (B) has been wisely selected. The variants of the other three great uncial codices are given, so that on every page the reader is presented with the entire evidence of the Vatican, Sinaitic, Alexandrine, and Ephrem rescriptus, so far as it is now accessible. And 'where the Vatican MS. is defective its defects are supplied from the Alexandrine MS., or in the very few instances where both these MSS. fail us, from the uncial MS. which occupies the next place in point of time or importance' (Preface, p. xii.). Thus, in the first volume the testimony of the Cottonian Genesis and Bodleian Genesis MSS., and of the *Codex Ambrosianus*, is given; in the second volume (Psalter), that of the Verona and the Turin Psalters, and of the British Museum papyrus fragments; in the third volume (Prophets), that of the *Codex Marchalianus*, the Grottoferrata palimpsest (Isaias), Tischendorf's and Trinity College, Dublin, palimpsest fragments (Daniel), according to the Septuagint—the Chigi MS., with the variants of the Syro-Hexaplar Ambrosian: according to Theodotion—as before, the text from Vatican *Codex* (B), with the various readings of the Alexandrine, Marchalianus, and Grottoferrata manuscripts. In Macchabees i., ii., the reading of the Graecus Venetus are given. This is also done for the apochryphal third and fourth books, which are followed by similar works, viz., the Psalms of Solomon and fragments of the Book of Enoch. Eight MSS. were collated for the one, the testimony of two were already available for the other. Lastly come the Old Testament Canticles, for the text of which the MSS. described



in connection with the second volume were employed. It will be understood that we have given only a cursory enumeration of the MSS. used in representing the text of the inspired books, but it is, we trust, sufficient to show our readers the exceeding great value of the Cambridge Septuagint.

Those who have to compare the Hebrew text with its Septuagint version know by experience the time and trouble it often costs to find out the corresponding verses and even chapters. By an ingenious device the present edition makes such comparison delightfully easy. Throughout the work the typographical arrangement is perfect. Though there is a fairly large collection of critical evidence, the reader never experiences the slightest difficulty in finding the particular reading he wishes to see. To quote the Preface, p. xvi.: 'The letter exterior to the first line of text on each page is the symbol of the MS.—upon which the text of that page is based. . . . Similarly the letter or letters exterior to the first line of textual notes on each page must be taken to represent the MS. or MSS. from which variants have been collected for that page or for some part of it.'

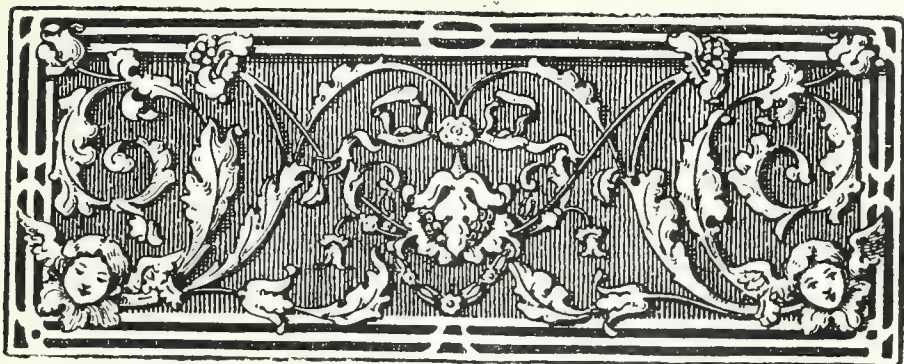
These are but two of the many excellencies which render this edition by far the best yet provided for students of Scripture. When used in conjunction with the editor's Introduction it will supply all the knowledge of the Septuagint that most people are likely to need.

R. W.

THE BERKELEYS. By Emma Howard Wright. Benziger Brothers.

A SHORT little story for little children, to whom it endeavours to teach, by a skilful opposition of the different characters of the members of a certain family, the important lessons of 'goodness and truth, tender-heartedness and unselfishness.' It is not in any way a remarkable book; still it is healthful, and it is likely to conduce somewhat to the formation of a child's moral character.

J. M.



## In Memoriam

### CARDINAL LEDOCHOWSKI THE ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL

CARDINAL LEDOCHOWSKI

**A**MONG the personages of importance whom death has visited in recent times a foremost place has been readily given by the newspapers and the chroniclers to his Eminence Cardinal Ledochowski. The fact is that apart from the office which he filled and the prominent part that he took in the government of the universal Church in recent years, the cardinal was a very remarkable ecclesiastic and a man who could not fail to attract the attention of the world on purely personal grounds. His wide experience of affairs in Europe and America, his manifold occupations and highly diversified career, above all the dignity and fortitude he displayed in the adverse days of persecution, invested him with an interest and attractiveness which his noble figure and kindly manners helped not a little to enhance.

Miecislas Ledochowski was born at Gork in Russian Poland, on the 29th of October, 1822. His father was one of the magnates of Poland and the representative of a long line of soldiers, courtiers and officials. At an early age Miecislas showed a disposition for clerical life, and was sent to pursue his preliminary studies at the seminary of Warsaw, where he

received Minor Orders. He then proceeded for his theological studies to Vienna.

The general seminaries that had been set up by Joseph II. for the purpose of nationalizing the Austrian clergy had already disappeared, and when young Ledochowski came to Vienna he found established there the system that in the main has since prevailed. Theological students lived together in what was called the 'Alumnat,' and went to the university for instruction in theology. The university teaching had not yet completely extricated itself from the fetters of Josephism. Many of its professors were imbued with Febronian ideas regarding the origin of jurisdiction, whilst on questions of practical theology and of scriptural exegesis they were hopelessly behind the times. These teachers had been carefully selected by the officials of the government in the ministry of worship, not for their learning or ecclesiastical spirit, but rather for their well-known devotion to the civil power and their hostility to everything that savoured of Ultramontanism.

Nor was the episcopal sanction required for the admission of such professors to the theological faculty any barrier in their way; for just then the See of Vienna was occupied by a prelate, Mgr. Milde, who was accustomed to speak of the Pope as 'My colleague of Rome.'<sup>1</sup> His assistant once addressing some students on whom he had conferred the tonsure, said: 'Gentlemen, you have this day consecrated yourselves to the service of the State and of the Church.' Young Ledochowski had been brought up in a very different atmosphere and he readily foresaw what pliant instruments a clergy imbued with such opinions were likely to become in the hands of political despots. He had seen the system pushed to its extreme limits under Russian governors in his native Poland, and from his infancy he had been taught to look upon it with distrust. He did not wait to finish his studies in Vienna, but proceeded to Rome where he was ordained a priest in the 'Accademia Ecclesiastica,' on the 31st July, 1845.

By the death of his father and his elder brother a few years later he became the head of his family and the owner of large estates in Galicia and in Russia.

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<sup>1</sup> See *Juifs et Catholiques en Autriche-Hongrie*, by A. Kannengieser, p. 25.



Italians alone are usually employed in the diplomatic service of the Church. The 'Carriera' however, has always been open to a certain number of Poles. Mgr. Czacki, who was Nuncio in France in Gambetta's time, and is credited with having decided Pope Leo XIII. once and for all in favour of the Republic in France, was a Polish nobleman ; but he was also a nephew of Princess Odescalchi, and his connection with the Roman nobility naturally marked him out for the highest occupations in the Church. Mgr. Ledochowski had no such connections ; but his rank and fortune brought him into natural prominence and his rapid advancement in ecclesiastical life caused no surprise.

His first appointment in the regular diplomatic service of the Church was obtained about the year 1854, when he was sent as secretary to the Nuncio at Madrid. From the Spanish capital he was soon transferred to Lisbon, and in 1859 he was sent to the assistance of the Papal envoy in the Republic of New Granada. His experience of South America and its revolutions was short but impressive. In 1861 he is back again in Rome. The post of Nuncio to the court of Brussels was just then vacant and was soon filled by the appointment of the Polish prelate.

He was consecrated Archbishop of Thebes on November 3rd, 1861, and reached the scene of his labours on the 16th of February, 1862.

In the early days of his sojourn at Brussels Mgr. Ledochowski came under the notice of Queen Augusta of Prussia, afterwards German Empress, a lady who to her dying day evinced the kindest interest in her Catholic subjects, and never during her lifetime missed an opportunity of doing them a service. When the Archiepiscopal See of Gnesen and Posen became vacant a few years later, on the death of Archbishop Prylusi, the Prussian government, influenced it is said by the queen, proposed the name of Mgr. Ledochowski to the Pope to fill the vacancy. The Pope readily consented. The united chapters of Gnesen and Posen, having listened to the recommendations of the king, proceeded to elect in due form the candidate recommended to them.

Soon after his preconisation in January, 1866, the fatal

year of Sadowa, Mgr. Ledochowski left Belgium and proceeded directly to Berlin to take the oath of allegiance to King William II. By a curious coincidence he found himself at the royal palace on the same day as Mgr. Melchers, the new Archbishop of Cologne, who had just been transferred from the See of Osnabruck. The two prelates took the oath of allegiance together and were hospitably entertained by the king and queen. Little did they think that eight years later this same king would call upon them to prove faithless to another oath which they had sworn to the Pope and to the Church.

Everything looked bright and promising for the new Archbishop when he was enthroned on the 22nd of April, 1866, in his cathedral of Posen. In many respects fortune seemed to have smiled upon him and to have prepared for him if not a bed of roses at least a position of honour and dignity amongst the people whom he loved. The Poles were proud to see at their head a nobleman of their own race in whose patriotism they could place implicit trust, who spoke their language in its purity, and was known to sympathise with their spirit of nationality and union. It was, however, this very popularity that proved the first difficulty in his way. The title of Primate of Poland had been renewed for the Archbishop of Posen on the occasion of Mgr. Ledochowski's appointment, and he had received congratulations in that capacity from bishops in Austrian and Russian Poland as well as from his own suffragans. This was not to the liking of Bismarck<sup>2</sup> who, apparently, had not been at all favourable to the appointment, nor of Prince Gortschachoff, who was indignant that the Roman See should dare to recognise even the semblance of Polish unity. At this time also the new archbishop was deeply moved by the news of the atrocities that were perpetrated on his kinsmen across the border. Nothing can give us a more vivid conception of these barbarities than the words of Pius IX., who was

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<sup>2</sup> See entry in the Journal published by Busch:—‘Read two reports of the 11th instant from St. Petersburg. One states that a copy of the *Kosmian Documents* had been handed to Prince Gortschachoff, and that the Russian Chancellor has declared his readiness to join with us in protesting against the appointment of Ledochowski, as Primate of Poland.’—*Bismarck: Some Secret Pages of his History*, vol. ii., p. 187.

compelled to denounce to the Christian world the cruelty of the Russian despot towards the Catholic Poles of his dominions. The Pope had already again and again appealed to the mercy of the Emperor, to the 'generosity of his magnanimous heart,' to restrain the hands of a Murraview or a Kauffmann; but his appeal was addressed to deaf ears. He now felt that the moment had come to appeal to another tribunal. He addressed his words to the conscience of mankind, to the city and to the world 'Urbi et Orbi.'

I do not wish [said the Pontiff on the feast day of St. Fidelis of Sigmaringen] to be compelled to say in the presence of my eternal judge, 'Vae mihi quia tacui.' The feast we celebrate reminds me that in our days also there are martyrs who suffer and die for the faith; and I feel compelled to denounce a potentate, whose name I omit only to mention it elsewhere, whose immense empire extends almost to the extremities of the world. This potentate, who falsely calls himself an Eastern Catholic, but is, in reality, only a schismatic cast out from the bosom of the true Church—this potentate, I say, oppresses and kills his Catholic subjects, whom he has driven by his cruelty into insurrection. Under pretence of quelling this insurrection he extirpates Catholicism, deports whole populations to those regions of the North where they are deprived of all religious assistance and replaces them by all sorts of schismatical adventurers. He persecutes and massacres priests and sends their bishops into banishment to the most distant confines of his empire; and, heterodox and schismatic that he is, he dares to despoil of his jurisdiction a bishop instituted by me. This madman ignores the fact that a Catholic bishop on his throne or in the catacombs is always the same, and that his character is indelible.

And let nobody dare to say that in speaking out against this Ruler of the North I am fomenting revolution in Europe. I know well how to distinguish the Socialist revolution from the protest of right and of reasonable liberty, and if I protest to-day it is in order to set my own conscience at ease.

Let us, therefore, beseech the Almighty that he may enlighten this persecutor of Catholics, who, condemned by him, perish in the desert regions of ice to which they are driven, without any means of becoming reconciled to God.<sup>3</sup>

In an Encyclical addressed to the Russian and Polish

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<sup>3</sup> See *L'Eglise Catholique en Pologne sous Le Gouvernement Russe*, par Le Père Lescoeur. Prêtre de l'Oratoire (Paris, Plon). Vol. ii., pp. 150, 152.



Bishops on the 30th of July, 1864, the Pope followed up the denunciation of his Allocution in the following words:—

Our grief has been extreme in witnessing the cruelty of the Russian Government towards the Catholic Church, its ministers and adherents. We know from the surest sources that this government, in its hostility to the Catholic Church and in its desire to envelop everyone in its fatal schism, makes a pretext of the recent troubles to persecute in every form our holy religion and all Catholics within its reach. Its agreement with us and with this Holy See has never been executed. Public engagements regarding the rights of the Church in Poland have been trampled under foot. The government not satisfied with prohibiting books and journals favourable to the Holy See, scattering broadcast literature calculated to corrupt the Polish people, preventing all communication with the See of Rome, and prescribing oaths that are contrary to the divine law, excites the people against their priests, forbids the Catholic clergy to preach the Word of God and the truths of the Catholic faith, makes it a civil offence to point out the dangers and the consequences of schism, and forbids under cruel penalties the return from schism to the bosom of the Catholic Church. It hunts the religious from their convents, makes of the monasteries barracks for its soldiers, removes the bishops from their sees and drives them into exile, attracts to schism by violence and fraud numerous Catholics of the Greek rite whom it prevents from returning when the fraud is discovered. Considerable crowds of Catholics of every age, of both sexes and of all conditions, are deported to the wilderness of the North; their churches are destroyed, profaned, converted into schismatical temples, or into refuges for soldiers. Catholic priests are tormented in a fashion that no language can describe; their goods are confiscated; they are sent into prison or to exile, or put to death because they did not refuse their ministry to those who fell on the field of battle.<sup>4</sup>

When Mgr. Ledochowski became Archbishop of Posen this language was fresh in the public mind; and as the war between Prussia and Austria gave the Russians a free hand they took advantage of their opportunity to defy the Pope and to press down with a heavier hand than ever on the unfortunate Poles. But other great events that affected him more directly were coming rapidly to a head.

In 1870 he attended the Vatican Council, but does not

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<sup>4</sup> Encyclical 'Ubi Urbiniano,' 30th July, 1864.

appear to have played any very important part in that great assembly.

When the unfortunate war between France and Prussia broke out in 1870, the Italians, taking advantage of French disasters, invaded Rome and deprived the Pope of whatever remained of his temporal power. As Mgr. Ledochowski was on friendly terms with the King of Prussia, he was commissioned by the Pope to make representations to His Majesty about the condition of things in Rome and likewise to offer the Pope's services as mediator between France and Germany. With this double object the Archbishop of Posen proceeded to Versailles, where he was received first by Bismarck and then by the King on the 8th of November, 1870. As a matter of fact his mission proved useless, and Bismarck's factotum Busch tells us in his memoirs how the old chancellor made merry over the difficulties and misfortunes of the Pope.<sup>5</sup>

No sooner had Bismarck returned victorious to Berlin than he proceeded to execute the project he had long in view of reducing the Catholic Church to a condition of slavery. The moment seemed favourable; for he had just concluded terms of peace after the great war that filled his country with pride, and had consolidated the German fatherland in a powerful empire. He had vanquished the enemies of Germany outside. He now turned upon those whom he regarded as her enemies within.

The first of his confederates to let loose the tide of bigotry upon the Church were the Freemason lodges. In Germany, as in some other countries, the Freemasons had frequently protested that there was nothing in their programme hostile either to Catholicity or to Christianity. They were merely a philanthropic body, who loved all mankind, and had no designs except those of universal benevolence and good will. They now, however, saw their opportunity and very quickly threw off the mask. The ground seemed to have been prepared by the old Catholic schism when a certain number of Catholic priests, professors in the universities, refused to accept the decree of the Vatican Council on the

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<sup>5</sup> *Bismarck : Some Pages of his Secret History*, vol. i., pp. 292-296.

Infallibility of the Pope. There was a good deal of unrest and of dissension in the Catholic Church itself. 'Ultramontaniam is the hydra that we have to crush,' cried Schultze-Delitch, one of the prominent liberals. 'It is the duty of the State to bring the Catholic Church into complete subjection,' said Friedberg, a professor of the University of Berlin. Count Münster said the hour had arrived to found a truly national church, and to set the great Protestant empire once and for ever free from foreign control. 'Let there be an end of German long-suffering and patience, and let us turn against Rome every arm within our reach,' said the Count Von Rath. 'When after long and painful efforts,' said the official organ, the *North German Gazette*, 'all those religious fanatics, all those Ultramontanes shall have been replaced by truly German priests, then our grandchildren and great grandchildren can extend a hand to their Protestant brethren and consecrate the fraternal alliance which shall bind us all together in one national church in which there shall be neither dogmas nor formulas.'<sup>6</sup> Fortified by these declarations Bismarck took the plunge and acted on the motto—'Acheronta movebo.'

We cannot enter here into any detailed account of the May Laws which were the result of this agitation. These laws were submitted to Parliament chiefly by the minister Von Falk and carried by large majorities through the legislature. The following, however, is the substance of the chief enactments. The religious Orders, Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, Redemptorists, Fathers of the Holy Ghost, Vincentians, were all expelled from the empire. Summary powers were given to the minister of worship in certain cases; and in virtue of these he issued a decree suppressing the confraternities of the Blessed Virgin in all the parishes of Prussia. No priest could be appointed to a parish without first having his name submitted to the civil authorities for their approval. No priest should take part in any meeting or agitation of a political kind. The books in all Catholic colleges should be submitted to the civil authorities for their sanction, and all the rules and regulations of such establishments were null and void unless

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<sup>6</sup> See *Geschichte des Kulturkampfes in Preussen-Deutschland*, Von Paul Majunke. Paderborn and Münster. F. Schöningh, 1886.



approved by the State. Religious instructions in the schools would be given by the schoolmaster, from books approved by the State, but no longer by the clergy, unless with the consent of the local civil authorities. When a bishop died the diocese was to be administered during the vacancy by an official of the State, and wherever bishops and clergy refused to accept these conditions the whole sum of money allowed by the State for their maintenance, the maintenance of the churches, colleges, hospitals, and religious institutions was to be withdrawn, whilst all who refused to submit to these regulations left themselves open to heavy fines, to dismissal from their office in so far as the State could effect their dismissal and to long terms of imprisonment or to banishment from the empire.

Such in brief was the code which the jurists of the Freemason lodges of Prussia drafted for their Catholic fellow-citizens and which was adopted and passed into law by the government of Bismarck.

Now, the Catholics of Germany cannot be said to have been well prepared for this campaign at the moment when it was forced upon them. Some were liberals, some were conservatives, some were democrats, others in favour of the aristocracy or the *bourgeoise*. But at the sound of real danger, in face of the most vicious assault that had been made on their faith since the days of Luther, they gathered their forces together with perfect resolution and bravely accepted the challenge that was thrown down to them. The clergy of course were in the van of the fight. Their churches were closed; their schools were handed over to secular managers. If any disreputable Catholic in a locality had an axe to grind or a crow to pluck with his parish priest he was appointed manager and inspector of the school instead of the priest. The ecclesiastical seminaries which refused to submit to the May Laws were closed. The priests who accepted a position from a bishop without the civil sanction was fined and then imprisoned, and finally the bishops who refused to co-operate with the State in the execution of these laws were fined, evicted, and imprisoned.

On the 3rd of February, 1873, the venerable Archbishop of Cologne was seized in his archiepiscopal palace, and thrown

into prison. He was put with other prisoners, thieves and assassins, to the hard labour of plaiting mats, and his name is inscribed in the prison register as 'Paul Melchers, Strohflechter.' On the 7th of March, Dr. Eberhardt, Bishop of Treves, a very old and venerable prelate, was condemned to a similar penalty, and died on his miserable prison bed as the result of ill-treatment. A few days later the Bishop of Paderborn was arrested and was followed to prison by the Bishop of Münster and the auxiliary Bishop of Gnesen. The Prince-Bishop of Breslau and the Bishop of Limburg were deposed from their sees. There remained in Prussia only three or four others who were so old or so ill that the government did not dare to arrest them. But all their property was seized. Not much more was left to them than a bed, a table and a chair.

If the bishops were treated like felons what must have been the plight of the clergy? The prisons were full of priests. A good many to escape imprisonment had gone into exile. Those who remained were persecuted at every turn. Whole districts were left without a priest, and the faithful were dying in thousands without the Sacraments. The Freemasons were in high delight; and, a Protestant minister named Hobrecht shouted: 'What joy it is to live in these times.'<sup>7</sup>

Whilst this vigorous persecution was raging in Prussia a similar state of things prevailed in the other States of the new German empire, according as the circumstances and local conditions would allow. But it was, perhaps, in the provinces of Poland that have been annexed to Prussia that the war was waged with the greatest violence.

Mgr. Ledochowski was requested at an early stage of the proceedings to order that religious instruction should be given in the schools of his diocese exclusively in the German language. The archbishop replied that he could not do what was asked seeing that the children in his schools did not understand the German language. The Penal Laws were then put in force against him. After having been fined several times and seeing his property seized and confiscated till his palace was left almost empty, he was requested on the 24th of November, 1873, either to send in his resignation or to

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<sup>7</sup> *Catholiques Allemands*. Kannengieser, p. 25.

appear before the supreme court of the province to hear the sentence of deposition pronounced against him; he firmly replied that he would do neither one nor the other. On the 3rd of February, 1874, the government seeing that fines and threats and seizures had no effect, arrested the archbishop in his city of Posen and carried him off to the dungeon of Ostrowa where he was kept for upwards of two years in a dark cell, without books, without paper, without ink or pen, without permission to see a soul of any kind from outside. With the greatest difficulty Prince Radziwill and one of his own priests obtained permission to see him at rare intervals.

It was only on the 19th of March, 1875, when he had spent fourteen months in his horrible dungeon that the first ray of consolation made its way through his prison bars; for on that day the authentic news was smuggled into him that Pius IX. had made him a Cardinal of the Holy Roman Catholic Church. The illustrious prisoner is said to have shed tears of joy, not for the honours that were bestowed upon him, but because the highest authority on earth, the Vicar of Christ himself, had thus solemnly borne testimony to the fact that, in spite of delicate health, of trials and troubles without number, of a thousand inducements to pass over into Austrian territory, he had stood like a true pastor in the midst of his persecuted flock and shared the worst and the greatest of their dangers. He then could only scribble in pencil a few words of thanks from his prison cell on a slip of common paper to thank the Pontiff for this great mark of his confidence and approval. Pius IX. kept that slip of paper to his dying day and sometimes showed it to his friends as one of the greatest and most precious treasures in the Vatican palace.

More fortunate than John Fisher of Rochester, Cardinal Ledochowski got the hat and kept the head to wear it; for although his elevation to the Cardinalate only exasperated his tormentors and made them more furious for the time being, yet his sentence expired on the 3rd of February, 1876. He was then warned that if he dared to set foot in his diocese he would be sent with common criminals to the prison of Torgau. He was accordingly escorted to the Austrian frontier and set at liberty there. For a short time he took up his residence at



Carcow in Austrian Poland, and endeavoured to govern his diocese from that city; but under pressure from Berlin the Austrian government, by an act of incredible weakness, intimated to him that his presence there was inconvenient to them. He accordingly quitted Cracow and repaired once more to Rome bringing with him the title which he had refused to surrender of Archbishop of Gnesen and Posen. At Rome Pius IX. took him to live in his own Vatican palace.

Under the pontificate of Leo XIII. Bismarck seeing that his campaign was proving disastrous to himself and his friends decided to go to Canossa, or in other words to seek for terms. He obtained as a concession from Leo XIII. that Cardinal Ledochowski would resign his see of Posen and allow a successor to be appointed. To this the cardinal yielded, but on condition that the money confiscated in his diocese should be restored. With much ill-grace Bismarck handed back upwards of £70,000, which was the amount due to the diocese of Posen, and this sum the cardinal handed over in its entirety to his successor.

For some years Cardinal Ledochowski occupied the important position of Secretary of Briefs and Chancellor of the Papal Equestrian Orders. It was in 1892 that the Pope, departing from all the traditions of the Curia, appointed him Prefect of Propaganda, in succession to Cardinal Simeoni.

On several occasions since his appointment to this important office the experience and wide knowledge of the cardinal were utilized by Pope Leo XIII. on several special commissions, notably on those relating to the 'Union of the Churches' in the East, and on the 'Validity of Anglican Orders.'

His eminence was also singled out by the German Emperor for special honour on the occasion of his visits to Rome. A golden snuff-box was the last gift presented to Bismarck's prisoner by the emperor who threw Bismarck aside and left him to grumble and fret in a helpless and undignified old age. His eminence is said to have repaid the emperor's kindness by sincere devotion to the interests of the German fatherland. One thing is certain that on the occasion of the cardinal's death the French newspapers spoke as if one of the most

active and powerful enemies of their country had disappeared. The cardinal, who was gentleness itself in private conversation, was credited with a strong will and with the most determined perseverance in any cause to which his adhesion was once secured. Of this, however, no final judgment can now be formed until the annals of his administration as Prefect of Propaganda become public property.

For Irishmen it is certain that Cardinal Ledochowski had a very friendly regard, whilst they on their part cherished a warm affection for the bishop who in relation to them stood next to the Pope himself and whom they had known, moreover, to have spent two years in prison for faith and fatherland.

#### THE ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL

THE same newspapers that announced to the world the death of Cardinal Ledochowski conveyed likewise the sad intelligence of the departure from this earthly scene of T. W. Croke, Archbishop of Cashel. Ireland and Poland, twin sisters in faith, in suffering, and in hope, were thus once more thrown into mourning together; and if the Poles had good reason to mourn the loss of Miecislav Ledochowski, assuredly the Irish race had not less ground for sorrow at the disappearance from their midst for ever of Thomas William Croke.

It is difficult to realise even now that we shall see that great and manly figure no more, that the voice to which we were so well accustomed is silent for ever, and that he who only a few years ago was so full of life and vigour has already passed the mysterious gates and said his last farewell to the people for whom he lived and laboured.

But although the great archbishop has passed from amongst us, it is the merest commonplace to say that his memory will not pass away, but that on the contrary it will remain as a beacon-light in the Irish Church, and as a guiding star in days of storm and stress to those who come after him. As he was called hence at a time when some of us who knew him intimately and loved him sincerely found it impossible to pay the last tribute of regard to his memory at his obsequies we feel

all the more compelled to record here not only our sense of the loss both Church and country have sustained, but also the personal sorrow that we in common with many others feel at the death of a kind and warm-hearted friend. Perhaps in no other place in the world did his Grace talk more freely or express his views in language more forcible and characteristic on all sorts of things and persons in Church and State, in Ireland and out of it, in politics and society, than he did as he sat in a favourite Gothic chair in the professors' sittingroom in Maynooth College, surrounded by a few appreciative and sympathetic listeners. Both there and elsewhere it was our privilege to enjoy a considerable share of his Grace's society, on different occasions during the past fifteen years, and the more we reflect on all that we saw and heard during these years the more we are convinced that we shall not look upon his like again, that in him the Church has lost a vigilant and devoted bishop and Ireland one of the most gifted and attractive of her sons.

It is needless to recall here the main outlines of the archbishop's life. They are as well known to our readers as they are to ourselves. Moreover, we hope that without too much delay an authentic biography of the archbishop may be entrusted to competent hands and given to the public. His history is a part, and a substantial part, of the history of Ireland during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It must be written sometime, and the sooner the materials are got together and the work proceeded with the better. It may be, indeed, that considerations for the feelings of persons still living, and the desire to avoid controversies that are never pleasant and very seldom useful, may cause the exact time of publication to remain a matter of decision for the future, but such considerations will not, we trust, stand in the way of the task being undertaken and carried out as soon as possible.

We shall be much mistaken if this biography does not clearly prove, if proof is needed, that Dr. Croke was a churchman in the first and best sense of the word, devotedly attached to his profession, and a strict observer of its most stringent and exacting rules. We think it will show that no man had a



higher conception of his ecclesiastical duties or devoted himself to them with greater earnestness. His life was spent mainly amongst his clergy, and for secular society or occupations he had by temperament but little taste. And yet it is, perhaps, for the leading part he took in a movement that was mainly secular in its interests and aim that his name will be chiefly remembered. The movement, however, had its religious as well as its secular side, and the archbishop felt that both as a prelate and an Irishman he was justified in identifying himself with it.

Nowadays it seems the fashion in certain circles to represent the Church as hostile to every movement that has been initiated and carried on for the purpose of lifting up the people of Ireland from the misery and poverty to which persecution and misgovernment had reduced them. It is no desire of ours to deny to any man the share of honour that is his due in the great movement that secured for the population of Ireland the hearths and the roofs of so many homesteads, but we think that no impartial reader of the history of the times will deny that without the co-operation of the Archbishop of Cashel and of the clergy that movement would have been impossible.

It will, moreover, be admitted, we think, that it required no small courage on the part of an ecclesiastical dignitary to take so decisive and prominent a part in an agitation which was of its nature so dangerous and critical. The archbishop loathed and detested crime and hated petty persecution in every form, no matter who might be its victim. He knew what a canker boycotting was certain to become in the body in which it was nurtured, and to what an extent it was calculated to warp and degrade the character of the people who adopted its practices and to influence their whole nature for evil. He could not but foresee that excesses would be committed when the passions of the multitude were stirred and the tide of anger was let loose. He knew that in all movements of the kind shady characters force themselves on public attention, that self-seekers seize the opportunity to advance their interests, and that under the cover of the public cause deeds are done which no conscience can approve

and no individual can control or check. Where there is a Mirabeau and a Barnave there is sure to be an Anacharsis Clootz and a Père Duchesne. Where you have a Sieyès and a Gregoire you will very soon have a Danton and a Marat. And whilst on the one hand you hear the fundamental rights of property admitted and proclaimed, you imagine on the other that you are listening to Robespierre :—

Citoyens ! je vous proposerai d'abord quelques articles nécessaires pour compléter notre théorie de la propriété. Que ce mot n'alarme personne. Ames de boue qui n'estimez que l'or je ne veux pas toucher à vos trésors quelque impure qu'en soit la source. Pour moi j'aimerais mieux être né dans la cabane de Fabricius que dans le palais de Lucullus. Mais en définissant la liberté, ce premier besoin de l'homme, le plus sacré des droits qu'il tient de la nature, nous avons dit avec raison qu'elle avait pour limite le droit d'autrui. Pour quoi n'avez vous pas appliqué ce principe à la propriété qui est une institution sociale, comme si les lois éternelles de la nature étaient moins inviolables que les conventions des hommes.<sup>8</sup>

And all these extravagant doctrines and disreputable deeds are liable to be imputed not merely to the individual churchman who is associated with the convulsion that throws them to the surface, but are utilised to besmirch what is more precious to him than his own life or reputation, viz., the fair name of the Church which he represents.

That this is no exaggeration or fancy picture the following passage in Mr. Lecky's *Democracy and Liberty*, will, we think, make sufficiently clear. Writing of what he calls 'the great conspiracy' to impoverish and expel the Irish landlords who were styled the 'English garrison,' he says :—

In every stage of this conspiracy the Catholic priest has been the leading actor. Nearly always he has been the chairman of the local Land League, has collected its subscriptions, inspired its policy, countenanced, at least by his silence, the outrages it produced, supported it from the pulpit and from the altar. It is a memorable and a most characteristic fact that during the 'no rent conspiracy,' when the sheriff's officers appeared to enforce the law the chapel bells were continually rung to summon rioters to resist or to enable the defaulting farmers to baffle their creditors by driving away their cattle. The fraudulent conspiracy known as 'the Plan of Campaign,' and the elaborate

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<sup>8</sup> See *Propriété et Loi*, by Frederic Bastiat, pp. 275, *et seq.*

and all-pervading tyranny known under the name of boycotting, have been both formally condemned by the highest authority in the Catholic Church; but Catholic priests have been among their warmest supporters and their most industrious instigators, and the men who, in defiance of the censure of their Church, most steadily practised, preached, and eulogised them, have been and are favoured guests in Catholic episcopal dwellings.

Nor is this all that can be truly said. Under the teaching of the Catholic clergy the moral sense of great masses of the Irish people has been so perverted that the most atrocious murders, if they have any agrarian end, carry with them no blame, and their perpetrators are sedulously sheltered from justice. It is impossible to disguise the significance of the fact that nearly all these murderers who have been brought to justice have been Catholics; that nearly all of them have gone to the gallows fortified by the rights of their Church, and professing the most complete and absolute submission to its commands; and, yet, that scarcely in a single instance have they made the only reparation in their power by publicly acknowledging their guilt and the justice of their sentence. I do not suppose any English minister would venture to propose that a murderer who sent his victim into another world 'unhousel'd, disappointed, unanel'd,' with all his sins upon his head, and with no possibility of obtaining spiritual consolation or assistance, should himself only be allowed to receive such consolation up to the moment of his conviction. But it may be doubted whether any other single measure would do so much to strengthen the criminal law in Ireland.

After the well-known murders that were committed in the Phoenix Park, in 1882, protests of more or less sincerity expressing horror at those murders were put forward by popular leaders. But no one who knows Ireland will deny that when the perpetrators were detected and brought to justice on the clearest evidence the strong popular sentiment was in their favour. Those who were present described the crowds outside the prison gates at the time of the execution kneeling on the bare ground and praying with the most passionate devotion for men whom they evidently regarded as martyrs. One member of the band, it is true, was excepted, and became the object of ferocious hatred; but he was hated not because he was a murderer, but because he saved his life by giving evidence against his fellow-culprits. It is well known that James Carey was afterwards most deliberately murdered, and that his murderer, having been tried by an English judge and jury, was duly hanged. It is not so well known that in the principal Catholic cemetery of Dublin an imposing monument was soon after erected—as far as I know without a single ecclesiastical protest—to the murderer of Carey, with an epitaph holding up that murderer in language in which religion and per-



verted patriotism are grotesquely mixed, to the admiration and imitation of his countrymen. There is probably no other Christian country in which such a thing could have happened, there is certainly no Catholic government that would have permitted it.<sup>9</sup>

This is a sample of the criticism to which the archbishop knew he and those who joined him would be subjected when he espoused the cause of the oppressed in 1879. But 'aux grands maux les grands remèdes.' He knew what he had to face; but he also felt himself borne along by his sense of justice, his sense of pity, his duty as a citizen and his fidelity as a pastor.

The people who in 1879 were threatened with extermination were the descendants of those who had made the greatest sacrifice for the faith. Heirs to that sacrifice and to all the glory associated with it they were also heirs to the poverty and wretchedness it had entailed. They had survived the fearful night of the eighteenth century. They had survived the confiscations, the fines, the imprisonments, the threats, the cruelties of the Penal Code. Upwards of a million of their kith and kin had perished by famine in less than a century; and famine was again swooping down and claiming its victims. Many millions had been dispersed in exile to the uttermost ends of the earth. Thousands of poor Catholics were condemned to live in dens unfit for the habitation of beasts in those remote districts into which they had been driven, whilst tens of thousands eked out an existence in the slums of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and the towns of Ireland generally, ravaged by disease, famished with hunger, deprived of light and air and clothing, and generally in a condition to which nothing can be compared outside the realms of the Sultan or some of the barbarous potentates of Africa.

Those of the peasantry who were not threatened by famine were threatened by the law. They knew not how soon they might see the roof torn from above their heads and the fire put out on the hearth around which they and their fathers had grown up. Often where the roof and the hearth were secure the occupier saw the fruits of his industry and of the

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<sup>9</sup> *Democracy and Liberty*, vol. ii., pp. 2-12.

sweat of his children's brow unjustly wrested from him: and whilst he laboured and toiled and bore the summer's heat and the rigour of winter, the man who had filched away his earnings was to be found in the watering places of Germany and the salons of the Riviera, holding forth to cosmopolitan audiences about the thriftless, filthy, lying and criminal character of the Irish Catholic peasant.

In other countries property in land, particularly when it is held on a large scale, is accompanied by onerous duties not alone towards the tillers of the soil but towards the country at large. No one is expected to be more deeply interested in the happiness, the progress and prosperity of the cultivator than the territorial magnate towards whom he stands so much in the relation of a vassal. But if the fruits of a fertile soil made trebly fertile by the labour of human hands are allowed to pass into the possession of individuals it is surely not that they might sweep them out of the country, squander them in extravagant living, and spend them for the benefit of any and of every country except the country that produced them. The world has long since passed judgment on the manner in which these duties have been discharged by those on whom the chances of war and the privileges of ownership imposed them here. To the great majority of them the industry, the commerce, the intellectual progress, the language, the nationality of Ireland were things that might safely be neglected if not discountenanced and despised. They looked upon the country only as the spot of earth from which they were to derive their incomes.

Now, when the archbishop saw a movement started that seemed honestly and sincerely bent on getting to the root of these evils he did not hesitate for a moment. He felt that no effort at the regeneration of the country was destined to succeed that did not make the people owners of the land and secure to them the fruits of their own toil. He did not deny the rights of property, no matter in what original injustice they might have been founded; but he considered that in the first place they should be kept within their proper limits, that they should be restrained from abuse, and in the second, that the public good required, not indeed that they should be confis-

cated or annulled, but that they should be, as far as possible, redeemed and transferred to those in whose hands they would become fruitful for the nation's good. It was there and there alone he saw any substantial hope for the advancement of his countrymen, any remedy for the frightful and all-abounding poverty to cope with which no generous effort had ever been made by those who held the destiny of the people in their hands and bore on their own shoulders responsibility for its existence.

He knew, no doubt, that in the course of the campaign untoward incidents might occur. He knew that the wild enthusiasm and the passions of youth could not be raised with impunity; but it would be his duty, whilst keeping 'in touch with the people,' to restrain the violent, to denounce the criminal, and generally to counsel moderation and justice. With this object his Grace joined again and again with his colleagues in the episcopate in their warning against all acts of violence, against injuring the neighbour in his person or property, against refusal to pay just debts, and all forcible resistance to the law. In his speeches and letters he took frequent occasion to renew these warnings. If, in spite of his efforts, blood was shed and crimes committed, it is nothing short of an outrage on all decency to suggest that he either encouraged or condoned them.

It comes, moreover, very badly from those who find so many excuses to palliate the crimes of revolution in France and elsewhere to magnify those which marked the beneficent change brought about by the movement in which Dr. Croke took so prominent a part, and above all to impute them to those who most cordially detested them and did more than regiments of soldiers and whole systems of police to eradicate and suppress them. Least of all does it come well from those who, having it in their power to remedy the condition of the country, will not listen to reason, will remain deaf to the voice of humanity and justice, will pay no heed to the constitutional representation of the people, but will invariably listen to the argument of bloodshed and crime when it is supplied to them on a scale sufficiently large.

It is interesting to compare the character of the clergy who



took part in this movement with that of their brethren who organised the struggle for emancipation at the end of the eighteenth century.

Thomas Wyse, in his *History of the Catholic Association*, after describing the position of the Catholic gentry who succeeded in retaining some of their property, and in order to avoid the notice of their persecutors, had shut themselves into solitude and cut themselves off from all public life or notice, says:—

The clergy were similarly situated ; they were pious and moral and resigned. Their pastoral courage, their pastoral tenderness is beyond all praise ; they had shared with a still loftier and unflinching fortitude in the same personal persecutions, in the same wrongs, in the same privations, with the gentry. They too had their rewarding influence, but it was infinitely more deep and lasting than any which could be attained by the other classes of the body. They who know how deeply prized is the slightest word, the most transient smile, in the hour of desertion and sickness—they who know what it is to have drunk out of the same chalice the same searching draught of misfortune and pain—they who know what it is to have a bosom to rest on when fatigued, and a staff to lean on when faltering, and a counsellor to guide in doubt and peril, will easily comprehend the all-commanding influence of that communion which then existed between the Catholic clergy and the Catholic laity of Ireland. Skelton has been admired for the Christian mildness with which he endured the obscurity and rudeness of a distant village. There were many Skeltons amongst the Catholic clergy educated in the splendid courts and the learned halls of the Continent, accustomed as much as he was to the elegant aspirings and the consoling enjoyments of a studious and dignified leisure ; but unlike Skelton, they dwelt not in the tranquil shadow of a protecting and paternal government, but in the midst of the shadow of death with the inquisitor eye of a persecuting code about their paths ; teaching in the very sight of the gibbet, and often laying down their lives in testimony of the doctrines they taught, with a calmness, a constancy, an exultation, which would have dignified even a primitive Christian, and in wilds and wastes, pathless and houseless, whose names, in more than one instance, were scarcely known to the legislators who sought their blood. But their courage, though of the highest temper, was purely passive. Forced by the impolicy of the legislature abroad, they had in many instances been educated under the immediate influence of the Court and principles of the Stuarts. The passive obedience doctrines of that despotic school had been sanctified in their

minds by every stirring circumstance of former sacrifice and by every additional stimulant of actual suffering and wrong. They trembled at the possibility of plunging still more deeply and inextricably into persecution the suffering Church of Ireland. They bowed their heads to the passing visitation, to the outpoured vial, to the depths of the wisdom of the Omniscient and the Almighty God. They would not risk 'le bien pour le mieux,' deeming even an interval of suffering leniency, and an absence of pain repose. Under the crumbling day by day persecution they sat humbled and inert. It required nothing less than the sword of the exterminator to arouse them from their sleep. Even after the relaxation of the Penal laws had taken place, it was a long time before they could recover their original stature. By long bending they had become bent ; their mind, like a human body long confined within too small a prison, had been doubled up within them, and refused itself to the free functions of other citizens. The scourge had ceased and the fetter had been unlocked ; but for years afterwards the brand and the scar remained behind.<sup>10</sup>

Few, we think, will recognise in this description the clergy who threw themselves into the breach in 1879. Dr. Croke was certainly anything but a courtier of the Stuart school, and of the priests who followed his guidance we think it can scarcely be said that they refused themselves to the free functions of other citizens.

The archbishop knew well that the work on which he had set his heart was not yet entirely accomplished ; but a good beginning had been made and the road was being cleared to the final issue. We speak, of course, only of the social part of his programme. The political part we must leave to others to appreciate.

In his last years the archbishop experienced, like all men who are not swayed by clamour, something of the fickleness of popular favour, and it was little short of a comedy to witness the efforts of the poor creatures who spoke and wrote of him from their pedestal of lofty patriotism. He treated their outbursts with good-natured indifference. He had done his duty and Providence had preserved him strong and healthy to a fine old age, had given him a cheerful spirit, and endowed him with the keenest relish for the foibles, the absurdities and

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<sup>10</sup> *Historical Sketch of the Catholic Association*, by Thomas Wyse, Junr., vol. i., p. 53.

eccentricities of his neighbours. Now, to use his own expression, he had 'put his shutters up.' His voice would be heard no more. He would leave to time and to the common sense of those for whom he laboured to estimate impartially the value of his services to Church and country. Paltry and ungenerous minds may endeavour to make little of these services, and writers for whose good opinion he cared very little may still endeavour to fix a stain upon his name; but far different, we imagine, will be the verdict of the great majority of his countrymen, and particularly of those for whom he did not hesitate to face the shafts of calumny and the worries and contentions of public life.

He is now removed for ever from the scene of earthly cares. Irishmen at home and abroad who looked up to him as one of the pillars of their race will not fail to breathe a prayer for his eternal rest. In the ranks of the clergy from which he has disappeared he will be sadly missed but affectionately remembered. *Pax et refrigerium illi.*

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.



## HOW BELGIUM FIGHTS THE ALCOHOL PLAGUE

SINCE the apostolate of Father Mathew, Ireland has not seen a more widespread movement in favour of temperance than what we see to-day. The ravages of the drink plague are become so manifest, and the area of infection has increased so much, that every thinking mind is concerned with the problems suggested by the drink question. In the struggle between the advocates of temperance and the purveyors and consumers of alcoholic liquor there is one circumstance painfully evident. On the side of those who are building up the liquor traffic there is most perfect organisation, and well elaborated method. From the Parliament controlled by the liquor interest down to the 'tied' publican who promotes sports to sell more liquor, there is an elaborate and well-planned scheme to prevent our people from becoming a sober people. On the side of temperance we lack anything like the same organisation. We have two camps to start with, the total abstainers and the temperance party, very many of the combatants in which are far more hostile to each other than they are to the common foe. Then the efforts made are spasmodic and scarcely ever followed up on the lines that alone can promise success. In the city where I write there is one magnificent and most successful total abstinence society with its club and evening classes, its benefit society, its excursions, etc., but it is sadly conspicuous as the only solid and successful effort to maintain the flag of total abstinence. Looking at the question from the standpoint—the want of plan in our crusade—I considered that the readers of the I. E. RECORD might be interested in the sketch of an organised movement in the same field that has met and is meeting with marked success—I mean the fight against alcohol in Belgium.

The people of Belgium are a model race on account of their industry, frugality, and religious instincts. For a long time those who were interested in the progress of the country had every reason to be satisfied. The population was steadily

increasing, the industries were multiplying, the social condition of the people improving, but at last a gaunt spectre stalked across the hitherto happy land. Alcoholism was making steady encroachments on this temperate people until in 1884 or thereabouts the responsible authorities began to grow alarmed. In forty years crime had nearly trebled. There was an alarming increase in the number of destitute families. In addition, the lunacy returns showed a most remarkable growth of this terrible affliction. The authorities began an investigation which resulted in a sweeping indictment against alcohol as the cause of all these new troubles of the State, and from that hour began the crusade against alcohol, whose method and progress I think may interest my readers. As an inducement to enlist their attention for the article, I may say that in one year the consumption of alcohol fell by six million litres. Surely it would be worth our while to consider a method that effected such results. The consumption of ardent spirits in Ireland is ever on the increase. It might be that if we used the Belgian methods we might bring about Belgian results.

The struggle for a sober people begins at the earliest possible period in the life of the Belgian child. As soon as a picture can be understood two sets of illustrations meet the eye. Each picture measures about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet by 3 feet. This work is no crude effort but the result of a competition amongst the leading artists of Belgium, and M. Gailliard who won the prize has certainly done his work well. In two sets of pictures most realistic and of the highest artistic merit, he has portrayed the life of the sober man and that of the drunkard. The child sees the sober man's home cheerful and comfortable, with the husband handing his weekly pay to the gladdened wife and with the bright and happy faces of his children around him.

He next appears on Sunday with his wife and little ones enjoying the day's stroll in the public gardens, then comes the weekly visit to the savings bank, and as a result the neat little home that his accumulated savings enable him to purchase. Everything shows content, peace and happiness. The contrast in the other pictures is very marked. In the first scene the miserable wife is seen trying to drag the drunkard from the

public house and the pinched faces of herself and her children and their ragged clothes tell their own tale. Then comes the dismissal from employment and the brutalized, stupid wretch is seen seated on a chair, whilst the wife and children weep over the bad news. The next picture represents the drunkard in an excess of fury, threatening the lives of his household, who fly in terror from him. At last he falls headlong down the stairs and is discovered lying dead in a pool of blood. All these representations are carefully explained to the little Belgian child, and in order to guard against chances of spoiling the work in any way, the teacher is supplied with a most graphic explanation of éach picture from the pen of a Belgian novelist of the first repute. As soon as the child begins to read, scattered through the reading books of every standard are lessons on the blessings of temperance, and the evils of drunkenness. Diagrams are shown which exhibit the heart, stomach, liver, and kidneys of the temperate man and the same organs in the diseased condition induced by abuse of alcohol. As the pupils advance they are given physiological lectures on the effect of alcohol. In order that these lectures may command the respect of the pupils the teachers go through specific instruction on this matter. Every vacation there are centres marked out over the country at which the local teachers assemble and where some of the leading medical men give lectures on alcohol and its abuse. No teacher can hope for promotion unless he or she can prove that these lectures have been attended and mastered. The pupils are thus provided with the latest and most telling medical evidence on the important question of alcoholism.

When the Belgian youth advance in years they are met with quite a flood of literature suited to every capacity. There is the *Little Manual of Temperance*, furnished with twenty-three illustrations where in catechetical form the whole question is ably set forth. Here are some of the later chapters:— ‘Evils caused by Alcoholism, injury of the body.’ Under this heading question 76 asks, ‘How many cases of sickness and death in Belgium are annually caused by drink?’ Answer, ‘Acute alcoholism causes annually the death of about 300 persons; chronic alcoholism causes each year 20,000 deaths,



one-sixth of the mortality, and 200,000 cases of disease.' Then chapters follow on the injury inflicted on the intellect, the family, and society respectively. Question 88 runs thus, 'What is the influence of alcoholism in Belgium on vagabondage, criminality, and lunacy?' Answer. 'Almost all the vagabonds and drunkards are the victims of hereditary alcoholism. Three-fifths of the crimes and a third of the lunacy are due to the effects of alcohol.' Then follows a chapter on the means of combating this great evil. Another book more scientific in its method is called *Visceral Damages Caused by Alcohol*. From the same author we have *Alcohol in the Home of the Workman*, *Popular Prejudices in favour of Alcohol*, etc. The Royal Academy of Belgium crowned the work called *Discourses on Intemperance*, the three great divisions of which deal with the misery, the sickness, and the crime produced by drink. One view of the subject which the author insists on is the cost to the nation of the support of the victims of intemperance. The lunatics cost about £200,000 a year, the criminals cost nearly £300,000 per annum. This book contains a magnificent array of facts marshalled with the greatest ability to prove the case against the drunkard. Then there is a little book that sells by the thousand and treats of a theme that gets very slight attention amongst us, *The Rôle of the Woman in the Battle against Drink*.

My readers will pardon a few extracts from this little work which will show how practical is the Belgian's mind on this matter. The woman of the working class is thus addressed on the first page:—

You will refuse a man if he is ugly, deformed, or awkward, or if he is not earning good wages. If, on the other hand, he is handsome, nice to the ladies, and a good workman you will eagerly accept him. But there is one point of the greatest importance. Does he drink? Has he ever been seen drunk? If you enquire about this, you will be told that, like everyone else, he breaks out occasionally. When you hear this, beware. Remember if when young he gets drunk now and then, there will come a time when he will get drunk every week or every day. That is certain to happen, and you have but to look about you and you will see plenty of examples.

The greatest virtue of a housekeeper is cleanliness. Cleanliness to the common people is the same as luxury to the rich.

It will keep you in good health and give a cheerful look to everything. How many times have you heard women complain of their husbands, and say : ' My man isn't like so-and-so's. Isn't she the lucky woman ! He gives her all his wages, and always spends his evenings at home. Didn't she get a good man.' In many cases this model husband is kept at home by the charms of a comfortable house, by a good table, by the cheerful disposition of his wife, etc. She knows what would become of this good man if, when he came home after his day's work, cold and hungry, he found the home topsy-turvy, the fire out, his wife grumbling, and his meals half cold or badly looked.

Is not there something to be learned here by the Irish wife ?

The workman who deserts his fireside must take to drink, there is no choice. The rich man has many ways of diverting himself; the man of the people has only two—remain at home or frequent the public-house.

The results of an enquiry held in a great industrial centre are given to show that in almost every instance the workman who marries a servant girl that kept his home well, remained sober, whereas the husband of the factory girl who did not know how to keep a house became a drunkard. I scarcely ever saw so much practical common sense contained within as many pages as can be found within this little book written expressly for the people.

For the still more intellectual classes there is a Manual expressly written called *The Effect of Alcohol on Intellectual Work and Workers*, and a small work on the part that secondary education takes in the great battle. One of the most fascinating of the Belgian women writers has been employed to write a brilliant *brochure* called *Pages of Life*, in which all that a facile pen and bright intellect, and a gifted woman's heart could do, has been enlisted on the side of sobriety. Lest I should weary my readers I shall only mention *Drink: Advice to Young Women*, by Dr. Roubinovitch, *To Drink or not to Drink*, and *Conference with the Teachers in the Training College*, by the same author. A blacksmith has written a splendid little pamphlet in which he speaks in the direct and telling language of a son of toil about the evils of drink and the advantages of sobriety. I give this slight sketch of the

literature on the subject to show how widely and persistently public opinion is created and fostered so as to be on the side of temperance.

That healthy public opinion which is thus created in the school is fostered at every stage of a man's public life. The unforgivable sin, whether in a government official or in the clerk or artisan is drunkenness. That moral contamination is provided against with the same diligence as any physical contagion would be warded off. University and college students are forbidden to lodge over public houses or take their meals in a restaurant attached thereto. Any masters found frequenting such establishments are severely reprimanded, and no master is allowed to lodge in the upper story of a building the lower part of which is devoted to liquor traffic.

The professors are invited to give their help in every way to assist the propaganda against drink.

Those who have facility in speaking or writing should never miss an occasion of speaking or writing against alcoholism. By means of public lectures, articles in reviews and journals, they should actively co-operate in this movement, which is of the highest moral advantage and the greatest public importance. No professor can conscientiously hold aloof from the work; it concerns all, and not the few. (Circ., Sept. 21st, 1898.)

On the Government railways no one is employed who is not a total abstainer. Any workman found bringing drink on the premises is instantly dismissed. These are a few instances of how the teaching of the school is backed up in the Government service.

The prizes of civic life belong to the temperate. One of the most interesting recollections the writer has of Brussels is concerned with his visit to the artisans' homes erected by the municipality of that city. Nothing could exceed the care bestowed on these buildings. The site was a most healthy one. The best architect of the city was employed to design the building which should unite comfort and beauty, whilst at the same time it should not make any exacting demand on the moderate purse of the artisan. There was cellarage and attic



space, laundry, room for clothes' drying, a well-appointed kitchen, bathroom and W. C., whilst there were three bedrooms and a sittingroom. All this was to be had at a moderate rent, or the tenant had the option of paying part rent and part purchase money with a view to becoming the owner after a term of years. But mark the conditions. The first was that the applicant should have kept the temperance pledge, the second that he should have a savings bank record, the third that he should be married. So inviting were these homes that there were seven hundred applicants for each house, but it was only after a most painstaking scrutiny that the applications were reduced to a smaller number amongst which the ballot decided. In ten years ending 1898, 14,000 workmen had become owners of their own houses on these terms. That represented an army of friends of sobriety scattered through the centres of industry showing in their homes and in their persons the advantages of a temperate life, and by work and example fighting against the advance of the alcohol fiend.

As to the reading rooms, clubs, benefit societies, debating societies, and other such bodies, Belgium is one network of these powerful auxiliaries in the fight against what is regarded as the national foe. The condition for membership in all these organisations is either total abstinence, or temperance pledge. Drunkenness is an impediment as regards the advantages of membership in any of these unions. Literature on the subject of my sketch is abundantly supplied to all the libraries, and a frequent subject for debate and lecture is the manysided mischief wrought by the abuse of alcohol. And all this work is informed by one main principle that it is a question of patriotism to keep Belgium sober. This intelligent people fail to see how a man can be a true patriot who degrades the name of his country before the whole civilized world. They cannot see how a man can be of any use to his native land—no matter what his profession may be—who in his character of a workman, a teacher, a farmer, a father of a family, a member of society, incapacitates himself by drunkenness from performing his most elementary duties.

To conclude, the very title of the great league that has effected such a mighty change on the face of Belgium shows

the view this people take of matters. The association is called 'The League of Patriots against Drunkenness.' To be a real patriot in Belgium is to make a manful persistent effort to wipe out hell's hall-mark—drunkenness. Patriotism in Ireland seems to be linked at present with the flowing beer barrel and drink all round. The Belgian, because he is a Belgian, scorns to get drunk; the Gael thinks the whiskey gets a better grip of him, and is therefore better value, if the publican has his name in the grand old tongue and 'Cead Mile Failthe' engraved on the pewter.

Perhaps the reading about the practical ways of a practical people may induce some of our leaders to follow the great example. If they gain a similar result and reduce the consumption of whiskey in Ireland by 6,000,000 pints in one year this humble effort of the writer should not have been made in vain.

P. J. DOWLING, C.M.

## THE RETREAT OF O'SULLIVAN BEARE TO THE NORTH

XENOPHON, the first and most interesting of war correspondents, gives in his *Anabasis* a faithful description of that remarkable episode in ancient military history—the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks after the battle of Cunaxa. He describes therein the many remarkable incidents which occurred during their long march to the shores of the Black Sea, constantly harassed as they were by the Persian army, or by the various hill tribes, which occupied the country through which they passed. And this work of Xenophon has been constantly used by professors, not only to point out to students the literary excellences of the author, but also to teach them to admire the bravery and patient endurance—the many other valuable qualities in the Greek character, which its pages reveal, and which were put to the test in that expedition. And there seemed to have been a tendency to convey that this exploit of the Greeks had nothing equal to it, either in the ancient or modern history of the world.

But, in the records of our own country and race, there is a somewhat similar episode—though the distance traversed, and the numbers engaged were not so great—which is not at all so well known as it deserves, being altogether neglected or lightly passed over by most of our historians. I refer to the remarkable retreat of Donal O'Sullivan Beare and his companions from Glengariff to Leitrim, in January, 1603. It is only in the pages of Philip O'Sullivan's *Catholic History*—a comparatively rare book—we find a detailed description of this remarkable exploit; a further proof not merely of the bravery and resource, but of the grit and perseverance of Irishmen in the face of repeated reverse—a quality which they are supposed to lack altogether, and which our Anglo-Saxon neighbours claim as their exclusive characteristic and excellence. Moreover, the history of this event should have a special interest for Catholic readers, because it is the record of



an important incident in the struggle, undertaken not only to preserve and maintain a distinct national existence for Irishmen, but also to secure the freedom of the Catholic Church in this country. From the various letters written by Donal O'Sullivan Beare to the King of Spain and to others, it is clear that in this war against Elizabeth religious motives largely influenced him to take up arms at this period of our history, and to fight with such perseverance for the attainment of those objects.

After the defeat of the Irish army at Kinsale, and the retreat of the Northern forces to Ulster, the Chieftain of Beare resolved to defend his territory as best he could, and for a time was successful in this attempt. But at length the Castle of Dunboy, after a gallant and determined defence, was taken by the troops of the Lord President, while the net was gradually closing round The O'Sullivan himself, daily weakened by the desertion of his followers. When, however, there was now no hope of further assistance from Spain, nor of any offer of reasonable terms from the English, the Lord of Beare and Bantry determined to retire to Ulster, believing that the Northern chieftains still continued the war, and that he and his companions would be an important aid to them. This, indeed, seems to have been the motive which prompted this bold resolution, though Carew with his usual bitterness suggests another and less noble one:—

O'Sullivan finding his estate desperate that either he must starve in Munster or begge in Ulster made choise of the lesse evill, and therefore himself and John O'Connor Kerry kept company with the Bonnoghts till hee might get to Tyrone.<sup>1</sup>

Accordingly, on the last day of the year 1602, having made no adequate preparation for such a march, without provisions or suitable transport, Donal O'Sullivan Beare secretly quitted beautiful Glengariff for ever, accompanied by four hundred armed men, and six hundred others, mostly women and children.

Though the author of the *Catholic History* for obvious reasons does not record the fact, we know from Sir George

<sup>1</sup> *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 658.

Carew that the sick and wounded were left behind, and that they were cruelly murdered on the visit of the English to O'Sullivan's deserted camp. 'Sir Charles Wilmot coming to seeke the enemy, hee found nothing but hurt and sicke men, whose paines and lives by the souldiers were both determined.'<sup>2</sup> This is the language in which the Lord President records this massacre, and as Sir Charles Gavan Duffy truly says with regard to it, 'If the Mohawks had chronicles they could scarce match the grim enjoyment with which the tale of horrors is told.' However, advancing civilization has done much since then to improve the methods of warfare, and we must admire the very different—but kindly and humane—conduct of the Boers in their treatment of 'hurt and sicke men' left behind by the English in their headlong flight from Newcastle in the early stages of the war now happily over. Indeed it is only too true, that many generals and provincial governors in Elizabethan times seem to have thrown aside all feelings of humanity when coming to Ireland, and have been guilty of deeds, the memory of which, graven deep on the national mind, has for ever made the establishment of a real union between the two countries a task of so much difficulty.

During his first day's march, The O'Sullivan advanced about twenty-six miles north of Glengariff, and encamped at a place called Aghers, not far from Ballyvourney. After spending the night there, he set out early next morning to accomplish a further stage of his journey, passing through the last-named village. Here the soldiers visited its famous church dedicated like so many others in South-West Munster to St. Gobinet, spending there some time in earnest prayer, and having already, perhaps, some idea of the awful trials which awaited them. And this incident throws an interesting light on the religious character of those who composed O'Sullivan's party. Though they knew right well they were pursued by the enemy, they delayed here to perform this act of devotion, when others in like circumstances would certainly continue their march without any interruption for such a purpose. The author of *Pacata Hibernia* states that their flight was specially

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<sup>2</sup> *Pac. Hib.*, p. 659.

rapid, and that the ordinary causes which might delay a fleeing enemy had no such effect on them.

The governour sent the Lord Barry with some of his light foote after them, but all in vaine, for they flew so swift with the wings of feare, as passing by many preyes directly in the way, yet they never made so much stay as to molest either the cattle or their keepers.

Still, notwithstanding this statement of Carew, we know from the pages of Philip O'Sullivan they took very good care to spare some time for prayer in the church at Ballyvourney. Probably many of them had visited it before, as it was at that time a favourite place of pilgrimage, for we find that on the 12th of July, 1601, Clement VIII. granted an indulgence of ten years and as many quarantines to those who visited this church ('ecclesiam parochialem sanctae Gobonatae loci Ballyvorni Clunensi diosc.'), and complied with the other conditions laid down in his brief.

It was on leaving this place that the Chieftain of Beare first met any opposition. The M'Carthys of Muskerry, summoning their followers, pursued him for four or five hours, and made his advance very difficult. At length, O'Sullivan gave them battle, and having killed many put the rest to flight. During the remainder of that day he got no further annoyance from the enemy, and encamped at nightfall in the O'Keefe country, in the barony of Duhallow.

The author of the *Catholic History* goes into detail describing the sufferings Donal O'Sullivan and his companions experienced during the long march to Leitrim, but in all his sad record nothing equals the cowardly cruelty displayed by the inhabitants of this district. After encamping, wearied and tired by their march from Ballyvourney, and suffering intensely from hunger—for they had started from Glengariff with only one day's provisions—and when now they sorely needed sleep and rest both were made impossible by their hostile fellow-countrymen who spent the night in the vicinity of the camp, and, as the historian relates, by shouting and the blowing of trumpets kept those weary men awake. Though willing to wound they were afraid to strike, but were



equally effective in the attainment of their object. It is really only those who after hard and distressing work have been forced by similar causes to spend a sleepless night, that can adequately realise the ingenious cruelty of this incident, so carefully recorded by Philip O'Sullivan. Indeed, there is nothing so strange in the history of this episode as the conduct of the native Irish towards this retreating band in the various districts through which it passed. They showed constant and bitter hostility. And this was so not only in the case of O'Sullivan Beare, but also in that of the Northern troops during their retreat to Ulster after the defeat at Kinsale not long before. The Four Masters tell us O'Donnell warned his followers that those who had been friendly on their march to Munster would prove hostile and treacherous on their return, and that they would attack and plunder them. And the Four Masters go on to say:—

The surmises of the Prince O'Donnell were verified, for not only did their constant enemies rise up to give them battle, but their former friends and allies were attacking and shooting them on every narrow road through which they passed.

Some strive to explain this fact by saying the hostility was caused by the foraging parties sent out by these expeditions, but this is hardly the true reason, as even where no such predatory acts occurred, and when the leaders were both able and willing to pay for the food taken, hostility was still shown in a marked way. Could it be that many of our fellow-countrymen then were quick to desert the losing side, and too soon showed enthusiasm and zeal in the cause of their former opponents? Whatever be the explanation, the sad fact remains that the most bitter enemies of those brave Irishmen, really fighting for faith and fatherland, were Irishmen themselves, men of their own race and religion.

From the O'Keefe country O'Sullivan Beare marched to Ardpatrick in Limerick, attacked on his way by the Barrys of Buttevant and their retainers, thence to Solloghead, about four miles west of Tipperary, spending there the fourth night of his march. Starting from this place, he reached Ballynakill in the parish of Tome, and barony of Kilnamanagh, where he

spent the fifth and sixth nights. On the next day he advanced as far as Latteragh, about eight miles south of Nenagh, arriving on the ninth night at a dense wood called by the Four Masters 'Coill Fhine,' on the south bank of the Little Brosnach, separating Tipperary from the King's County. Even 'gallant Tipperary' afforded no protection to those 'hunted felons,' who were compelled to fight every inch of their way from South to North, not so much against the Saxon as against the Celt. As Philip O'Sullivan sadly relates regarding the march through this county, and the constant attacks made upon them in that portion of their advance:—'*Albente caelo, procedenti O'Sullivanano, concitata ignitorum globorum tempestas illuxit: erat quippe haec quotidiana salutatio, quâ illum jubebant hostes, et vespere discedentes valere, et mane venientes salvere.*' An attack from the enemy was the first salutation they received in the morning; the last farewell they heard at night. And their advance was made still more difficult, because they had to fight even after long and trying marches, and half starved, against enemies who were fresh and vigorous. Indeed, their sufferings from hunger were then so great that after their entry into the castle of Dunohill, 'they began to eat the unground barley and oats found in it like the beasts of the field (*instar pecudis*).' Still even here they must have found some who were kindly disposed to them, for we read that O'Sullivan Beare left behind at Solloghead his little son, then only two years of age, in care of a trusted follower, who carefully nursed him, and took him to Spain two years afterwards.

And now we come to one of the most interesting incidents in this remarkable retreat, the crossing of the Shannon at the ford of Redwood, called by the Four Masters 'Ath Coille-Ruaidhe,' in the parish of Lorha, Lower Ormond. The author of the *Catholic History* states that when these brave men reached the extreme north of Tipperary they were very weak and exhausted, being forced to subsist during their long marches principally on herbs and water—hardly the proper food for soldiers who had to perform long journeys. Moreover, they were very much depressed, almost in despair, for there seemed to be no means of crossing the Shannon, both

wide and deep in this part of its course at this season of the year, while the English removed any boats on the river, and threatened with the severest penalties any who would attempt to ferry them across. In this emergency Donal O'Sullivan and his followers hid themselves for two days in the very dense wood already mentioned, spending that time in the construction of two boats or coracles, by which they hoped to be able to pass over into Galway.

When they came to the river of the Shenan, they finding the river high, and no boats or troughs to passe them over into Connaught, they killed many of their horses, and made shift with their hides to make certaine little boats, called in Irish *nevogs*, in the which they transported their men and baggage.<sup>3</sup>

Philip O'Sullivan gives a detailed description of the building of those coracles, for the framework of which the numerous trees around supplied ample and suitable material. As wicker baskets are still made in many parts of Ireland, so it was that Donal O'Sullivan Beare constructed his *currachs*, or as Carew calls them, '*nevogs*,' the word still used along the south-west coast. Inserting rows of twigs or pliant branches by the stronger end in the ground, they bent them towards one another and then fastened them firmly together with cords. These were in turn interlaced with osiers and lighter rods, while the whole frame was strengthened by a judicious arrangement of thwarts and ribs formed from the stouter branches of the trees. And to complete his work, O'Sullivan killed twelve horses, the skins of which were used instead of the modern tarred canvas to make the canoes perfectly watertight, while their flesh supplied a very much wanted meal to his starving companions. In this way he succeeded in making two *currachs*, one of good size, twenty-six feet in length, six feet in beam, in depth five feet, and capable of taking at a time thirty armed men, the other not so large nor so firmly built.

When this work was at length accomplished, the boats were taken to the river bank at night on the shoulders of the soldiers, and O'Sullivan Beare immediately set to work to

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<sup>3</sup> *Pac. Hib.*, p. 658.



send his followers across. But ill-fortune seemed to haunt this luckless band on every occasion, and the smaller boat, occupied by ten men, sank in mid-stream. However, the larger one was more successful, thus rewarding their great patience in constructing it, as by means of it most of the soldiers were taken safely to the Connaught side of the river, while the horses tied to the stern were forced to swim the stream. Before, however, this operation was completed, it was rudely interrupted by an attack from Donogh MacEgan of Kiltaroe Castle, the Sheriff of Tipperary in his time, and a thorough Celt of course, who with a band of armed men made a fierce onslaught on the followers of The O'Sullivan, when unfortunately most of his fighting men were already on the other side of the river. But the Chieftain of Beare seems to have been a man not only of great bravery, but of singular caution too; and as a consequence provided on this occasion against a sudden attack of the enemy by the skilful placing of some of his troops under the command of Captain Thomas Burke, to act as a rearguard or covering party to protect those who had not yet crossed the river. The result was disastrous to MacEgan, who, with many of his followers, was killed. Nevertheless, the rearguard was soon compelled to beat a hasty retreat with the sad result that many of the women and camp-followers were left behind in Tipperary. What their fate was Philip O'Sullivan does not state, but most probably many of them died of hunger and exhaustion, and others found some friendly and sympathetic inhabitants, who might have given them for a time shelter and protection. This, however, must have been a cruel blow to the men of Beare, and the historian records the saddening effect which the parting cry of the women had upon them.

Though now in Connaught, the fortunes of this brave band, then scarcely able to muster two hundred and eighty fighting men, do not seem to have improved. Almost every mile of the march was marked by an attack from the enemy, native or foreign, while their sufferings from hunger increased owing to the greater difficulty of procuring food. In this extremity they were again forced to kill some of their horses, which they succeeded in leading so far, and to eat the flesh which

so many before and since in similar plight have been compelled to do. They used the skins to make boots of a kind, or rude coverings for their feet, as those with which they had started from Glengariff had been already worn away by their constant marches through rough and uneven passages. For we must remember that O'Sullivan Beare had to avoid the ordinary roads of the country, which were carefully guarded by the English, and had to seek the less frequented routes to escape opposition as far as he possibly could, thus however increasing the hardships of his journey.

During the march through south-eastern Galway, no event of importance occurred, until they reached historic Aughrim. Here disaster, final and complete, seemed to await them, for their further advance was barred by a large force of the Queen's troops, aided by Irish allies, under the command of Captain Henry Malby, and Sir Thomas Burke, the brother of Lord Clanrickard.

Being in Connaught they passed safely through the county of Galway, until they came into the Kellies country, where they were fought withall by Sir Thomas Burke, the earle of Clanrickarde's brother, and Captain Henry Malby, who were more in number than the rebels.<sup>4</sup>

Philip O'Sullivan in his history records a speech of the Chieftain of Beare, delivered before the battle, which, as in other cases, may have been merely a fancy oration, largely the product of the historian's imagination, still it is valuable as indicating the drift of the hurried exhortation which their leader probably addressed in Irish to his faithful followers. And there is one passage in it which is specially valuable as showing the religious feelings, the deep and sincere faith, which moved those men and sustained them in all their trials and sufferings:—

Let us bear in mind that, through God's help along our weary march, we put the enemy to flight, whenever he attacked us: we believe that victory comes from God—let us remember that Christ, our Lord, is ever with His own in the hour of danger, and that we are fighting in His name and for His most holy religion against heretics, and those who aid and abet them.

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<sup>4</sup> *Pac. Hib.*, p. 658.

Indeed the whole account of this battle as recorded in the *Catholic History* is interesting, as it contains an admirable picture of the way in which battles were fought before the days of the Lee-Metford or the Mauser. As Sir George Carew admits, the English, strengthened by their Irish allies, the Coghlanes, the Maddens, and the O'Kellys, were much superior in number to O'Sullivan's companions, now wearied and exhausted from constant fighting, suffering from insufficient or worthless food, and deprived also, because of the repeated attacks upon them day and night, of that sleep so necessary to weary men. Still, notwithstanding the unequal conditions of the combat, those brave soldiers bravely faced the issue, encouraged by the cheering words, and relying on the military skill of their commander, now proved on many occasions during the long march from Glengariff. The attack began by a charge of the English horse, which The O'Sullivan skilfully evaded by a timely and orderly movement towards a neighbouring wood, whither the cavalry were unable to follow owing to the difficulty and softness of the ground. The rest of the battle consisted mainly in a hand-to-hand encounter between the infantry, the leaders on each side taking a prominent part. O'Sullivan's men fought with great steadiness and bravery, with the result that very soon their enemies began to waver, and some to fly; the rout of the English, however, became general on the fall of their leaders Malby and Burke. In this battle of Aughrim, the English lost about one hundred men killed, among them several important officers. Besides other interesting details, which Philip O'Sullivan narrates with regard to it, he gives the names of the two soldiers who killed Captain Malby—Jeremiah Houlihan and Cornelius Murphy—names which sound so homely and are still so frequently met with in the barony of Beare and Bantry. And the Four Masters in their account of the battle say:—‘It is scarcely credible that the like number of forces fatigued from long marching, and coming into the very centre of their enemies, ever before achieved such a victory in defence of life and renown, as they achieved on that day’—the twelfth since they set out from Glengariff. In the face of facts such as these it is strange to find even Irishmen with a wide knowledge of



their country's history, giving expression to such unfavourable verdicts as the following regarding the patience and endurance of their fellow-countrymen.

The Celts are ever deficient in staying power. They are splendid fighters so long as fortune shines clear and bright upon them. But when fortune turns, there is but one step from triumphant victory to disastrous defeat, as the long course of Anglo-Saxon and Celtic warfare has often proved.

Not merely this incident, but the history of the last seven hundred years seems to teach the opposite lesson.

O'Sullivan Beare did not delay at Aughrim after his victory but immediately set out to complete his journey to Leitrim, following, however, a very circuitous route. He passed over Mount Mary, near Castlekelly, thence to Ballinlough in Roscommon. Here, too, he was not allowed to delay or to rest his men, as the enemy still pursued him. Hiding for a time in a dense wood on the slopes of Slieve Iphlim, he was soon again forced to set out at dead of night, being warned by some friendly native of the design of MacDavid Burke to surround him, and thus to complete the work in which the Queen's troops at Aughrim so signally failed. And this night march seemed to have been one of the most trying and difficult accomplished since the departure from Beare. For the first portion of it was made through a dense wood, and owing to the closeness of the overhanging branches, the darkness was so great that the soldiers were only able to keep together by constantly calling and speaking to one another. As the author of the *Catholic History* writes, 'As blind men they wander on, keeping together by the sound of the voice.' And even this was a task of the greatest difficulty, because a storm was blowing which made it almost impossible for them to hear. Moreover, there was a deep fall of snow which increased the difficulty of travelling, the soldiers frequently falling into holes, from which they were dragged out after great efforts by their companions, now scarcely having strength enough to do so. As a consequence The O'Sullivan seems to have lost more men in this stage of his march than in the long journey accomplished before crossing the Shannon. And this was owing not so much to the attacks of the enemy—for these

were not formidable after the battle of Aughrim—as to starvation and the extreme severity of the weather. Sir George Carew describes how fatal this winter had been to his own men in Beare :—

The sharpnesse of this Winter journey did exceedingly weaken our companies, for the mountains of Beare being at that time covered with snow, tasted the strong bodies, whereby many returned sicke, and some unable to endure the extreimity, dyed standing centinell.<sup>5</sup>

If the great cold had been so fatal to the English soldiers, who had all the comforts of a well-appointed camp, how much more so it must have been to those starved fugitives, who, since leaving Ardpatrik in Limerick, had no tents to shelter or protect them from the extreme cold of the bitter nights of a bad winter. Indeed, when we consider these facts, we cannot but wonder that any at all survived the hardships of the march, and we must see how true were the words of Spenser, when describing the character of the Irish soldiers of his time : 'They are very hardy, great endurers of cold, labour, hunger, and all hardnesse, very active and strong of hand, very vigilant in their enterprises, very great scorers of death.'

After leaving Ballinlough, O'Sullivan Beare seems to have gone directly north through Roscommon. In this part of his advance he received at length kindly treatment at the hands of his fellow-countrymen, who freely supplied his followers with food and gave him valuable information regarding the movements of the enemy, which enabled him to avoid the Queen's troops, and at length to reach Leitrim Castle, the residence of Brian O'Rourke, Prince of Breffny.

Before arriving at Knockvicar, near Lough Key, many of O'Sullivan's companions completely broke down from their long marches, not able to walk nor even to stand. Philip O'Sullivan mentions particularly the case of John O'Connor of Carrigafoyle in Kerry, one of the leaders of the expedition, and goes into detail describing the miserable condition in which he lay : 'alone endurable because it was borne for Christ Jesus' sake.' For part of the way he had been taken

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<sup>5</sup> *Pac. Hib.*, p. 660.

on the shoulders of his kindly and faithful companions—cheery and good-humoured in the midst of all their sufferings—for already their horses had been either killed for food, or left behind because of the difficult and rugged route they were compelled to follow through Roscommon. However, at Knockvicar, the chieftain of Carrigafoyle, or rather his bearers, got happy relief, for there they found a straying horse and transferred their burden to its back. The author of the *Catholic History* gives us a faithful description of the scene :—

Illum (O'Connor) commillitones quaterni humeris vehunt, donec jumentum derelictum, senio confectum, utroque lumine captum offendant, in quod illum imponentes nullo immisso fraeno, nullis stratis ephippiis, acutis macri dorsi vertebri assessorem pungentibus, alii caecum jumentum ducunt, alii verberibus agunt.

Clearly neither Don Quixote's steed, nor even anything sent to South Africa in our time, could be compared with this ; and though the position might have been a trying one, and not consistent with the dignity of an Irish chieftain, still any relief or shifting of the trouble in such an emergency was gladly accepted. John O'Connor soon, too, recovered, lived for many years afterwards, and died at a great age in Tralee in 1640. His property, however, was confiscated, and, like many other estates in Kerry, was given to, and is still held by 'the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity near Dublin.' He was known in Kerry history as 'Shane ná Cahah,' John of the Battles, and certainly well deserved the title, as most of his life was spent in brave resistance to the English occupation of the country. Among the 'Fiants' of the reign of Elizabeth 1602-3, there is one in which there is special reference to him, and to the other leaders in this expedition. It grants 'pardon to all the poor inhabitants of the province of Munster, who seduced by the persuasion of rebels, had fallen into danger of the laws. Excepting from benefit of this pardon, Donal O'Swyllyvane, alias O'Swyllyvane Beare, Tho. M'Morrish, son and heir of the late lord baron of Lixnaw, and John O'Connoghor, late of Carrickfoyle.'

Next day, the fourteenth since they left Glengariff, they



were shown, not far off, the friendly towers of O'Rourke's Castle at Leitrim. The first glimpse of the sea to Xenophon and the Greeks was not more welcome than this prospect had been to O'Sullivan Beare, and his companions. They had left Glengariff a fortnight before, numbering about one thousand—only thirty-five entered Leitrim Castle on this morning, though a few more stragglers arrived afterwards. And the historian, Philip O'Sullivan, records with pardonable pride the fact that among those who accomplished this remarkable march was his father, Dermitius, then seventy years of age. It is needless to add that the Prince of Breffny—an old companion in arms, who had fought side by side with them at Kinsale—received those poor fugitives from ancient Desmond and Kerry with the greatest kindness. And as a result, they soon recovered from the wounds received in the many battles which they had to fight against English and Irish foes since their departure from their camp in Glengariff fourteen days before.

O'Sullivan Beare remained with O'Rourke for some days, and after various adventures in the North went to England on the accession of James I. Being unable to obtain a formal pardon or a restitution of his territory, he sailed for Spain in 1604, where he was graciously received by King Philip, who made him a Knight of St. James, and gave him a pension of three hundred pieces of gold monthly. His end was a sad one, being assassinated when returning from Mass by his servant, John Bathe, on the 16th July, 1618, living, however, long enough, after receiving his fatal wounds, to have the last Sacraments administered to him. It is consoling, too, to know from the pages of Philip O'Sullivan,

He was a man of special piety—charitable towards the poor, accustomed to hear two, and sometimes three Masses each day, spending many hours besides in prayer to God and to His saints, and frequently approaching the Sacraments of Penance and the Blessed Eucharist.

Though the chiefs of the ancient sept are gone, or sadly fallen in estate, the sept itself is still numerous in its ancient territory, in spite of the cruelties of Carew and Wilmot, and is likely to get back its own again—not indeed by violent or

revolutionary methods, but by the more peaceful ways of land purchase. Their ancient strongholds, Dunboy, Ardea, and Carriganass, built on the loveliest sites in a particularly beautiful country, eloquent witnesses, too, of the taste of their builders, are roofless and in ruin. But the struggle undertaken by their brave defenders was not altogether in vain, for that holy faith for which they suffered so much, and that desire for a distinct nationhood, which fired them to such deeds of valour, are still vigorous throughout that district, over which Donal O'Sullivan Beare and his lieutenants once held sway, and from which their Elizabethan and Cromwellian successors—always carefully nursed but delicate exotics—are fast vanishing.

DENIS O'CONNOR, C.C.

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### ONE OF THE SEVEN HILLS OF ROME, OR MEMORIALS OF THE AVENTINE

Over the great windy waters, and over the clear crested summits,  
Unto the sun and the sky and unto the perfecter earth,  
Come let us go,—to the land wherein gods of the old time wandered,  
Where every breath even now changes to ether divine,  
Come let us go.

—A. H. CLOUGH.

THE Seven Hills of Rome, whose names are familiar to all who have read the history of that city so renowned in ancient, mediæval, and modern times, exercise a peculiar fascination on those who have been privileged to ramble first over one, and then over another on some clear morning in the early spring-time which is often so delightful in Italy. Among all these hills there is none to which are attached more memories of the past than that of ancient Aventine. Palatine and Capitoline may stand forth more proudly and boldly in the history, archæology, and art of Rome, but Aventine possesses its own special story which is fascinating in its own special way to those who know it well, as they climb the somewhat steep road between high walls, over which occasionally is seen the bough of a tree, whose

delicate tracery of brown twigs is clearly defined against intense blue colouring of an Italian sky. If there be a breeze the air is perfumed by the aroma of flowers and the rosy blossoms of the almond trees shut out from sight by these provoking yellowish walls, where lizards glide rapidly in the brilliant sunshine.

At a turn of the steep and winding lane can be seen over the walls a lovely curve of the Tiber, with boats moored close in shore near some old houses; while there is also a very modern bridge, under which flows the stream turbid in winter and early spring. Very different is Aventine now to what it was in those early days when all the winds of heaven swept freely over the seven hills, and Rome, still unthought of, was hidden in the impenetrable mists of the future. Then was Aventine's volcanic and rocky sides covered with forests full of laurel trees, while its base was worn by the Tiber's yellow stream. It was then the favourite haunt of brigands who had their lair in the hill caves towards the river whither the giant Cacus, in the myth related by Virgil, carried off some of the oxen in the charge of Hercules.

His prize the lowing herds Alcides drove  
Near Tiber's banks, to graze the shady grove,  
Allur'd with hope of plunder, and intent  
By force to rob, by fraud to circumvent,  
The brutal Cacus, as by chance they stray'd,  
Four oxen thence, and four fair kine convey'd.  
And lest the printed footsteps might be seen  
He dragg'd them backwards to his rocky den.<sup>1</sup>

Various have been the meanings ascribed to the name 'Aventine'; but the most poetic of these, 'the hill of birds,' arose from the tradition of the famous twin brothers, watching the heavens for a sign, as to whom should be granted the supreme power over the town they were founding. Remus sitting on a rock of Pseudo Aventine saw six vultures, while Romulus on the Palatine saw twelve, and when Remus was slain in the quarrel that ensued, he was buried on the Aventine, and mediæval scholars thought that Caius Sestus's pyramidal tomb outside Porta Sebastiano on the Appian road had

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<sup>1</sup> Dryden's version of the *Æneid*, book viii.



been the monument of Romulus's unlucky brother. A Sabine king, Tatus, was also buried among the laurel groves of Aventine, while at a subsequent period a Sabine noble, Ancus Martius, chosen King of Rome by the burgesses, having conquered the neighbouring cities of the Latins, made many of the vanquished people citizens of Rome, and allowed them to settle upon the Aventine Hill.

Though they were not quite on the same level as the older inhabitants of Rome, and were neither patrons nor clients, they were considered, nevertheless, as a free people, developing later into the great body of plebeians in contra-distinction to the patricians, who with their clients lived on the Palatine, Capitoline, and Quirinal Hills. Until their power and wealth increased sufficiently to enable them to dwell in any part of the city, the plebeians' headquarters were on the Aventine, and extended to the Coelian; but the first official recognition of the Aventine, as being the property of the Plebs, occurred in the third century before Christ, when the Tribune Icilius, the betrothed of unhappy Virginia, had a law passed, giving over to the Plebs the public lands of the Aventine. As soon, therefore, as the region was enclosed within the city boundary, it was covered by houses rather like our modern flats, and by other private and public buildings, of which no traces remain now, excepting pieces of marble found in the fields and vineyards, that have taken the place of a populous part of ancient Rome.

Ancus Martius is supposed to have built at the foot of the Aventine the first bridge over the Tiber, and being constructed of wooden piles (*sublicæ*) it was known as the Sublician bridge, where later on occurred the well-known incident of Horatius Coccles and his two friends defending the bridge against King Lars Porsenna and his army, until the Romans could break it down behind them and thus prevent the Etruscans entering the city.

It was [says Marion Crawford, in his delightful book, *Ave Roma Immortalis*] from that bridge the Roman Pontiffs had taken their title 'Pontifex,' a bridge-maker, because it was one of their chief duties to keep it in repair when it was the only means of crossing the Tiber, and the safety of the city might

depend upon it at any time ; and for many centuries the bridge was built of oak, and without nails or bolts of iron, in memory of the first bridge which Horatius had kept. Now those who love to ponder on coincidences may see one in this, that the last remnant of the once oaken bridge, kept whole by the heathen Pontifex was destroyed by the Christian Pontifex (Sixtus IV.) whose name was of the 'oak'—for so Della Rovere may be translated if one pleases. In older days, there were strange superstitions and ceremonies connected with the bridge that had meant so much to Rome. Strangest of all was the procession of the Ides of May—the fifteenth of the month—when the Pontiffs and the Vestals came to the bridge in solemn state, with men who bore thirty effigies made of bulrushes in the likeness of men's bodies, and threw them into the river one after the other, with prayers and hymns, but what the images meant no man knows. Most generally it was believed in Rome that they took the place of human beings once sacrificed to the river in the spring. Ovid protests against the mere thought, but the industrious Baracconi quotes Sextus Pompeius Festus to prove that in very early times human victims were thrown into the Tiber for one reason or another, and that human beings were otherwise sacrificed until the year 657, when the Senate made a law that no man should be sacrificed thereafter.<sup>2</sup>

In the year 121 B.C., Aventine was the scene of a great tumult ; the air being filled with arrows flying from the bows of skilful Cretan archers, who, with the forces of the Senate had been ordered by the Roman Consul Opimius to attack Caius, the younger of the illustrious Gracchi brothers ; on whose head a price had been set, and who was entrenched with his followers upon the Aventine. The assault was successful, and Caius would have committed suicide in the smaller Temple of Diana, had he not been prevented by two knights his friends, who bore him along with them in their precipitate flight down the hill to the river gate. While his friends remained to sacrifice their lives in order that Caius might have a chance of escape, the celebrated Gracchus with a faithful slave crossed the historic Sublician bridge and entered a sacred grove on the opposite bank of the river. Finding that his pursuers were close upon him, Caius ordered his slave to kill him with his sword. When his enemies arriving, found he was

<sup>2</sup> *Ave Roma Immortalis*, vol. ii., pp. 127, 128.

dead, they savagely cut off the head of the noble Gracchus, who with his brother Tiberius (killed some years previously in a sedition), had been reckoned as her most precious jewels by their mother Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal.

In the time of the Emperors the Jews settled in the imperial city had their domicile upon the Aventine, and here came the Apostle St. Paul to lodge with his friends the tent makers Aquila and Priscilla. There was a tradition that their house had been erected on the site of the Temple of Diana Aventina (not the one where Caius Gracchus wished to kill himself), and that this temple had been built on the ground once occupied by an altar to Hercules, erected centuries before the foundation of Rome, by the Arcadian King Evander.

Now it is the site of the very old church of St. Prisca (A.D. 280) which is obscure and ugly [says Mr. Hare], having been modernized by Cardinal Giustiniani from designs of Carlo Lombardi, who encased its fine granite columns in miserable stucco pilasters. In the ancient and very picturesque crypt is shown the font in which the noble virgin martyr St. Prisca was baptised by St. Peter.<sup>3</sup>

During the first century after Christ a noble Roman widow, Sabina, had her dwelling on the Aventine where now stands the celebrated Dominican church. Sabina lived originally in the province of Umbria among the lovely Apennines where

. . . . . parting day  
Dies like the dolphin, whom each pang imbues  
With a new colour as it gasps away,  
The last, still loveliest, till—'tis gone—and all is gray.<sup>4</sup>

She was converted to Christianity by her holy Syrian maid, Seraphia, whose instruction and example made such an impression on the Lady Sabina, that she became remarkable among the early Christians for her extreme piety and fervour. Seraphia having suffered for the faith in Umbria, Sabina, arrested at the same time, was liberated on account of her high rank and through the influence of friends. She repaired to Rome and dwelt upon the Aventine until she was again

<sup>3</sup> *Walks in Rome*, vol. i.

<sup>4</sup> *Childe Harold*, canto iv.



imprisoned during the fourth persecution, in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, and ended her life by a glorious martyrdom. A very remarkable group of Christians existed at this period in Rome, the chief among them being the Pope Alexander, a Roman noble who was very learned and who was supposed to have studied under Plutarch and Pliny. He was young when chosen to fill the Fisherman's throne, being twenty as some asserted, or thirty years of age, which is more probable. On account of his rank as a patrician, Pope Alexander, during the ten years of his pontificate, had opportunities of effecting many conversions among men and women belonging to the noblest 'gens' or families in Rome. He converted the prefect of the city, Hermes, with his wife, Theodora; also Balbina the daughter of the Tribune Quirinus, who having been miraculously cured of scrofula by the Pope, then in the Mamertine prison, repeatedly kissed his heavy chains until St. Alexander said to her, 'Cease to kiss these chains, and endeavour rather to find those of St. Peter which are, indeed, worthy of veneration.' Balbina having discovered them after much research, gave them before her own martyrdom to her friend Theodora, widow of the martyr Hermes, who kept them in her oratory on the Esquiline Hill, now the site of the Church of San Pietro in Vincoli. St. Alexander commanded the use of holy water by the faithful in their churches and homes; and that unleavened bread and wine mixed with water should be used as the elements of the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, to which he added in the Canon, the prayer, *Qui pridie*, 'Who the day before He suffered,' etc., that is said by the priest immediately before the consecration of the Host.

It is related that this Pope took refuge for some time in the Catacombs, and this seems to have been the first mention of them as hiding-places for the clergy and laity during the persecutions. When St. Alexander was seized and thrown into the foul Mamertine prison, his chains fell from him in a miraculous manner, and he also came unscathed out of a fire or furnace. Having been tortured on the rack and torn with hooks, he was finally beheaded with his priest Eventius and the deacon Theodolus on 3rd May, A.D. 131. Interred at first

on the Nomentan road, the relics of these martyrs were transferred to the Aventine Hill where they now repose with those of St. Sabina and St. Seraphia, under the high altar of the Dominican church. Through the course of many centuries have their names come down to us on the grand roll of martyrs and saints honoured by the Catholic Church.

The memory of their persecutor also survives, but in a far different light. The owner of the celebrated villa at Tivoli, whose stupendous ruins, in the romantic and beautiful spot, excite the wonder of all travellers, was a cruel, superstitious, and profligate prince, inflated by the false and irreligious philosophy of that period, and his ashes, where are they? Vanished with the mausoleum he constructed for their preservation, and on 'Hadrian's Mole' stands the massive round castle of St. Angelo, on whose summit is the sculptured figure of the angel sheathing the sword of pestilence.

When the Cross at last triumphed over paganism under the first Christian Emperor Constantine, the number was greatly increased of the parish priests of Rome who are now known as cardinals. Among the most ancient of the 'titles' bestowed upon the cardinals is that of 'Santa Sabina in Aventino,' which is eighth on the list of twenty-eight, drawn up by Anastasius the Librarian.<sup>5</sup> Very probably as the Aventine was one of the city regions inhabited in vast numbers by the Christians, there had always been appointed to it one of the seven deacons, afterwards increased to fourteen, who were given charge of the regions very soon after the time of Nero. From these deacons and parish priests have come the Cardinals of the Church, each having one of the Roman churches as his 'title.' The Cardinal-Bishops instituted much later, are bishops of the suffragan or suburban sees of Rome.

A great change of life commenced during the fourth century after Christ among the proud and luxurious patrician ladies of Rome. The spirit of the Cross was beginning to make itself felt in those palaces, once the abode of sensual and selfish heathens. Albina the sister of the pagan Pontifex was a Christian widow with an only daughter, Marcella. Once

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<sup>5</sup> *Lives of the Early Popes*, Meyrick.

she received as a most honoured guest the great saint Athanasius, when he visited Rome from Alexandria in Egypt, of which he was the Patriarch.

This eminent Doctor of the Church, whose celebrated Creed is such a magnificent profession of faith in the Blessed Trinity, had passed seven years of his life with the Fathers of the Desert where he had known St. Anthony, Pachomius, Hilarion, and many other great ascetics. Therefore, when he dwelt in the palace of Albina, the young maiden, Marcella, then a mere child, used to sit at the feet of the aged Patriarch, listening to his vivid descriptions of religious life in the African desert, and she used frequently to ask many questions concerning the Thebiad and its saintly inhabitants, of Athanasius, and his two holy monks, the austere Ammon and the gentle and simple Isidore. The seed thus sown in the ardent and youthful mind of Marcella by these conversations was destined later to bear abundant fruit. Having married to please her mother, and finding herself a widow at the end of seven months, Marcella refused all the most brilliant offers of a second marriage, and turned her palace on the Aventine into 'a home of silent prayer,' of mortification, and works of charity, thus founding the prototype of religious houses for women.

A remarkable community it certainly was, that sprang into being on the Aventine Hill, composed of women belonging to the most ancient and noble families in Rome; some being widows like Marcella, her pious mother Albina, and Lea, who renounced a brilliant position in Roman society in order to join her friend Marcella. Then there were maidens such as Marcellina, the sister of St. Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan, who at her entreaty wrote his great treatise on virginity; the noble maiden Asella, who at ten years old sold her 'murenula' or golden necklet to purchase a simple brown robe, thus intimating to her family her desire to forsake the world; besides Sophronia and Felicitas, of whom nothing is known excepting their names. Another patrician lady to join Marcella was the youthful Fabiola of the ancient race of Fabius, who one Holy Saturday in penitential garb, prostrated herself before the crowd of deeply affected clergy and people assembled in the



Lateran Basilica, where she humbly besought absolution of Pope Damasius for the sin of contracting a second marriage during the lifetime of her first husband.

In their retreat on the Aventine Hill these delicately nurtured women and girls gave up all the luxuries of their position in life, exchanging their splendid attire and their jewels for a coarse dress such as was worn by poor women, sleeping on the bare ground instead of a soft couch, fasting much or all the year round like Asella on bread, salt and water; spending their days in prayer, singing psalms, or occupied in manual labour. Gracious and affable to all who knew them, severe and austere only to themselves, joyous in spirit, simple, unaffected, observing cleanliness without any self-indulgence, speaking only when necessity or charity required it, and maintaining long hours of silence and profound recollection; such were these gentle and devoted Sisters of the Aventine, worthy precursors of the innumerable souls who since that period, in the religious Orders of the Catholic Church, have forgotten their people and their father's house remembering that 'all the glory of the King's daughter is within in golden borders.'<sup>6</sup>

To this primeval convent on Aventine frequently came Roman matrons like St. Paula the descendant of the Scipios and Gracchi to visit their pious friends and relations, or to hear St. Jerome giving his wonderful conferences on Holy Scripture to the circle of holy Christian women listening in rapt attention to his impassioned explanations of the Old and New Testament; while learned priests and Christian senators considered it a privilege to be permitted to attend these conferences of Jerome, the brilliant Oriental scholar, monk and ascetic, who was the dearly loved friend and adviser of the saintly and erudite Pontiff St. Damasius. Very probably St. Damasius, so eager for the advancement of our holy religion, may also have visited Marcella and her community on the Aventine, and he may have told them of his researches in the Catacombs for the relics of the martyrs and saints, whose praises he celebrated in eloquent lines which have come down

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<sup>6</sup> Ps. xliv.

to us in those beautiful and clearly engraved inscriptions that bear his name.

On the Aventine hillside was the dwelling where for some time lodged St. Augustine—still a Manichee, though a prey to remorse and doubts; who was maintaining himself by giving lessons of rhetoric. At length wearied of adulation and fame this future Doctor of the Church applied to the Prefect Symmachus for the post of master of rhetoric at Milan, where at the feet of St. Ambrose the African philosopher's obdurate heart gave way, and to the intense joy of his mother St. Monica, Augustine the child of her many tears and prayers, embraced the Catholic faith, which alone could satisfy that mighty intellect, and bring it in love, repentance, and gratitude under the guidance of the eternal Wisdom, 'that teacheth the knowledge of God.'<sup>7</sup>

And this knowledge so profound and yet so humble of St. Augustine in his lofty and sublime works, has been often the means to bring many wandering sheep to the fold of the Good Shepherd, and to console and strengthen others in their sorrows and temptations.

In the fifth century the patrician Eupheumian and his wife Aglae long lived in their palace at Mount Aventine without children. Their charity to the poor (for whom they had three tables set every day) was at length rewarded by the birth of their son Alexis whom they inspired with their own charitable feelings towards the poor. When he had grown into manhood, Alexis in obedience to his parents, consented to marry a beautiful Grecian girl who was a Christian like himself. The legend says that on his wedding day Alexis received a supernatural call to leave secretly his bride and his father's house, and going down the Aventine Hill he embarked on a vessel moored to the bank of the Tiber which was on the point of sailing to the East. In a town called Edessa, Alexis lived unknown for many years although his father Eupheumian spared neither expense nor trouble in searching for his vanished son. Once more Alexis when absorbed in prayer, heard the mysterious call, in obedience to which he returned

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<sup>7</sup> Wisdom viii. 4.

to Rome, where, meeting his father who did not recognise him in the poorly-clad, worn pilgrim, he obtained permission to lodge in a small recess under the great staircase of his former home on the Aventine Hill. Eupheumian who was particularly hospitable to pilgrims, finding that the stranger was ill, ordered his servants to attend on him, but they frequently neglected to comply with their orders, and Alexis for many years lying on his bed of suffering endured often many insults and ill-treatment from them in silent patience. His days were spent in prayer and often must he have seen his father and mother and their Greek daughter-in-law whom they treated as their own child. Very probably they sometimes came to speak kindly to the poor sick pilgrim, asking his prayers, and never for a moment dreaming that he was their long lost, long mourned Alexis. At length he felt that his end was near, and desiring to comfort his parents he asked for writing materials, when,

Straightway he wrote the story of his life,  
And God's Command in love that spares not, given ;  
And ended thus : ' O Parents, and O Wife !  
We meet ere long : no partings are in Heaven,  
I loved you well. Strangely my faith God proved :  
Yet know that few are loved as you were loved.'<sup>8</sup>

On the day of Alexis's death a voice from Heaven was heard in the Roman churches telling the people to seek in the house of Eupheumian the man of God that he might pray for Rome.

The people flocked to the Aventine and crowded around the pallet of the dying saint, who in obedience to the Pope himself, bending over the lowly couch, gave him the paper in which Innocent I. read aloud to the astonished assembly the singular history of Alexis now restored at the very moment of his death to his parents and his long-widowed bride.

It is said that while the remains of the saint rested that night in a neighbouring church, some blind men praying by his bier recovered their sight, and Eupheumian turned his palace into a church in memory of his long lost son. At present a

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<sup>8</sup> *Legend of St. Alexis*, Aubrey de Vere.



fine church is on the site of the ancient one of St. Boniface in which Alexis was buried, and there is still the ancient crypt with its low pillars and marble episcopal chair discoloured by the green mould of age, where it is said the conclaves of the primitive Church were held by the early Popes ; the Aventine, as we know, being the great resort of the Christians. The church of St. Alexis and St. Boniface gives a title to a cardinal, and it belonged to the Hieronymite monks. A blind asylum is now appropriately established in the adjoining convent.

In the fifth century terrible were the woes that fell upon imperial Rome. In 408 Alaric besieged the city which bought its deliverance by such immense sums, that gold and silver idols still existing had to be melted in order to complete the demanded ransom. But the next year again came the savage king to set up an emperor and a tool of his own ; and not satisfied with that, Alaric in 410, by treachery of Arians and slaves who opened Porta Salaria to him, entered the city which was sacked by his barbarous hordes. We are told that Alaric gave orders that the churches were to be respected as sanctuaries, especially the Basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Though it is thought that not much damage was done to the buildings of Rome, still the whole city was plundered of its priceless treasures, its gold and silver, its precious stones, and of its inhabitants, who were made captives. The Aventine, where the richest people lived, suffered most severely, and nothing of any value was left in its palaces. But this was not to be the last appearance of rapacious conquerors in the imperial city.

In 455 Genseric and his Vandals sailed up the Tiber as far as Ostia, where they landed to march upon Rome. With difficulty did the holy Pope Leo I., who met Genseric outside Porta Portuensis, extract a promise that there should be no bloodshed, and no firing of the buildings. For fourteen days the Vandals pillaged everything they could lay hands on, including the gilt bronze of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the vessels brought by the Romans from the great siege of Jerusalem after the destruction of the Temple, and thousands of Romans were also carried away as slaves into Africa. Still it is now said that bad as the Vandals were, they did not, as

was asserted, destroy the old buildings, which were really ruined in the sixteenth century by the Romans themselves. However, these repeated pillages reduced the once splendid palaces on the Aventine to a sad condition, and by degrees they crumbled away and their sites were covered by the fields and vineyards of monasteries existing to the present day.

Another youth also dwelt for some time on the Aventine ; the Tuscan, Hildebrand, afterwards known as the great Pope, St. Gregory VII., the friend of the Countess Matilda, who left her immense estates to the Holy See. He was educated by his uncle the Abbot of Santa Maria in Aventino on the brow of the hill over the Tiber, which not far from St. Alexis is now the ' Priorato ' of the Knights of Malta.

From its thoroughly Italian garden sheltered by high wall-like hedges of ilex, there is a view of St. Peter's Basilica, while far beneath a terrace gay with spring flowers can be seen the Tiber, and its brigs and barges with their picturesque brown or tawny sails.

The rather small church has several curious tombs of Knights and of a Bishop Spinelli. The Priory itself now shown to the public is, with its gilded chairs and consoles, very much like any ordinary Roman ' palazzo,' but on the upper floor portraits of the seventy-four generals of the Order hang in the large hall where the Chapters are held, and there are fine views from the windows of a long dining room ; where on the table a bronze and marble crucifix, and an inkstand with a bronze figure of the Madonna remind one, that in spite of handsome furniture and billiard room, this house was the priory of a religious military order dating as far back as the eleventh century.<sup>9</sup>

Outside the Priorato is a small piazza whose walls are covered with ' trophied memorials of the Knights of Malta, occupying the site of the laurel grove which contained the tomb of Tatius, the Sabine king.'<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> In 1048 some Italian merchants founded a church and hospital at Jerusalem for pilgrims, and when Godfrey de Bouillon was elected king after the first Crusade, the association under his auspices developed into the great religious military Order of Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.

<sup>10</sup> Hare.

Somewhat further on is the splendid new Benedictine monastery and church of St. Anselmo (consecrated in November, 1900) that crowns as it were, this side of the Aventine towards the river and the Campagna.

When Rome had fallen a prey to its rapacious and haughty Barons, the Savelli erected their castles on the Aventine Hill where two Popes, members of this great family, used to seek refuge from their turbulent Roman subjects. One of these, Honorius III., renouncing his idea of rebuilding a city on the once favourite site, bestowed the church of Santa Sabina attached to the palace of his race upon the newly-established Order of Friar Preachers under its founder St. Dominic.

Here Divine Office was chanted in the choir, and sermons preached to the people, while missions were given in various places by the Dominican friars, who in their cloister led their austere community life of prayer, study, and penance. When the refractory nuns of Santa Maria in Trastevere, abetted by their relations and friends, boldly set Pope and Cardinals at defiance concerning a much needed reform, St. Dominic it was, who by his tact and gentle persuasion gradually calmed the angry community and induced the sisters to remove to his own convent of San Sisto, which he gave up to them. As soon as the change was made, and the now docile community adopted the rules, and assumed the black and white habit of the nuns of the Second Order, frequently did their holy Father descend from Santa Sabina, through the lanes and vineyards of the Aventine to San Sisto on the ancient Appian road, to instruct his beloved daughters, one of whom, 'Suor Cecilia,' of the noble Cesarini family, afterwards wrote his life.

Many are the legends concerning St. Dominic at Santa Sabina on Aventine. In the refectory occurred the visit of the two angels bringing delicious bread and wine to the Friar Preachers as they sat one day in silence round the empty tables, while St. Dominic as usual pronounced the blessing. One night as St. Dominic returned with his brethren from San Sisto, they were accompanied by a young man of great beauty who guided them safely to the church door of Santa Sabina, which was opened by the stranger, who then departed, and St. Dominic in reply to the inquiry of Brother Tancred



said, 'My son, it was an angel of the Lord whom He sent to guard us.'

The church situated on the spot where St. Sabina had her dwelling, is very ancient, having originally been founded by a priest in the fifth century A.D. It was rebuilt at a later date, and was restored by Pope Gregory IX. in the thirteenth century. It has been very little altered, although we are informed that Sixtus V. in 1587 destroyed much by taking away the ancient mosaics, etc. However, it still remains as a good example of the early Basilica, with marble columns supporting the simple roof of the nave, although the exterior of the church, like most Italian churches, is by no means beautiful. In this church St. Dominic gave the habit to the two Polish nobles, Ceslaus, and Hyacinth, the apostle of Poland. Beneath the high altar repose the relics of the martyrs St. Sabina and the Pope St. Alexander, with their companions. On the pavement of the church, or on the marble steps leading to the choir, St. Dominic used to take a few minutes' rest during long nights spent in prayer. In the choir and at the high altar how many saints have in grave sweet tones chanted Divine Office, or celebrated the holy Sacrifice of Mass: the saintly founder, the Blessed Reginald, who was clothed in the white scapular by our Lady herself; St. Hyacinth and his brother Ceslaus; St. Thomas of Aquino, Angel of the Schools; Blessed Jordan of Saxony; St. Francis of Assisi, founder of the Friars Minor; and a host of other saints too numerous to be mentioned here. Within the walls of this ancient church these great servants of God at one time or another came to pray and meditate before the Blessed Sacrament, and their prayers like fragrant incense filled the golden censer of the Angel whom St. John saw standing in front of 'the golden altar which is before the throne of God.'<sup>11</sup>

Santa Sabina in 1287 was selected as a place of meeting for the Conclave after the death of Pope Martin IV., but a severe outbreak of malaria causing the death of six cardinals, the others hastily quitted the convent with the exception, writes Mr. Hare, of Cardinal Savelli, who kept the illness at bay by

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<sup>11</sup> Rev. viii 3.

means of large fires in his rooms, and he was elected Pontiff ten months later as Honorius IV. Towards the middle of our own nineteenth century, under the eminent preacher Father Lacordaire, who had just made his vows as a Dominican Friar; a remarkable band of young Frenchmen assembled in the novitiate of Santa Sabina on Aventine for a short time as postulants, until they commenced their religious life in the venerable Order they so ardently desired to restore to France, which since the Revolution had been deprived of the apostolic labours of the Friars Preachers.

Since 'Italia Irredenta' has taken possession of Rome, Santa Sabina has remained only by sufferance in the hands of the Dominicans, who have been deprived by the Government of the greater portion of the monastery and cloisters, though they still have a garden, not very large, which is devoted to the cultivation of cabbages and other vegetables for the use of the extremely poor community. In 1856-57 when Father Besson 'the Dominican Artist,' was Prior of Santa Sabina, excavations were made here bringing to light fragments of Servius Tullius' wall as well as an ancient Roman house, but they were all covered up when these excavations were abandoned.

There is, however, one object of interest in this humble garden, and that is the old orange tree which enjoys the reputation of being the very first ever planted in Italy by the Spanish monk St. Dominic, who brought it from Spain as a gift to Honorius III., who was known to be a lover of botanical science. On a little mound in a sheltered corner of the garden stands the aged tree, whose golden fruit is seen every year amid its luxuriant leaves, while around the roots are tufts of sweet scented violets. Often has the writer lingered there, on an Italian spring day, when all things are steeped as it were in vivid light—that light, of which a little known English poet sings in the following beautiful lines:—

Say from what golden quivers of the sky  
Do all thy winged arrows fly?  
Swiftness and power by birth are thine:  
From thy great Sire they came, thy Sire the Word divine.

All the world's bravery that delights our eyes,  
 Is but thy sev'ral liveries :  
 Thou the rich dye on them bestowest,  
 Thy nimble pencil paints the landscape as thou goest,  
 A crimson garment in the rose thou wear'st ;  
 A crown of studded gold thou bear'st ;  
 The virgin lilies in their white  
 Are clad but with the lawn of almost naked light.  
 The violet, Spring's little infant stands,  
 Girt in thy purple swaddling bands,  
 On the fair tulip thou dost dote ;  
 Thou cloth'st it in a gay and parti-coloured coat.

Through the soft ways of Heaven, and air, and sea,  
 Which open all their pores to thee,  
 Like a clear river thou dost glide,  
 And with thy living stream through the closed channels  
 slide.<sup>12</sup>

Overhead pigeons fly through the sunlit air, which very soon will resound with short sweet ripples of song, proceeding from the swallows whose tiny breast feathers gleam like silver as they dart hither and thither. Aventine meaning 'the hill of birds,' is it not natural to watch them soaring over the garden of Santa Sabina, where, on visiting St. Dominic, the gentle St. Francis of Assisi very probably affectionately greeted his 'sisters the birds'? As he and his companions in their brown habits and sandals, wended their way upwards through the fields and vineyards of Mount Aventine, they could on one side see the towers, campaniles and church domes of the Eternal City, while on the other they beheld the historic river and 'the broad shaggy Campagna,' beyond which rise the masses of the abrupt Sabine range, contrasting boldly with the rounder and softer outlines of the lowlier, but dreamy Alban hills.

Beautiful can I not call thee, and yet thou hast power to  
 o'ermaster  
 Power of mere beauty : in dreams Alba, thou hauntest  
 me still.<sup>13</sup>

Wide indeed is the chasm that exists between pagan and

<sup>12</sup> *Hymn to Light*, A. Cowley.

<sup>13</sup> A. H. Clough.



Christian Rome, a chasm so wide and deep, that it is hard for modern intellects to grasp, even imperfectly, the mode of thought and life in the ancient heathen world, of which a faint echo still lingers in the stately ruins of Rome, dear to the classical scholar and historian, and a wonder to less cultivated minds.

But far otherwise is it with Christian Rome, possessing, as it does, a language that can be comprehended by even the humblest Catholic. A Rome full of the memories of the martyrs and saints, of the triumph of the Light of the World over the darkness of paganism, of the long uninterrupted line of Sovereign Pontiffs on the Fisherman's throne, of the sufferings, the combats, and the glory of the Catholic Church, which, outliving the vast Roman Empire, and many another great kingdom, is as strong in her age as she was in her youth.

The feeble imitations of Parisian boulevards, the utterly mean and narrow streets, the squalid, half torn-down, or half-built houses left uncompleted, may indeed render modern Rome a sore disappointment to the eye. Pagan Rome may excite wonder mixed with sadness, and a dim realization of long-departed imperial power; but Christian Rome alone can satisfy the deepest feelings of a reflective mind. The tombs of the Apostles, who were the chosen friends and disciples of Jesus; the shrines with their relics of the early martyrs; the noble Basilicas and churches of the Eternal City; the religious houses in which dwelt some of our greatest and most renowned saints, have come down as memorials of a glorious past that still continues to remind us of another world where change and sorrow are unknown. Everywhere in Rome can we find traces of the great servants of God who preferred the great things of eternity to the evanescent joys of earth, and particularly is this the case upon the Aventine Hill, whose memorials as regards the history of Christianity are full of the charm of Christian Rome—an indescribable subtle charm that like a ray of sunshine in a darkened room, steals into the inmost recesses of our souls, remaining there for ever.

M. T. KELLY.

# Notes and Queries

## LITURGY

### INDULGENCES OF STATIONS OF THE CROSS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you favour me with the expression of your opinion as to a difficulty regarding the Stations of the Cross in my church. I am anxious, of course, about the security of the indulgences. When originally erected, the picture of the First Station was placed on the wall of the Epistle side of the High Altar ; the other Stations so forth in order. This arrangement was found to be unsymmetrical, as the pose of the figures indicated that the *First* Station should be on the Gospel side. Sometime back, therefore, the Stations were re-arranged accordingly ; the Crosses in each case of course followed the pictures. I ask whether what has been done renders the indulgences doubtful. Thanking you by anticipation for your opinion—Yours truly,  
 CONSTANT READER.

The Indulgences, in the circumstances mentioned, remain intact and nothing that was done has in any way affected their security. The doubts of our correspondent arose either because he thought that the pictures should hold a certain definite position relatively to the Gospel and Epistle sides of the Altar, or because he suspected that the subsequent rearrangement introduced an element of uncertainty as to the permanence of the Indulgences. Neither of these surmises, however, has any show of probability. For there is no law directing the placing of the first Station at the Epistle side of the Altar and the last at the Epistle side, or *vice versa*, and, so far as our memory serves, the method finally adopted by our correspondent is at least quite as popular as the other. Then the alteration involved in the re-adjustment of the Stations no more affected the Indulgences than would their temporary removal for the purpose of white-washing or painting the walls of the church.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Decr. Auth Cong Ind., n. 223 ad 2<sup>m</sup>.

The following paragraph from Beringer<sup>2</sup> is in point :—

Il est permis de disposer les croix d'une façon différente plus symétriquement, p. ex., dans le même lieu on dans la même église sans nuire aux Indulgences. On peut même transporter tout le chemin de la Croix d'une chapelle ou d'une galerie dans une autre, pourvu qu'elles appartiennent à la même église, sans que les Indulgences se perdent.

It is to be borne in mind that the Indulgences are primarily and principally attached to the Crosses.<sup>3</sup> Hence great care should always be taken that no serious injury is done to these whenever the Stations have to be interfered with.

#### CHURCH TO BE VISITED IN ORDER TO GAIN CERTAIN INDULGENCES

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you be so kind as to let me have in the I. E. RECORD your opinion on the following point :—

To gain *some* of the Indulgences granted to Ireland, a visit to a *parochial* church is prescribed. In such cases, will a visit to a regular church suffice ; in other words, is a regular church in this particular equivalent to a parochial church ?

Thanking you in anticipation.—Respectfully yours,

SACERDOS.

The Indulgences referred to are probably those associated with the first Sunday of the month, the solemn Festivals of the year, and the principal Feasts of the Blessed Virgin.<sup>1</sup> In former times they were peculiar to the Archdiocese of Dublin, but by a rescript of 1832 they were extended to the whole of Ireland. Plenary Indulgences may be gained on the days mentioned on compliance with the ordinary conditions of Confession, Communion, and visit to a church, etc. It is in regard to the visit to a church that the question arises, and our correspondent asks is it enough to visit a church belonging to a religious order or congregation, or is it necessary to restrict the visit to a parochial church. The words of the original rescript, granting these Indulgences to the Archdiocese of Dublin, are : ' Indulgentia . . . iis conceditur qui . . . aliquam ex

<sup>2</sup> *Les Indulgences*, tom. prem., pp. 277-8, 4<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *Decr. Auth. Cong. Ind.*, n. 270 ad 2<sup>am</sup>.



ecclesiis Parochialibus Civitatis Dublinensis devote visitar-  
verint,' etc. Here the parochial churches are clearly designated  
in the Act of Concession, and according to the general rule  
the visit is to be restricted to them. 'Si cet acte designe,'  
says Beringer,<sup>4</sup> 'pour la visite, une eglise déterminé, p. ex  
l'église paroissiale ou l'église d'une congregation ou d'un ordre  
religieux, c'est celle-là qu'il faut visiter.' This opinion was  
expressed in the I. E. RECORD<sup>5</sup> some years ago, and we see  
no reason at present to depart from it. It is unnecessary to  
say that we prescind altogether from any privileges which  
may have been granted by special indults to religious in  
favour of their own churches.

P. MORRISROE.

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<sup>4</sup> *Les Indulgences*, vol. i., p. 74.

<sup>5</sup> I. E. RECORD for year 1882, pp. 182-185.

## CORRESPONDENCE

## ST. ASSICUS, PATRON OF ELPHIN

REV. DEAR SIR,—I thank Mr. W. H. Grattan Flood for his courteous appreciation of my essay to throw light from our most ancient and authentic records on the history of St. Assicus and Elphin in those remote days ‘as the day-beam to the sailor lighting up the wrecker’s shore,’ and for the additional items of information which he has given regarding the Franciscan Friary of Elphin. Mr. Grattan Flood is, however, mistaken in supposing that ‘from the fact of a silver chalice, dated 1670, “ad usum Conventus Sti. Francisci de Elphin,” Dr. Kelly concludes that Ward’s date is wrong, but that the Friars kept watch and ward over their Convent at Elphin from 1453 to 1670.’ I knew that the convent had been suppressed and the Friars driven out long before 1670; but I concluded<sup>1</sup> ‘that, as in Boyle the Cistercians, so in Elphin the Franciscans, long kept watch and ward over the site of their Abbey, hoping in vain for better times’; that is, that some of them remained in the neighbourhood of Elphin, in some *Locus Refugii*. I was aware that the date on the chalice was long after the suppression, and that it must have been presented after the *Locus Refugii* of the Elphin Convent had been established.

To the interesting items regarding the Franciscan Convent of Elphin given by Mr. Grattan Flood may be added that Father Anthony Garaughan, O.S.F., P.P., Belinagare, of the Convent of Elphin, was elected Provincial in 1815. The *Locus Refugii* was probably at Kilcorkey.

As I mentioned in the I. E. RECORD, May, 1902, p. 404, Father Hugh Ward, in his *History of the Irish Franciscans*, 1630, writes: ‘XXI. Elphin.—The Convent of Elphin was founded in the Episcopal See of that name in Connaught, but there is no record existing to show who the founder was. [I have shown this from the Renehan MSS. in Maynooth College Library.] In the reign of Elizabeth, in 1563, the Protestant Bishop of that See drove out the Friars, and did not leave one stone of the Convent

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<sup>1</sup> I. E. RECORD, May, 1902, p. 404.

standing, with the materials building a residence for himself on the site. It remains vacant ever since.' Wadding also says<sup>2</sup> that the Protestant Bishop erected a private or profane house for himself from the ruins of the Franciscan Convent of Elphin, but does not give the date. I said that it is by no means certain who the Protestant Bishop was who drove out the Friars, and that I was inclined to think that Ward had made a mistake in the date ; not because of the date, 1670, on the chalice, but because I do not admit that Roland de Burgo, or Burke, was a Protestant ; and because I do not believe that he drove out the Franciscan Friars from their Convent of Elphin. As Mr. Grattan Flood points out, Roland Burke, Bishop of Clonfert, received the See of Elphin from King Edward VI., in addition to Clonfert. He was, therefore, a schismatic ; but there is no evidence to prove that he was a heretic. Cardinal Moran says that Roland de Burgo, although he obtained schismatical possession of the See of Elphin in 1551, was absolved by Cardinal Pole on the accession of Queen Mary, in 1553. I do not think he could have been the Bishop, described by Ward, who drove out the Franciscans, and did not leave a stone of the Convent standing, with the materials building a residence for himself. As I pointed out, from Lynch's MS. History,<sup>3</sup> the first attempt to introduce a Protestant Bishop into Elphin was made in 1583, long after the date assigned by Ward. There is no evidence that Roland Burke ever resided at Elphin. If he had driven out their brethren, and pulled down their convent, the Four Masters would never have written of him in their Annals : ' Anno 1580.—Roland, the son of Redmond, son of Ulick [Burke] of Knocktua, Bishop of Clonfert, died ; and the loss of this good man was the cause of great lamentation in his own country.'

Mr. Grattan Flood himself quotes a lease, dated March 12th, 1588, wherein Richard Kindlemersh was given the monastery of the Order of Dominic in Elphin. . . . ' the monastery and lands were in the occupation of John Lynch, Bishop of Elphin ' (1584-1611). He further says that ' in 1589 the lease of the Friary of Elphin was given, on July the 4th, to John Belling for forty years.' Therefore, the Friary was standing in 1589. Ward says that the Protestant Bishop drove out the friars in 1563, and did not leave one stone of the Friary standing. There

<sup>2</sup> Tom. XII. 187, Reg. 589.

<sup>3</sup> I. E. RECORD, May, 1902, p. 401.



must, then, be a mistake in the date. If Roland Burke held the temporalities of the See, the canonically appointed Bishop was Bernard O'Higgins, instituted by Pope Paul III. on the 5th of May, 1542. He governed the See till 1561, when he was succeeded by Andrew O'Crean, of the Order of St. Dominic, prior of Sligo, who died in 1594, in the Dominican Convent of Sligo. His successor was Demetrius O'Healy, of the Order of St. Francis, who was martyred in Elizabeth's reign. In 1583, Queen Elizabeth issued her royal mandate to have John FitzJames Lynch, referred to by Mr. Grattan Flood, consecrated for Elphin. Dr. O'Crean was at that time ruling the See. The intruded Bishop, Lynch, sent in his resignation of the Bishopric to the Crown in 1611, and then was publicly reconciled to the faith of his fathers.

In note 76 of the Appendix added by the editor (Father A. Coleman, O.P.) to O'Heyne's *Epilogus Chronologicus*, or History of the Irish Dominican Houses in his time (end of the 17th century), now on the eve of publication, he says: 'From a lease given on March 3rd, 1591, it would appear that there was a Dominican house in Elphin, though it was not mentioned by any historian. . . More probably, however, the commissioners confounded a Franciscan for a Dominican foundation. Lease, etc. . . of the monastery of St. Dominic, in the city of Elphin, one-eighth of a quarter of land adjoining and a half-quarter called Kilnagonne, in O'Flanagan's country, with their tithes, the chapel, or cell called Ballindoon, in the barony of Tireragh, in Co. Sligo, one half-quarter of land there, with the tithes, possessions of the late begging friars of St. Dominic's Order, beside Ballindoon.'—*Fiants, Eliz.*

'In 1588, a lease had been already given of the monastery of St. Dominic in Elphin, etc. . . In the occupation of John Lynch, Bishop of Elphin. . . all of which were for a long time concealed. John Lynch was the Protestant Bishop. Afterwards the possessions were granted to Sir Francis Crofton, from whom they passed, by mesne assignment, to Sir Robert King, Lord Kingsborough, and are vested by descent in Viscount Lorton.'

In my opinion, the Protestant Bishop who built a profane house for himself and his successors from the ruins of the Franciscan Convent was Bishop Edward King (1611-1638), who built a palace or castle where the pound now stands. He is described

in Mason's *Statistical Survey of Ireland* as 'the first Protestant Bishop that filled the See of Elphin.'<sup>4</sup> It was practically on the same site as the Franciscan Convent, being separated from it only by the roadway. There is a clear tradition in Elphin as to the site of this residence of the Protestant Bishops, afterwards called the Castle. Moreover, it is believed that one of the walls of the pound formed portion of the Castle ; part of the foundation may still be seen in the roadway. There is also a tradition pointing out the site of the Franciscan Abbey, a little distance to the North-West, in the townland of Abbey Cartron, where Ono's *arx* once stood, and where also stood the college of St. Assicus, which afterwards became a parish church, dedicated to St. Patrick, and was finally granted to the Conventual Franciscan Friars, and was called *Coenobium Sancti Patricii*.<sup>5</sup>

The site of the College and Franciscan Convent is now covered by the house, yard, and offices of Mr. Thomas McKeon. In sinking for drains, very old and deep foundations of walls have been found here, as well as a very old disused pump. The name Abbey Cartron, and even Elphin, are, of course, of much later origin than that of Imleach Ono, which included not only the two former, but probably the whole of the present electoral division of Elphin.

I may remark that the learned Dr. Boetius Egan, Bishop of Elphin (1626-50), got possession of his See from the Confederation of Kilkenny, when he repaired and inhabited the episcopal palace of Elphin. A silver chalice which belonged to him is still preserved in the Franciscan Convent of Athlone.

Mr. Grattan Flood writes :—' Moreover, he (Dr. Kelly) seems to imply that the See of Elphin was not wealthy, as the returns given in 1302-6 only make the grand total of the diocese of Elphin £69 7s. 4d. This sum must not be judged by the present standard of money.' Judged by any standard, according to the Taxation, the See could not be considered wealthy, either absolutely or relatively. Multiply the total revenue (£69 7s. 4d.) say by 30, still the sum is small as the revenue of the whole diocese. This will appear clearly from the following items, jotted down from the original authority, the *Calendar of Documents*

<sup>4</sup> Vol. ii., p. 401.

<sup>5</sup> *Tr. Th.*, pp. 89, 139 ; Archdall's *Monasticon*, pp. 609-610.

relating to Ireland, A.D. 1302-6, to which the pages refer:—Killala, £96 (p. 217); Achonry, £62 15s. (p. 221); rent and revenue of Bishop of Clonfert, £66 13s. 4d. (p. 221); sum total of taxation of Clonfert, £205 10s. 3d. (p. 223); sum total of taxation of Elphin, £69 7s. 4d. (p. 225); taxation of Archbishop of Tuam, £115 6s. 11d. (p. 225); Deanery of Loughrea, in Clonfert diocese, £65 2s. 2d. (p. 222); Deanery of Tuam, £240 14s. 1d. (p. 228); Annadown, £72 19s. 8d. (p. 236), minus £28, goods of bishop; Killaloe, £317 8s. 4d. (p. 303); Waterford, £125 1s. 8d. (p. 305); total taxation of diocese of Lismore, £711 8s. 2d.—Waterford is distinct from Lismore—(p. 307); Cloyne, £582 13s. 4d. (p. 316). Down diocese:—Deanery of Newtown, £75 6s. 8d. (p. 204); Lecale, £108 8s. (p. 207). Total of Down, £424 3s. 3½d.; do. of Connor, £627 11s. 4d.; of Clogher, £60 3s. 4d. (p. 212). Goods of Bishop of Kildare, £72 9s. 2d. (p. 244), Leighlin; Deanery of Leix, £7 13s. 4d. (p. 250). Total taxation of Kildare, £415 9s. 7½d.; do., do., Leighlin, £541 14s. 1½d. (p. 252). Meath:—Deanery of Mullingar, sum of tenth, £14 15s. 10d. (p. 259); different on p. 267, £7 7s. 11d. Rent and revenue of Bishop of Limerick, £143 4s. 11½d. (p. 270); do. do. of Dean, £34 2s. 8d. (ib).

In proving<sup>6</sup> that Assic, Bishop of Elphin, could not be identified with Tassach, 'the royal Bishop' of Raholp, who administered the Viaticum to St. Patrick, I said: 'Accordingly, the *Tripartite* and *Book of Armagh* distinguished Assic and Tassach most clearly.' Through an oversight, however, the two leading authorities for Tassach were omitted. I now subjoin them:—(1) He (Patrick) received the Body of Christ from the Bishop Tassach, and after that sent his spirit to heaven.<sup>7</sup> (2) Adpropinquante autem hora obitus sui, sacrificium ab episcopo Tassach, sicut illi Victor anguelus (*sic*) dixit, ad viaticum beatae vitae acciperat (acceperat).<sup>8</sup>

In conclusion, I may add that in a learned and interesting article in the *English Historical Review*, April, 1902, on 'Tirechan's Memoir of St. Patrick,' from which I have given the extracts regarding St. Assic,<sup>9</sup> by J. P. Bury, Professor of Greek in Trinity College; he holds that Tire-

<sup>6</sup> I. E. RECORD, May, 1902, p. 406, *et seq.*

<sup>7</sup> *Tripartite Life*, Part III., Stokes' ed., p. 260.

<sup>8</sup> *Book of Armagh*, fol. 8c.

<sup>9</sup> I. E. RECORD, May, 1902, p. 297, *et seq.*



chan was a Connaughtman. 'We are at liberty to infer,' he writes, 'that Tirechan's community was in the land of Amolngid, in North Mayo' (p. 2). And again:—'Whatever his birthplace, whatever his family, there is no reason to doubt that his work, when he wrote his memoir, lay not in Meath, but in Connaught' (p. 21, note 74). But that in the passage of Tirechan:—'Venit vero Patricius ad Selcam (*i.e.*, Duma Selca) . . . et plantavit ecclesiam super stagnum Selcae, et baptizavit filios Broin (Briuin)';<sup>10</sup> the first Selca should be held to be near Tulsk, in Roscommon, and the second, in the same passage, at Lough Hackett, in the diocese of Tuam, Co. Galway,<sup>11</sup> proves that the topography was taken at second hand. Mr. H. T. Knox, M.R.I.A., in an article in the *Journal of Anti-quaries*, March, 1901, 'An Identification of Places named in Tirechan's Collections,' while he says Carnfree, near Tulsk, is Duma-Selca (strictly speaking, Carnfree and Duma-Selca, or Dumha-Sealga, are two distinct mounds, giving its name to the townland of Carns), errs in saying that the Church of St. Felart was Donaghpatrick, in Galway, diocese of Tuam (pp. 31 and 39). I have shown<sup>12</sup> that the Church of St. Felart Domnach Mor of Magh-Sealga, in quo Patricius baptizavit Hy-Briuin et bene-dixit, was in the townland of Carns, near Tulsk and Rathcroghan, the royal residence of Connaught.—I am, faithfully yours,

J. J. KELLY.

15th July, 1902.

#### FATHER MATHEW UNION

REV. DEAR SIR,—I venture to direct the attention of the venerable clergy to a booklet or pamphlet which has recently appeared; it is the Second Report of the 'F. M. U.' This Society, composed solely of priests who are total abstainers, has not been quite twelve months in existence, and yet its success has been very remarkable. It claims the Bishop of Limerick and Waterford as its patrons. The Right Rev. Monsignor M'Swiney, V.G. and Dean of Cork, is its president. It has as vice-presidents a distinguished priest from each province, whilst every

<sup>10</sup> *Documenta de St. Patricia, ex Libro Ardmachano*, edidit E. Hogan, S.J., p. 76.

<sup>11</sup> Prof. Bury's Article, p. 20, notes 89-90.

<sup>12</sup> I. E. RECORD, April, 1902, p. 300, *et seq.*

Diocese and Order are represented on the Council ; and, lastly, it has a membership of nearly 200 priests, secular and regular, embracing north and south, east and west.

Turning to the body of the Report, we find three very remarkable papers therein, one of these being from the able pen of the Rev. Dr. O'Riordan, of Limerick, whose name alone is a *Nihil obstat* and an *Imprimatur*, the others being respectively contributed by Father Thomas, O.S.F.C., and Father O'Leary, of Cork.

Finally, we read a list of some of the total abstinence societies in existence, a list, it is to be regretted, very far from exhaustive. There are also given the principal temperance publications.

Altogether it is a very notable production, but it is not intended for general circulation, being primarily designed for the members only ; however, a few extra copies have been struck off, and if any priest should like to know more about it, with a view to join, I shall be happy to let him have one, and to afford him any further information he may desire.

Once again, I beg to say, very deferentially, that the great panacea, if not the only one, for Ireland's ills, is to be found in the temperance movement, but the temperance movement cannot succeed unless the clergy espouse and lead it, and this, again, cannot be done except by concerted action through some such ' union ' as ours and the broader and more national the union is the better.—Yours very faithfully,

WALTER O'BRIEN, Secretary.

Doneraile, September, 1902.

## DOCUMENTS

## DOUBTS REGARDING REQUIEM MASSES

## E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

LABACEN. PLURIMA ET MAXIMI MOMENTI SOLVUNTUR DUBIA CIRCA  
MISSAM DE REQUIE

R. D. Josephus Erker canonicus cathedralis Ecclesiae Labacensis, de consensu Rmi sui Episcopi, a Sacra Rituum Congregatione sequentium dubiorum solutionem humillime flagitavit ; nimirum :

I. Privilegium circa Missas de Requie concessum sacellis sepulcreti ex Decreto n. 3903, diei 8 Iunii 1896 (1), et ecclesiae vel oratorio publico ac principali ipsius sepulcreti ex Decreto n. 3944, dei 12 Ian. 1897 ad 1<sup>um</sup> (2), favetne etiam sacellis, ecclesiis et oratoriis publicis sepulcreti, in quo olim cadavera sepeliebantur, quod sepulcretum tamen hodie quacunque ex causa derelictum est, ita ut defuncti in eo non amplius sepeliri soleant?

II. Praefatum privilegium favetne etiam ecclesiae parochiali, quae circumjacens habet coemeterium, quum in casu ecclesia parochialis revera evaserit ecclesia sepulcreti?

III. In anniversariis stricte sumptis laicorum, quae fundata sunt extra diem vere anniversariam ab obitu vel depositione, potestne sumi Oratio *Deus indulgentiarum Domine*?

IV. Anniversaria late sumpta, quae ex Decreto generali n. 3753 diei 2 Dec. 1891 pro fidelium pietate infra octavam Omnium Fidelium Defunctorum locum habent, suntne adeo praecise adstricta ad dictam octavam, ut aliis temporibus e. g. infra octavam Dedicationis ecclesiae vel Titularis ejusdem vel in uno ex Quatuor Temporibus non permittantur?

V. In ecclesiis ad chorum non obligatis plures Missas habentibus, in die Commemorationis Omnium Fidelium Defunctorum debetne esse una saltem Missa cum cantu de Commemoratione Omnium Fidelium Defunctorum, an omnes possunt esse lectae?

VI. Quatenus Missa de Requie sumenda est in ecclesiis unam tantum Missam habentibus, quando in die Commemorationis Omnium Fidelium Defunctorum occurrit alicuius defuncti dies depositionis?



VII. Ex Decreto n. 3944 diei 12 Ian. 1877 ad 3, et 3 Apr. 1900 ad 3 et 4 in una *Vicen.* Missae privatae die vel pro die obitus seu depositionis in ecclesiis et oratoriis publicis fieri permittuntur, si in iisdem etiam fiat funus cum Missa exequiali cum cantu, servatis servandis. Quaeritur: An funus cum Missa exequiali in cantu fieri debeat etiam in oratoriis *semipublicis*, ut fieri inibi possint praefatae Missae lectae de Requie?

VIII. Iuxta praefatum Decretum diei 3 Apr. ad 3 et 4 in una *Vicen.* in oratoriis privatis Missae, quae ibidem legi permittuntur, possunt esse de Requie *praesente cadavere in domo.* Quaeritur: Utrum haec praesentia intelligenda sit de praesentia non solum physica sed etiam morali in *domo*, quatenus ex gravi causa ex. gr. ob contagiosum morbum cadaver vetatur haberi in *domo*?

IX. Ex Decreto generali n. 3755 diei 2 Dec. 1891 Missam exequialem solemnem impediunt Festa duplicia I. classis sollemniora, sive universalis Ecclesiae sive Ecclesiarum particularium, *ex praecepto Rubricarum recolenda.* Quaeritur: Utrum haec ultima verba intelligenda sint tantum de Festis fori recolendis cum feriatione ex parte fidelium vel etiam de Festis chori sine feriatione, qualia sunt e. g. anniversarium Dedicationis propriae ecclesiae, Festum patroni regionis, dioecesis aut loci, quae non ubique recoluntur a populo?

X. Quaeritur: Utrum Missa de Requie cum cantu, quae ex praefato Decreto generali n. 3755 ad III. 'celebrari potest pro prima tantum vice post obitum vel ejus acceptum a locis dissitis nuntium die, quae prima occurrat non impedita a Festo 1 et 2 classis vel Festo de praecepto' cantari possit Feria IV Cinerum, Vigiliis Nativitatis Domini et Pentecostes, Feria IV, V, VI et Sabbato infra octavas Paschatis et Pentecostes, quum licet hae dies neque Festa sint de praecepto neque ritum 1 vel 2 classis habeant, excludunt tamen eadem Duplicia 1. classis?

XI. Quaeritur: 1. An in Missis de Requie, quae, abstrahendo, a Missa exequiali solemni aliisque occasione huius lectis, in *Semiduplicibus et Simplicibus* occurrentibus ab obitu usque ad depositionem alicuius fiunt cum vel sine cantu, adhibendum sit idem formulare ac in die obitus seu depositionis? 2. An idem dicendum sit etiam respectu Missarum, quae celebrantur in biduo post factam ob gravem causam sepulturam, si occurrat *Semiduplex* vel *Simplex*?

XII. In Decreto n. 3822 diei 3 Apr. 1894 disponitur, 'ut dum corpus Episcopi dioecesanii defuncti, sacris indutum vestibus,

in propriae aedis aula majori publice et solemniter jacet expositum, Missae in suffragium animae ejus per totum mane celebrari valeant, iis omnibus servatis, etc.’ Quaeritur: An haec dispositio necessario intelligi debeat de *Missis de Requie* pro defuncto Episcopo dioecesano inibi celebrandis, idque nullo habito respectu ritus aut solemnitatis diei, qua celebrantur, sive sit Duplex majus aut minus, sive classicum vel Festum solempne?

XIII. Expositio Sanctissimi Sacramenti publica seu solemnis, quae fit de licentia Ordinarii potestne fieri etiam cum pyxide collocanda in throno tabernaculi?

XIV. Expositio Sanctissimi Sacramenti privata, et minus solemnis, quae fit cum pyxide intra tabernaculum, ostiolo patefacto, si sit permanens et ex causa publica, impeditne Missas de Requie?

XV. Sacerdos obligatus sive ex fundatione sive ex stipendio accepto ad celebrandam Missam pro uno vel pluribus defunctis, satisfacitne suae obligationi, applicando pro iisdem defunctis Missam officio diei conformem in Semiduplicibus aliisque diebus Missas quotidianas de Requie permittentibus, vel tenetur dictis diebus celebrare Missam de Requie, etiamsi fundator vel dans eleemosynam, Missam de Requie expresse non postulaverit, nec Missa celebranda sit in altari privilegiato?

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisita sententia Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque accurate perpensis rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. *Negative.*

Ad II. *Negative.*

Ad III. *Affirmative.*

Ad IV. *Affirmative.*

Ad V. Missam in cantu de Commem. Omn. fid. defunct. in casu, non esse praescriptam.

Ad VI. Missa erit ut in die obitus.

Ad VII. *Negative* in casu.

Ad VIII. *Affirmative*, iuxta Decretum 3903 diei 8 Junii 1896.

Ad IX. *Negative* ad primam partem; *Affirmative* ad secundam, quoad festa localia solemniora.

Ad X. *Negative* in omnibus, iuxta Decr. Gen. n. 3922 diei 30 Junii 1896, § III, n. 2

Ad XI. Ad. 1<sup>um</sup> et 2<sup>um</sup>, adhibeatur Missa ut in die obitus, seu depositionis.

Ad XII. Missae lectae, in casu, permittuntur ad normam Decreti n. 3903, diei 8 Junii 1896.

Ad XIII Negative iuxta Decreta.

Ad XIV Affirmative, in casu, iuxta Decretum n. 2390  
*Varsavien.* 7 Maii 1746 ad 4.

Ad XV. Detur Decretum n. 4031 *Plurium Dioecesium* 13  
Junii 1899, ad IV.

Atque ita rescipsit, die 28 Aprilis 1902.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, *Arch. Laodicen., Secret.*

### NOVENA TO THE HOLY GHOST

DECRETUM DIEI 9 MAII 1897 DE NOVENDIALI SUPPLICATIONE IN  
HONOREM SPIRITUS SANCTI, DEQUE SACR. INDULG. CONCES-  
SIONE VALET PRO SINGULIS IN PERPETUUM ANNIS.

*Reverendissime Domine,*

Ad fovendum in christiano populo pietatis studium erga  
divinum Spiritum, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo PP. XIII  
die IX Maii an. MDCCCLXXXVII ad universos episcopos, uti  
nosti, Litteras dedit encyclicas *Divinum illud munus*, apos-  
tolicae caritatis sapientiaeque plenas.

Plura in ipsis Beatissimus Pater de mysterio Trinitatis augus-  
tae, ac praesertim de praesentia et virtute mirifica Spiritus Sancti  
opportune edocuit: tum omnes e clero, nominatimque con-  
cionatores sacros, animarumque curatores maiorem in modum  
hortatus est, ut quae ad Spiritum Sanctum pertinent, diligentius  
atque uberius christiano populo traderent. Quo magis enim  
excitetur vigeatque in animis de Ipso fides, eo facilius christiani  
homines assuescent divinum Parachitum, *altissimi donum Dei*,  
et amare ardentius et impensius implorare.—Adventantibus in-  
super sacrae Pentecostes sollemnibus, Summus ipse Pontifex per  
easdem litteras decrevit et mandavit ut per orbem catholicum  
universum, supplicatio novendialis in omnibus curialibus tem-  
plis, et si Ordinariis locorum utile videretur, in aliis etiam tem-  
plis sacrariisve fieret. Plura demum de thesauro Ecclesiae be-  
nigne in perpetuum largitus est sacrae indulgentiae munera,  
etiam per octavam Solemnitatis a fidelibus lucranda.

Iamvero Sanctitas Sua vehementer exoptat ut quae tunc, mo-  
nendo hortandoque, edixit, ea in omnium animis, diligenti Cleri  
opera, et viva insideant, et perennes uberesque, ad maiorem di-  
vini Spiritus gloriam afferant salutariter fructus. Hanc ipsam



ob causam exemplar earumdem Litterarum, iussu eiusdem Beatissimi Patris, ad Te una mitto. — Quoniam vero decursu temporis, ut alicubi accidisse constat, a nonnullis existimatum est, decretum de ea novendiali supplicatione, ad supra dictum tantummodo annum MDCCCLXXXVII spectasse, magni refert ut sit apprime cognitum, quae in memoratis litteris sunt praescripta, tum de eadem supplicatione tum de sacrae indulgentiae muneribus, pro singulis in perpetuum annis sancita fuisse. — Quam quidem novendialem supplicationem eo magis Summus Pontifex vult omnibus enixe commendatam, quod ad finem sane praestantissimum, scilicet *ad maturandum christianae unitatis bonum*, de quo tantopere sollicita est Sanctitas Sua, eam ipsam praordinaverit.

Haec habui quae mandato augusti Pontificis Amplitudini Tuae perscriberem. Ipsa vero Sanctitas Sua spem certam fovet, Episcoporum hac etiam in re navitati et industriae alacritatem Cleri, Deo bene iuvante, responsuram.

Interim Amplitudini Tuae fausta cuncta ex animo adprecor.

Romae, ex Secretaria SS. Rituum Congregationis die 18 Aprilis 1902.

Amplitudinis Tuae uti Frater addictissimus.

D. CARD. FERRATA, S. R. C. Praefectus.

D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., S. R. C. Secretarius.

## CONFESSION OF NUNS ABSENT FROM THEIR CONVENTS

### E SACRA POENITENTIARIA

RELIGIOSAE, IN COMMUNITATE VIVENTES, CONFITERI POSSUNT  
CUILIBET CONFESSARIO PRO UTROQUE SEXU ADPROBATO,  
QUANDO EXTRA MONASTERIUM VERSANTUR

Statuta archidioecesis Mechliniensis et dioecesis Tornacensis haec habent :

1. Nemo, praeter confessarium tum ordinarium, tum extraordinarium, sacramentalem confessionem religiosarum quarumcumque in communitate viventium, in monasterio valide excipere potest absque praevia Ordinarii facultate.

2. Monialium quae per aliquot dies extra monasterium versantur, confessiones audire potest in ecclesiis, etc., quilibet confessarius pro utroque sexu approbatus.

Ita, ad litteram statuta Tornacensia, Mechliniensia autem fere idem sonant, nisi quod, in altero articulo, pro *per aliquot dies*, ponunt *ad tempus*.

His positis.

Titus ab Episcopo Tornacensi litteras accipit, quibus approbatur ad confessiones excipiendas *personarum utriusque sexus, non tamen religiosarum*.

Dum in publica ecclesia confessarii munere defungitur, fidelibus reliquis se adjungit *Soror* quaedam, ut aiunt, pertinens ad communitatem civitatis in qua Titius excipit confessiones, sed ad horam egressa e suo monasterio ad aliquod negotium componendum. In pluribus enim Institutis, integrum est Superiorissae facultatem facere exeundi per diem. Titius, audita confessione, absolvit sororem illam.

Postea autem dubitare coepit utrum valide impertierit absolutionem, a ncontra, defectu jurisdictionis, nulla sit haec absolutio. Cum autem hujusmodi casus facile iterari possint, et, pro valore vel nullitate talis sacramentalis iudicii, variare debeat officium inquirendi de conditione religiosarum quae in ecclesia publica accesserint ad confessarium, ideo suppliciter (orator) adit Eminentiam Vestram, quatenus dubium sequens solvere dignetur: Utrum Titius in casu valide absolverit praedictam religiosam, an caruerit requisita iurisdictione?

Quod si invalide absolverit, quomodo se in posterum gerere debeat si inter poenitentes animadverterit monialem; id est, qua cura interrogare debeat de adiunctis in quibus versetur accedens *Soror*?

S. Poenitentiaria ad praemissa respondet: *Ratione habita prioris statuti, Titium valide absolvisse: quoad interrogationes vero faciendas, nisi prudens suspicio suboriat quod poenitens illicite apud ipsum confiteatur, posse confessarium a supra-dictis interrogationibus abstinere.*

Datum Romae, in Sacra Poenitentiaria, die 7 Februarii 1901.

## INDULGENCED PRAYERS TO THE SACRED HEART

### DECRETUM.

URBIS ET ORBIS. DECLARATIO CIRCA INDULGENTIAS CONCESSAS A PIO PP. IX ET A LEONE PP. XIII. IIS QUI INTRA MENSEM LUNII VARIA PIETATIS OBSEQUIA SS. CORDI IESU PRAESTANT

Quo cultus erga Sacratissimum Cor Iesu per Catholicam Ecclesiam tam late diffusus adhuc maiora incrementa susciperet

f. r. Pius IX per Decretum S. Congrnis. Indulgentiam d. d. 8 Maii 1873, nec non SSmus. Dnus. Nr. Leo Pp. XIII per literas Emi. S. Rituum Congrnis. Praefecti sub die 21 Iulii 1899<sup>1</sup> ad universos Episcopos transmissas, eum morem in pluribus Ecclesiis iam obtinentem, ut per integrum mensem Iunium varia pietatis obsequia divino Cordi praestarentur quam maxime commendarunt, eique Indulgentias adnexuerunt.

Quoniam vero de eisdem Indulgentiis ab utroque Pontifice concessis pro memoratis piis exercitiis mense Iunio peragendis aliquod dubium obortum fuerit, ad illud removendum, immo ut Fideles amplioribus etiam collatis gratiis spiritualibus ad cultum eiusdem SS. Cordis validius excitentur, Sacra Congregation Indulgentiis sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita, utendo facultatibus a SSmo. Dno. Nro. specialiter tributis ea decernit quae sequuntur.

Omnes Christifideles, qui sive publice, sive privatim peculiari-bus precibus devotique animi obsequiis in honorem SS. Cordis Iesu mense Iunio corde saltem contrito-vacaverint, Indulgentiam septem annorum totidemque quadragenarum semel singulis dicti mensis diebus lucrentur.

Qui vero Christifideles privatim tantum singulis dicti mensis diebus praefata obsequia praestiterint simulque una die vel intra memoratum mensem vel ex octo prioribus mensis Iulii vere poenitentes, confessi ac S. Synaxi refecti aliquam Ecclesiam vel publicum Oratorium visitaverint, ibique ad mentem Summi Pontificis pias preces effuderint, Plenariam Indulgentiam consequentur.

Quam quidem plenariam Indulgentiam etiam ii Fideles lucrentur, qui saltem decem in mense vicibus eiusmodi exercitiis publice peractis interfuerint itemque supra memorata pia opera adimpleverint.

Quas omnes Indulgentias eadem S. Congtio. etiam animabus igne purgatorio detentis fore applicabiles declarat.

Praesenti in perpetuum valituro absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secria. eiusdem S. Congrnis. die 30 Maii, 1902.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ FRANCISCUS SOGARO, *Archiep. Amiden., Secr.*

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<sup>1</sup> In Festo et per Octavam sancti Cleophae; loco verbi *memoriam*, dicitur vox *natalitia*.



IRISH PATRON SAINTS <sup>1</sup>

INFORMATIO SUPER DUBIO AN CONSTET DE CULTU PUBLICO ECCLE-  
 SIASTICO AB IMMEMORABILI TEMPORE PRAESTITO SERVIS DEI,  
 DE QUIBUS IN PRECIBUS, SEU DE CASU EXCEPTO A DECRETIS  
 SA : ME : URBANI PAPAE VIII?

EME. AC RME. DOMINE,

1. In Hibernia, quae nostra etiam hac perditissima aetate Catholicam Fidem et Obsequium erga Apostolicam Sedem semper servavit, extiterant usque ab antiquis temporibus praestantissimi viri, qui, ob miram sanctitatis opinionem apud coaevos initam et apud posteros confirmatam, ob heroicas virtutes et miracula post obitum patrata et ad eorum intercessionem obtenta, iure meritoque inter Patronos Hiberniae cum Sancto Patritio et Sancta Brigida recensentur et maxima veneratione a clero et populo coluntur; attamen quoad nonnullos, qui uti Sancti a tempore immemorabili ex universali traditione habiti sunt, decretum Apostolicae Sedis, quo cultus approbetur publicus ecclesiasticus, adhuc desideratur. Ideoque, cum de concessione lectionum propriarum agendum sit in honorem quorundam Servorum Dei, optimam partem elegisse videtur Illmus ac Revmus. Episcopus Clonfertensis, in historia Sanctorum Hiberniae optime versatus, qui, in hac iudicii sede, nomine suo et ceterorum Hiberniae Episcoporum enixe rogat ut a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione favorabile edatur rescriptum, quo cultus horum Sanctorum approbetur.

2. Haec sunt Sanctorum nomina per Provincias Metropolitanas disposita :

*Ex provincia Armacana* : Colmanus (Dromorensis), Comgalus, Eugenius, Fidleminus, Macanisius, Macartinus, et Finnianus.

*Ex provincia Dublinensi* : Coemgenus, Conlethus, Edanus, Kieranus et Laserianus.

*Ex provincia Cassiliensi* : Albertus, Carthagus, Colmanus, (Cloynensis), Declanus, Fachananus, Finbarrus, Flannanus et Otteranus.

*Ex provincia Tuamensi* : Asicus, Colmanus (Duacensis), Jarlathus, Muredachus, et Natheus.

<sup>1</sup> The following documents relating to the Decree confirming the 'Cultus' of Irish Patron Saints, published in our August number, page 177, will be found interesting.

3. Ad plurimos Dei Servos quod spectat haud longa opus est dissertatione, nam praeter eorum inscriptionem in domesticis Hiberniae Martyrologiis, quod in casu nostro maximi momenti est, aliud extat argumentum ex quo iuxta Benedictum XIV. clare atque aperte exurgit cultus declaratio. Magister noster habet in suo laudato opere: 'Casus est exceptus ex permissione Sacrae Congregationis, non quando Summus Pontifex cultum publicum indulget alicui Servo Dei, praevio eiusdem Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis consilio, tunc quippe actus potius est Summo ipsi Pontifici quam Sacrae Congregationi adscribendus; sed quando Sacra eadem Congregatio vi iurisdictionis sibi datae per bullam Sixtinam ex se permittit ut alicui Servo Dei aliqua cultus publici species exhibeatur';<sup>2</sup> atque, uti ex decretis in Summario relatis videbimus, Sacra Rituum Congregatio officia in honorem dictorum Sanctorum concessit, et in recitatione officii, ut Ipse Benedictus XIV. ait 'stat supremum pondus ecclesiastici cultus.'<sup>3</sup>

4. Ad alteram partem pergens scilicet ad cultum S. Eugenii, S. Finniani, et S. Declani, quorum nomina in decretis Sacrae Congregationis frustra requirimus, minime dubitare possumus ex allatis documentis de cultu eis ab immemorabili praestito.

5. Etenim si—certum est—uti monet Benedictus XIV. 'cultum publicum ecclesiasticum ex ipsa nominis in Romano Martyrologio scriptione derivari'<sup>4</sup> ex documentis, quae potiora videntur ad probandam praescriptionem et possessionem, cultus alicuius Servi Dei, haud despicienda sunt Martyrologia quae in usum peculiaris Ecclesiae destinata sunt.

6. Initium cultus ab obitu hoc in casu maxime habetur planeque constat ex nominis inscriptione in antiquissimo Martyrologio Aengusii (circiter A.D. 780) ubi festa recoluntur S. Eugenii S. Finniani et S. Declani. Praeterea praeclarissimum hoc cultus monumentum confirmatum est ex aliis Hibernicis Martyrologiis quae luculenter ostendunt cultum iis Sanctis exhibitum fuisse non modo per illud intervallum, quo notissimus centenarii cursus ante Urbaniana decreta conficitur (1534-1634), verum etiam nobilissimum hunc cultum ea tempora longe antecessisse; quum itaque uniuscuiusque Dei Famuli nomina, quorum cultus confirmari petimus, inscripta reperiantur in Martyrologio Gormani (circiter A.D. 1167), et in Martyrologio

<sup>2</sup> *De Beatif. et Canoniz.*, S.S., Lib. ii., cap. xxi., num. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. ii., cap. xx., num. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

Dungallensi (circiter A.D. 1630). Etiam Colganus (A.D. 1643) in Actis Sanctorum Hiberniae memorat S. Eugenium, S. Finnianum et S. Declanum.

7. Neque hic finis. Cultus publicus horum Sanctorum continua annorum serie perrexit ad aetatem nostram novis in dies incrementis auctus atque exornatus, uti discimus etiam ex Actis Sanctorum Bollandianis, quorum auctoritas maxima est.

8. Insuper oportet ad legitimam cultus possessionem ut populorum venerationi accedat scientia ac tolerantia Apostolicae Sedis vel Ordinarii: itaque in specie nostra nullum affertur documentum, nullum episcopale decretum, quo cultus horum Sanctorum vetitus fuerit: verum etiam Illmi. et Revmi. Episcopi claris atque apertis verbis de cultu supradictis Servis Dei ab immemorabili praestito testimonium dicunt. Episcopus Derriensis 'S. Eugenium ut Sanctum veneratum fuisse' declarat 'et ut Patronum Dioecesis Derriensis per multa saecula recognitum fuisse ex universali traditione.'

Idem de cultu S. Finniani Episcopus Midensis dicit: 'testificor ex auctoritate unanimi historicorum, traditione immemoriali et universali in Dioecesi Sanctum Finnianum cultum debitum Sancto et Patrono recepisse.'

Tandem quoad S. Declanum Episcopus Waterfordiensis et Lismorensis confirmat: 'Festum S. Declani quotannis die 24 mensis Julii religiose celebrari' et postea: 'Populum Ardmorensem nomen Declani, quum sit omnium gratissimum, filiis persaepe in sacro Baptismate impertiri.'

9. Quid igitur inquirimus amplius? Vidimus S. Eugenium, S. Finnianum et S. Declanum eximia charitate atque mirabili poenitentia praeclaros, ea pietatis ac sanctitatis indicia edidisse ut in exemplum christianae perfectionis omnibus fidelibus adducti sint: vidimus etiam in legitima cultus possessione Viros egregios permansisse non modo per illud intervallum a Decretis Urbani VIII. praescriptum, verum etiam ante centum annorum spatium et postea hunc cultum sine interruptione aut imminutione usque ad aetatem nostram feliciter esse perductum, ita ut haec omnia sufficere videantur ut Vos AA. PP. affirmative respondeatis dubio: 'An constet de cultu ab immemorabili tempore praestito Servis Dei, de quibus in precibus, seu de casu excepto a Decretis sa: me: Urbani Papae VIII?'

10. Apud omnes adeo diffusa est fama Sanctitatis horum Servorum Dei, adeo publica erga Eos veneratio, ut irreligiosum esset eorum cultum subtrahere: ecclesia extant in eorum hono-



rem aedificatae, Seminaria sub eorum patrocínio constituta, peregrinationes in dies festos ad loca eorum memoriae consecrata: omnes scriptores Eos titulo Sancti appellant, populi Hiberniae uti patronos invocant in omnibus necessitatibus et eorum nomina persaepe filiis in sacro Baptismate impertiuntur.

Veruntamen ne populi pietatis patiatúr detrimentum, indeque scandali occasio habeatur, confidimus fore ut causa haec nobilissima eum exitum habitura sit quem cupiunt Illmus. ac Revmus. Episcopus Clonfertensis et omnes Rmi. Hiberniae Episcopi quorum deprecationibus preces humillimas addit Illmus ac Revmus Dominus Guillelmus Murphy Collegii Hibernorum de Urbe Moderator atque Procurator Hiberniae Episcoporum.

Quare etc.

Die 24 Aprilis, 1902.

CAIETANUS PIACENTINI.

REVISÁ.—ANGELUS ADV. MARIANI,

S. R. C. Assessor et S. Fidei Sub-Promotor.

ADNOTATIONES R. P. D. PROMOTORIS FIDEI SUPER DUBIO AN CONSTET DE CASU EXCEPTO A DECRETIS SA: ME: URBANI PAPAE VIII, IN CASU ET AD EFFECTUM DE QUO AGITUR?

EME. AC RME. DOMINE,

1. Laudibus sane digni sacri Hiberniae Antistites; quíppe ut caelítum honores a veneranda antiquitate quibusdam Servis Dei tributí penes sacrum hunc Ordinem rite confirmarentur, SSmo. Dno. Nostro Leoni Papae XIII preces obtulerunt. Hae quidem tanta benignitate exceptae sunt, ut, *praevia dispensatione a singulis Inquisitionibus Ordinariis, et a subsequenti relativa sententia ab Ecclesiastica Auctoritate Ordinaria proferenda, rem per authentica documenta expediri posse concessum fuerit* (Vid. Decret. in Summ. pag. 1-2).

2. Ad expendenda igitur, quae in Summarío exhibita sunt, cultus documenta gradum facienti bina occurrunt Apostolica Indulta, quibus in honorem ferme omnium Dei Servorum, de quorum cultu confirmando quaestio est, Missas et Officia propria, atque Festa elatiori ritu celebrari indultum fuit. Huis concessionis auctor primus extitit iuris nostri Conditor, Benedictus XIV qui Officia propria quorundam Hiberniae Sanctorum, quos inter *Congallus* et *Colmannus* — *Duacensis*, ad universas illius regni Dioeceses suprema sua auctoritate extendit. (Summ. pag. 3). Recentioris Indulti auctor est SSmus. Dnus. Noster,

qui anno 1883, instantibus Hiberniae Episcopis per S. Rituum Congregationem benigne annuit, ut festa Patronorum singularem Dioecesum in omnibus agerentur Hiberniae ecclesiis sub ritu duplici maiori. In eorum catalogo, iuxta ecclesiasticas Provincias distributi reperiuntur—*Macartinus, Colmanus, (Dromorensis,) Fidleminus, Macanisius,—Edanus, Kieranus, Laserianus, Conlethus, Coemgenus—Albertus, Carthagus, Fachananus—Finbarrus, Otteranus Colmanus (Cloynensis) Flannanus—Asicus, Iarlathus, Nathaeus, Muredachus, Colmanus (Duacensis)* (Summ. pag. 5 et seqq.) Iamvero cum *Officii, Missae ac Festi* celebratio publicum cultum ecclesiasticum significet, (*Bened. XIV lib. II cap. XXIII N. I*) atque hae cultus significationes praefatis *Servis Dei* per Apostolica Indulta attributae sint, haud inficior iam satis pro iisdem haberi, ut quaestio de casu excepto a Decretis sa : me : Urbani PP. VIII ex huius Sacrae Congregationis Indulto feliciter absolvi queat. (*Bened. XIV l. c. Cap. XX*).

3. Si pro *Servis Dei* hucusque recensitis adeo plana expeditaque res est, non item vero pro tribus, qui reliqui sunt; nimirum *Eugenio, Finniano et Declano*. Etenim nullum pro istis exhibetur apostolicum indultum, sed ad eorundem cultus vetustatem adserendam quaedam peculiarium Ecclesiarum martyrologia afferuntur, quibus eandem ferme auctoritatem tribuere videntur causae actores, quam sibi romanum vindicat martyrologium. At nemo non intelligit quantum intercedat discrimen inter nostrum, quod diligenter expensum et Supremi Pontificis auctoritate firmatum, editum est martyrologium, atque aliarum ecclesiarum vetusta martyrologia, quae, uti plurimum, a privatis concinnata sunt viris, praesertim si plane non constet locorum saltem Ordinarium placitum iis accessisse, vel in Synodis fuisse probata. Antiquissima sane sunt martyrologia. Aengusii et Gormani, sed quae et quanta illis insit auctoritas nullo ex capite colligi potest. Auctoritatem aliquam mereri videtur martyrologium Dungallense, utpote a viro religiosa professione commendato ex Antistitum venia digestum, sed in eo virtutes et miracula quoddammodo commemorantur, minime vero ecclesiasticus cultus qui *Servis Dei* fuerit tributus.

4. Quae ex Bollandianis scriptoribus excerpta exhibentur haud sunt profecto despicienda; verum, cum ab aliis derivata sint auctoribus, non eam conficere possunt absolutam probationem, quam in cultus vetustate demonstranda leges nostrae exposcunt; nescimus enim an primigenia documenta, unde

rerum notitiae haustae sunt, authentica fuerint, et quatenam illis adsignanda sit fides et auctoritas. Quocirca satius egissent huius causae actores, si non unis martyrologiis contenti, alia ex libris liturgicis vel ex probatis historicis attulissent cultus documenta, iis omnibus communita conditionibus, quae contrariam quamlibet exceptionem adimunt, quemadmodum probe praestiterunt Scotorum Antistites, quorum causa huic gemina est.

5. In eorum enim causa, quae anno superiore coram hoc Sacro Ordine absoluta fuit 'ad cultum publicum ecclesiasticum et immemorabilem evincendum (uti in Decreto legitur) producta fuere *authentica documenta historica, sacra et liturgica* tum ex Martyrologio Edimburgi asservato, quo Ecclesia Aberdonensis ineunte saeculo XVI utebatur, et ex aliis Martyrologiis Tamlachtensi saeculi VIII et Dungallensi, tum ex *per-vetustis Kalendaris Sanctorum Scotiae*, speciatim illo de Nova Farina saeculi XV. tum ex *Missali Drummodensi*, saeculo XI. scripto quod in palatio Drummodensi, dioeceseos Dunkeldensis, reperitur, tum denique ex *Breviario Aberdonensi*, ad universae Ecclesiae Scotorum usum, typis edito anno 1509. *Ex quibus omnibus documentis aliisque recentioribus documentis, ab Annuario auctoritate Episcoporum Scotorum vulgato depromptis*, inferebatur ab antiquo in plerisque Scotiae locis in honorem praefatorum Servorum Dei *instituta fuisse festa seu solemnitates cum Officio et Missa*, et cleri populi devoti concursu, *dicata quoque templa et altaria*, atque eos meritis, patrociniiis ac miraculis claros Beatos fuisse nuncupatos.' Deficientibus itaque cultus documentis, quae in Scotorum causa, uti potiora et luculentiora habita sunt, non videtur in praesenti causa eadem ac in illa ferri posse sententia.

Haec dicta sint sub censura, salvo, etc.

Die 13 Maii 1902.

ALEXANDER VERDE,  
Sacri Consist. Adv. Electus, S. Fidei  
Promotor.

RESPONSIO AD ADNOTATIONES R. P. D. PROMOTORIS FIDEI SUPER  
DUBIO AN CONSTET DE CASU EXCEPTO A DECRETIS SA : ME :  
URBANI PPAE VIII, IN CASU ET AD EFFECTUM DE QUO AGITUR?

EME. AC RME. DOMINE,

1. Cum ex Sacri huius Fori legibus sapienter institutum sit, ut, quae in eo aguntur causae, ad quamlibet dubitationem de



medio tollendam, severo subiiciantur examini, omnia et singula in casu nostro diligentissime praeclarissimus Fidei Vindex perscrutatus est ; at nihil grave in suis excogitandis difficultatibus potuit reperire : quamobrem adnotationes, quas Custos vigilantissimus praeparare studuit, haud longam orationem desiderant.

2. Grato excepimus animo Fidei Promotoris sententiam, nam quod Censor Egregius veritati obsequutus scripsit : ‘ . . . cum officii, Missae ac Festi celebratio publicum cultum ecclesiasticum significet atque hae cultus significationes praefatis Servis Dei per Apostolica Indulta attributae sint, haud inficior iam satis pro iisdem haberi, ut quaestionem de casu excepto a Decretis sa : me : Urbani PP. VIII. ex huius Sacrae Congregationis Indulto feliciter absolvi queant ’ satis superque ostendit de casu excepto a decretis Urbani VIII. plurimorum Servorum Dei nullo modo dubitari posse.

3. Deinde quamvis ex authenticis appareat documentis cultum publicum et ecclesiasticum SS. Eugenio, Finniano et Declano ab immemorabili tributum esse, tamen, ne officio suo deesse videatur, aliquid censura dignum, Vir praeclarissimus deprehendit.

4. Et opponit in primis Martyrologia peculiarium Ecclesiarum eam non habere auctoritatem quam sibi vindicat Martyrologium Romanum. Ego haud negabo inter Martyrologia maximam habere auctoritatem Martyrologium Romanum, ideo ut, si nomina Eugenii, Finniani et Declani in eo reperirentur inscripta, hoc inutile esset iudicium, nam haec inscriptio ex se importat cultus confirmationem ; attamen ad casum exceptum definiendum maximi sunt momenti etiam alia Martyrologia, praesertim antiquissima et magnae auctoritatis, quorum semper habita fuit ratio, cum actum est de casu excepto in Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione.

5. Etiam strenuus Vindex tribuit fidem Martyrologio Dungallensi, quod vir religiosa professione silicet Fr. Michael O’Clery Ord. Fr. Min. Strictioris Observantiae, permissu et facultate superiorem, era Urbaniana decurrente, collegit ac digessit, quodque ab Ordinariis fuit approbatum uti ex Actis Sanctorum Bollandianis discimus : ‘ . . . (haec) transumpta tamen fuisse ex antiquissimis monumentis, ostendunt Archiepiscopi Hiberniae, dictum Martyrologium (Dungallense) approbantes.’

6. Hoc Martyrologium in quo sub iisdem diebus extant nomina Eugenii, Finniani et Declani nonne confirmat quod

relatum est in Martyrologiis Aengusii et Gormani et magnam non addet fidem illorum auctoritati?

7. Haec verba in contrarium adducit solertissimus 'Investigator . . . in eo (Martyrologio Dungallensi) virtutes et miracula quodammodo commemorantur, minime vero ecclesiasticus cultus qui Servis Dei fuerit tributus'; attamen quid si deficiat commemoratio ecclesiastici cultus? nonne tota argumenti vis in eo praecipue consistit quod in Martyrologio, cuius inscriptio est 'Kalendarium Sanctorum Hiberniae,' ubique consequenter non nisi nomina Sanctorum scripta sunt, SS. Eugenium, Finnianum et Declanum reperimus?

8. Neque auferenda est auctoritas Actis Sanctorum Bollandianis, nam iuxta Benedictum XIV.<sup>5</sup> 'nomine authenticorum documentorum in praesenti materia veniunt . . . historiae conscriptae a viris fide dignis'; et ex accurato eorum examine videbimus omnia in eis relata accurate digesta fuisse et excerpta ex antiquissimis documentis et historiis. Iuvat haec verba recolere ex quibus apparet quanta diligentia haec Acta fuerint composita: ' . . . circa immemorabilem S. Eugenii cultum confido potissimum testimonio R. P. Joannis Colgani Minoritae Hiberni, qui consuluit varia Martyrologia Hibernica et antiqua Sanctorum Hibernicorum Acta, in quibus huic Praesuli Ardsrathensi (S. Eugenio) ubique nomen Sancti adscribitur . . .'

9. Valde utilis est mihi comparatio illa, quam Fidei Promotor contra intentionem nostram proponit inter hanc causam et alteram cultus confirmationis quorundam Scotiae Servorum Dei; nam haud referre cultus confirmationis decretum, sed potius perscrutare debeat documenta quae postea in decreto appellata fuere 'authentica, historica, sacra et liturgica.' Constat ex accurato atque diligenti documentorum examine cultum Scotiae Sanctorum praecipue ex nominis inscriptione in Martyrologio Aberdonensi confirmatum fuisse; non omnes enim Servi Dei, de quibus in precibus nominati sunt in aliis documentis ('dedicationes ecclesiarum et altarium in honorem Famulorum Dei, et lectiones historicae Breviarii Aberdonensis') quae eo tempore fuerunt exhibita.

10. Etiam si concedatur huius generis documenta deesse, hoc tamen nullum praeiudicium causae nostrae allaturum est, nam Magister Noster actus enumerans ex quibus citra ullam dubitationem cultus publicus inducitur, nullibi aliquem actum desig-

<sup>5</sup> *De Beatif. et Canoniz.* SS., Lib. ii., cap. xxiii., num. 1.

nat, qui ad confirmationem cultus obtinendam taxative requiratur atque haec in suo laudato opere scripsit : ‘ Et ipse quoque cum Scaccho sentio Cultum publicum ex hisce actibus importari, at non ita tamen, ut si hi deficient, alii autem adsint publici cultus actus, approbatio casus excepti ex tempore immemorabili, vel ex quocumque alio capite nequeat obtineri ’ ;<sup>6</sup> attamen in hac etiam confirmatione cultus Hiberniae Sanctorum dedicationes Ecclesiarum in eorum honorem habemus.

11. Legimus in Summario quoad S. Eugenium : ‘ Derriæ in Ultoniensi Hiberniae provincia Sanctus Eugenius de Magher primus Episcopus Ardsrathensis, in cuius honorem statim aedificata est magna ecclesia supra locum tumuli ’ et quoad S. Declanum : ‘ ibidem in honorem S. Declani ecclesia extruenda foret. Dicta ecclesia extat in baronia Desmoniensi in Momonia. ’ Insuper cur de altarium dedicatione in honorem horum Sanctorum dubitandum sit, si Illmi. ac Rmi. Episcopi una voce confirmant S. Eugenium, S. Finnianum et S. Declanum uti patronos a clero et populo habitos esse, et consequenter cultum Sancto ac patrono bebuto recepissee?

12. Tandem si, iuxta praxim S. Congregationis, in causa confirmationis cultus quorundam Scotiae Sanctorum cultus ex : gr : S. Donnani a SSmo. Domino Nostro Leone PP. XIII. approbatus est ex nominis inscriptione in Martyrologiis peculiarium Ecclesiarum, nullam denegationis causam videre fatemur quoad cultus confirmationem Hiberniae Servorum Dei, quorum cultus non solum ex nominis inscriptione in omnibus hibernicis Martyrologiis, verum etiam ex aliis gravis ponderis documentis confirmatus est.

13. Dispersis igitur illis difficultatibus quas Fidei Promotor pro necessitate congesserat sui muneris exercendi, nihil aliud restat quam exorare hunc Sacratissimum Ordinem ut pro sapientia ac religione sua propitium in hoc iudicio edat rescriptum.

Quare etc.

Die 20 Maii, 1902.

CAIETANUS PIACENTINI.

REVIS. — ANGELUS ADV. MARIANI,

*S. R. C. Assessor et S. Fidei Subpromotor.*

<sup>6</sup> *De Beatif. et Canoniz. SS., Lib. ii., cap. xxiii., num 9.*



## NOTICES OF BOOKS

ANGLO-JEWISH CALENDAR FOR EVERY DAY IN THE  
GOSPELS. By Rev. Matthew Power, S.J. Sands & Co.  
Price 2s. 6d.

It may be said that the difficulties which beset the path of the student of the Gospels as soon as he enters the field of chronology are almost innumerable. To take a familiar instance, one that probably gave everyone of us considerable occupation in our college days—did it not seem impossible for us to reconcile ‘ the first day of the Azymes ’ of SS. Matthew, Mark and Luke with the day ‘ before the festival day of the Pasch ’ of St. John? According to him, apparently, the Last Supper was eaten twenty-four hours earlier than the time indicated by the Synoptists. Nor was the difficulty felt by us humble individuals only : it had for centuries divided the Greek and the Latin Churches in the use respectively of leavened and unleavened bread.

Various efforts, some of them conspicuous for the great learning and ingenuity embodied, had been made to show how the two statements were in reality identical, but it had to be confessed that in these theories a good deal was tacitly assumed or taken for granted. Hypotheses, indispensable to such tentative solutions, were readily made and as readily accepted for the obvious reason that nothing better came to hand. It was even said that a harmony of the Gospels between themselves, or with the dates of profane history, such as would postulate nothing, and would at the same time remove all the chronological paradoxes, was not to be hoped for. Yet long ago, by his establishing A.D. 31 as the true year of Christ’s death, the great Petavius pointed out the direction in which the apparently divergent statements meet, and it is pleasing to note that his profound researches concerning the Jewish method of reckoning, supplemented by those of Wurm and Anger, have now been brought to completion by another erudite Jesuit, the author of the invaluable work now lying before us. (In astronomical calculations he was assisted, he tells us, by Sir Robert Ball and Father Sidgreaves, S.J., Stonyhurst.) Few persons have any conception of

the ability, the extensive reading and the labour required for the production of such a book. Now, for the first time, we have a reliable calendar *in extenso* of every day in the public life of our Lord. Father Power has achieved his difficult task (for undertaking which he deserves the gratitude of all Catholics) by the use of the double reckoning (legal and popular) employed by the Jews, and still more by the skilful application of their secret rule *Badhu*. So carefully has this esoteric practice been concealed that its existence is known to very few, and we may remark here that in the new Jewish Encyclopædia (Funk and Wagnall) there is so far not a word about it.

We should, however, have to borrow every item from Father Power's learned work were we to speak about the effect of this all-potent factor in the Jewish calendar, for his explanation leaves nothing to be said.

We shall, therefore, content ourselves with observing that his book, which is the Introduction to a large work now in preparation, on which he has been for many years engaged (see his able article on Gospel Chronology, *Dublin Review*, April, 1890), is one of the most remarkable products of recent exegetical scholarship, a book that Catholics may be proud of, a book that should be in the hands of every ecclesiastic.

R. W.

#### POEMS, CHARADES, AND INSCRIPTIONS OF POPE LEO XIII.

including the revised compositions of his early life, in chronological order, with English translations and notes. By H. T. Henry, Overbrook Seminary. The Dolphin Press. Price one and a-half dollars.

WE have often thought that Latin verse, as written in these countries, though giving proof of a very extensive acquaintance with the classics, is little more than an ingenious mosaic, and has not the least claim to be regarded as literature. Our writers are but kings of shreds and patches, the cut-purses of the ancient authors. In fact, they do not claim for themselves any higher title. They do not speak the language of their verse, they do not even write its prose with freedom, and, where a language is not a natural vehicle of thought, we can scarcely look for compositions of higher rank than mere literary curiosities.

The Pope belongs to a people who, after all, are something more than the local representatives of the Latin tongue. A large number of Italians say the simpler prayers in Latin, and the better-educated have little difficulty in spelling their way through the so-called ecclesiastical Latin. The priests and students, educated in Rome, find that Latin is usually the readiest means of communication with their comrades of other nationalities, and, from the daily use of the language, become as familiar with it as their mother tongue. We are, therefore, not astonished to find that the Pope was writing verse as far back as eighty years ago, not, perhaps, such verse as would please our teachers, but verse as simple and flowing as the Italian translations which he frequently appends.

Of the numerous poems before us, it would be difficult to make such a selection as would adequately represent the whole. The following stanzas on photography may, perhaps, be taken as a specimen of the lighter poems :

Expressa solis spiculo  
Nitens imago, quam bene  
Frontis decus, vim luminum  
Refers, et oris gratiam.

O mira virtus ingenî,  
Novumque monstrum ! Imaginem  
Naturae Apelles aemulus  
Non pulchriorem pingeret ;

which Father Henry translates as follows :

Sun wrought with magic of the skies,  
The image fair before me lies :  
Deep vaulted crown and sparkling eyes  
And lip's fine chiselling.

O miracle of human thought,  
O art with newest marvels fraught—  
Apelles, Nature's rival, wrought  
No fairer imaging.

When the Pope was Bishop of Perugia, he at his own expense relieved the citizens of Carpineto of the scarcity of water from which they suffered. Unfortunately the sources from which the water was brought dried up, and it was not until his Pontificate that the Pope made the second and successful attempt to



meet the wants of the Carpinetans. Two fountains bearing suitable inscriptions were erected in public places, and were celebrated in verse which seems to breathe the child-like joy of a simple soul :

Fons ego decurrens, nitidis argenteus undis,  
 Quem cupide irriguum florea prata bibant.  
 At non prata bibent, cives, me florea ; vestras  
 Gratus est largo spargere rore domos.

And again :

Iamque huc per caecos plumbo ducente meatus  
 Advectam, nitido me capit urna sinu.  
 Candida, splendidior vitro, blandoque susurro  
 Alta e rupe scatens leniter unda fluo.

Here are other verses in which the old man, broken with years, calls out for help to his brother Joseph, who had died some time before, and whose soul, he believed, to have already passed beyond the need of prayers :

Dum vivam, fessosque regat dum spiritus artus ;  
 Incensa ex imo ducens suspiria corde,  
 Ploratu maculas delere enitar amaro.  
 At tu qui Superum securus luce bearis,  
 Confectum aerumnis, devexa aetate labantem  
 Erige, et usque memor de caelo respice fratrem.  
 Quem turbo heu ! dudum premit horridus, horrida dudum  
 Fluctibus in mediis commota procella fatigat.

Another poem, obituary in theme, follows. It is addressed to Maria Bernezzo, widow of Count Carlo Connestabile, and represents her standing beside the tomb. Suddenly the heavens are filled with light : she is vouchsafed a vision of her husband's blessedness, and the bitterness of grief melts away :

Lux, at Elisa, viden', rutilat nova, et aethera complet ;  
 Aurea templa poli tremulo fulgore coruscant.  
 Coniugis extemplo ante oculos en dulcis imago  
 Apparere tuos, medioque e lumine visa  
 Annuere, aspectuque tibi adridere sereno.

He has also written a number of poems for the famous Arcadia, a literary society of respectable antiquity, which has numbered amongst its members such men as Metastasio and

Parini. One of the poems in this section is an epithalamium, on the nuptials of Alphonus Sterbini and Julia Pizzirani, and is very interesting, as showing that a kindly heart and generous human sympathy may be still looked for in the ascetic.

His poem on frugal living has become world-renowned, as Father Henry explains, owing to Andrew Lang's translation. The various dishes are described with a peculiar relish, and the coffee, which is to conclude the simple but varied repast, is thus dealt with :

Postremo e tostis succedat potio baccis,  
Quas tibi Moka ferax e littore mittit eoo :  
Nigrantem laſicem ſenſim ſummiſque labellis  
Sorbilla ; dulcis ſtomachum bene molliet hauſtus.

The glutton's banquet comes in for its due proportion of satire towards the close of the poem. The drunken rowdyism, which ends in torpor, is vividly set forth :

. . . . . iamque lyaeo  
Inflati venas nimio, dapibusque gravati  
Surgunt convivae, temere bacchantur in aula,  
Insana et pugiles inter se iurgia miscent  
Defessi donec lymphata mente quiescunt.

This poem is followed by the stately ode on the opening century, and two others for Christmas Eve, 1901.

We believe that there are still many priests in the country who read their Horace or Virgil with ease. These we would recommend to procure Father Henry's elegant volume. They will find the poems simpler than the classical poems, and never overladen with those mythological allusions, which are so often tasteless, because unreal. We might also say that the weaker brethren, the *ἄμωνοί* will, with the help of the translation and notes, be enabled to derive a good deal of pleasure from this work.

The only typographical errors which we noticed were 'fiore' (p. 218), instead of 'flore,' and 'indigno' (p. 210) should be, we think, 'indigna.' The translation is, as a rule, ingenious and accurate. We think, however, that such phrases as 'Ye cits' for *cives*, and 'thy sky,' *de caelo*, are ugly, and could be very easily replaced by 'good folk' and 'thy throne.' If Father Henry looks closely into his translation of the second stanza

(p. 202), we think he will find that he has not brought out with sufficient clearness the Pope's wish, that France may further the interests of the Church in the Eastern world.

THE TREASURE OF THE CHURCH. By the Rev. J. B. Bagshawe, D.D., Canon, Penitentiary of Southwark. London: Burns and Oates.

It needs only a glance to see that this is a most useful and excellent little volume, and destined to take a notable place among the other publications of the late Canon Bagshawe. It explains at length, but only in the important details, and with a combination of theological statement and practical questioning that is certainly remarkable, the two Sacraments that are indeed the Treasure of the Church and in constant use in Catholic life—the Sacrament of the Most Holy Eucharist and the Sacrament of Penance.

The volume is graced with a short Preface by the Bishop of Southwark. His Lordship declares that no Catholic can read this book 'without finding in it a fresher knowledge of his Faith, and a consequent stimulus to live more entirely according to its teaching'; while those who are not Catholics may also study it with profit 'if they wish to know something of the order, and method, and reasonableness of the doctrines of the Catholic Church.'

J. M.

A HERO OF DONEGAL. By Frederick Douglas How. London: Isbister & Co.

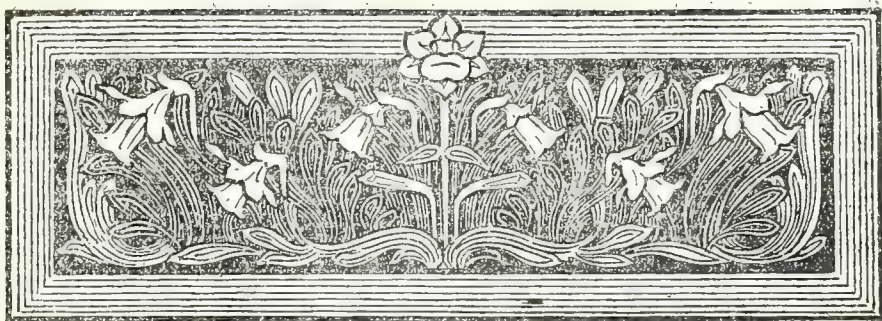
THIS is a short memoir of Dr. William Smyth, of Burtonport, a small fishing village in the extreme north-west of Ireland, in the district well known as 'the Rosses.' It is a plain, direct narrative, the reading of which should do good to all professional men, and in particular to his medical brethren; for it is the life story of a man who, while he might have carved out for himself a more prosperous and what might be thought a more remarkable career in any of the rich centres of civilisation, yet felt that there was work at home with the poor people of the Rosses for him to do, and did it, coming to that work with a courage and abandonment of self rare in those days; never 'cramped by the limits of legal obligation,' but feeling always that what he *could* do, that he *should* perform, and with little thought of reward.



‘ Dr. Smyth was certainly thrown away at Burtonport,’ wrote Dr. Little. Surely not. For the greatest and noblest life work may be done unknown to men, without the notice, praise or reward of men ; and to Dr. Smyth, as his biographer declares, it seemed as important to busy himself with the wants and sufferings of poor folk on wind-blown islands as to hurry from consultation to consultation in the sick rooms of the rich. Indeed, we have thought that the bravery of the battlefield is little after all when compared with such an example of silent life-heroism, as was given by this Protestant doctor, away up in the wilds of Donegal.

This little memoir has an additional interest, too, as giving some characteristics of the people of the Rosses. We wonder how accurate is the following description :—‘ The recognised Irish virtues and Irish failings are strongly in evidence. They find a remarkable combination in the frequent case of a family thriftless and slovenly, living in the most comfortless and insanitary surroundings, but taking life with a cheeriness with which Mark Tapley alone could compete. Of whiskey there is, at the present moment, a smaller consumption than is commonly the case, owing to the splendid work carried on by a Roman Catholic Temperance Mission. Of idleness there is enough and to spare.’

J. W. M.



## THE CANONIZATION OF THE VENERABLE OLIVER PLUNKETT

I. LETTER OF HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL MORAN.

II. THE 'ARTICULI,' OR HEADS OF INQUIRY, 'IN CAUSA  
VEN. OLIVERII PLUNKETT.'

**H**IS Eminence Cardinal Moran, whose Life of Dr. Plunkett has done so much to make accessible the historical information by which the case for the canonization of the Venerable Primate is so amply sustained, has honoured us by sending the following letter for publication in the I. E. RECORD.

The letter, as will be seen, explains the nature and purport of the 'Articuli,' which his Eminence has also kindly communicated to us: these have been drawn up by the eminent lawyer who is charged with the furtherance of the case before the Congregation of Rites.

We have to thank his Eminence for his valuable suggestion as to the publication of a list of the other Irish martyrs whose claims to canonization are at present under investigation. On this subject we have communicated with the Archbishop of Dublin, as it is known that his Grace, at the request of the other Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, has for some time past been engaged in the responsible work of holding the

inquiry prescribed by ecclesiastical law as the first step to be taken in all such cases.

The Archbishop has kindly promised to furnish us with an official copy of the list, and we shall probably be in a position to publish it in the December number of the I. E. RECORD.

It is a sincere pleasure to us to see the name of His Eminence Cardinal Moran again associated with the I. E. RECORD after the lapse of so many years.

ED. I. E. R.

#### I.—CARDINAL MORAN'S LETTER.

VERY REV. DEAR EDITOR,—I have to thank you for inserting in your excellent RECORD the 'Articuli' or 'Heads of Inquiry,' which the advocate Achille Martini, who has been specially engaged in the 'Causa Ven. Oliverii Plunkett,' has kindly forwarded to me.

These 'Articuli' are not of an official character, but present a *primâ facie* case to justify the official investigation into the martyrdom of the Venerable Oliver Plunkett. Several of these 'Articuli' may be regarded as in nowise essential, but they serve to add importance and *éclat* to the proofs of martyrdom. Those who endeavour to push on the 'Causa' of the Venerable Oliver Plunkett have not only to justify his claim to be numbered among the martyrs of Holy Church, but they have moreover to secure precedence for the inquiry into his case by the Congregation of Rites. There are at present about two hundred cases awaiting consideration on the part of the Congregation, and unless precedence be given to our Venerable Martyr, we might have to wait twenty years at least before the official inquiry could be completed. The Cardinal-Prefect and the other representative authorities of the Congregation have very generously entered into the views that have been submitted to them, and have promised to give the desired precedence to the case in question.

Last month, the Congregation of Rites despatched to His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Armagh, the authorization to hold the 'Processus Apostolicus'—in other words, to



carry on the investigation of the case by special delegated authority from the Holy See. In connection with this 'Processus' a series of official queries have to be answered in accordance with sworn evidence, and in all such official matters the strictest secrecy has to be observed. I have been informed that ten witnesses would be quite sufficient, but they must be of unimpeachable authority. The advocate Martini remarked to me that though evidence regarding the non-essential 'Articuli' need not be asked, yet it would be an advantage if some of the chief witnesses would illustrate at least one or other of them. The two principal points to be insisted on are: first, that, no matter what the pretences may have been, hatred of the Catholic Faith was at the bottom of the conspiracy which led to the sentence of death; and secondly, that the Venerable Martyr accepted, as such, the death for the Faith, to which he was sentenced. Both points appear to be particularly evident in the case of our Martyr, the Venerable Oliver Plunkett.

As soon as the Cardinal Archbishop of Armagh will have brought the 'Processus Apostolicus' to a close, and forwarded the authentic documents to Rome, the first Congregation in connection with the case will be held. The whole matter for consideration in the First Congregation is: '*Utrum constet de Processu Apostolico rite peracto.*' Should any defect have crept in, or any flaw be detected in the holding of the 'Processus Apostolicus,' the whole matter will have to be repeated, the very same as if nothing at all had hitherto been done. If, however, in the 'Processus Apostolicus' all details have been accurately attended to, the Second Congregation is then held to consider the question: '*Utrum constet de Martyrio, in casu.*' And when a favourable response has been given to this question, the Third or Final Congregation pronounces its decision on the query: '*Utrum tuto procedi possit ad declarationem martyrii.*'

The better to expedite the consideration of the Venerable Oliver Plunkett's case, two dispensations have been asked for, and have been promised by the Congregation.

The first is that all the Documents connected with the 'Processus Apostolicus,' may be translated into Latin in

Ireland, and may be forwarded thus translated, together with the originals, to Rome. The general rule requires that the translation of all such documents has to be made by the official interpreters in the Congregation itself; and as these interpreters have always a considerable amount of work on hands, there might be a delay of several months before they could even enter on this work.

The second dispensation refers to the copying of the letters of the Venerable Martyr preserved in the Archives of the Vatican and of Propaganda. There are some hundreds of such letters, and it would be a task of perhaps two or three years for an official copyist to take accurate copies of all these letters. It has been suggested, and the suggestion has met with the approval of the authorities in the Congregation, that as the original letters are preserved in the Roman Ecclesiastical Archives, an authorised inspection of those interesting documents would suffice. If this dispensation be granted, a few weeks will suffice for verifying the substance of all this correspondence of the Venerable Martyr.

The Roman authorities are often accused of being dilatory in carrying on the work assigned to them in the various Congregations. In this respect, as in so many others, we are sometimes told that Rome is 'the Eternal City.' In the present instance, however, they have done their part with very commendable expedition, and they complain of the delay that has taken place in Ireland in inquiring into the various matters which have to be investigated there. Everyone knows the onerous duties that devolve on an Irish Bishop, and in a very special manner on the Cardinal Archbishop of Armagh. Still, where there is question of rendering due honour to one of Ireland's glorious martyrs, himself a bright ornament of the Primatial See, it is to be hoped that no other business, no matter how pressing, shall be allowed to interfere with carrying to completion the 'Processus Apostolicus.'

The Congregation of Rites cannot take any further steps in the present instance until this 'Processus' be duly completed, and until all the documents connected with it be forwarded to Rome. I am assured there is no reason why in

so manifest a case as that of Venerable Oliver Plunkett, the whole 'Processus Apostolicus' would not be brought to a close before Christmas; and if such a hypothesis be verified, I have been promised by the authorities here that we might expect the Third or Final Congregation to which I have above referred, to be held before the close of next year.

The 'Causa' of the other Irish Martyrs is as yet only in its preliminary stage. You would confer a great favour on your many readers who take an interest in the matter, by publishing, as was done in the case of the English Martyrs, a list of those about whose martyrdom inquiry is being held.

Meantime, wishing every success to the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, and to the present efforts to secure the canonization of our Irish Martyrs, I remain, your very faithful servant,

✠ PATRICK FRANCIS CARDINAL MORAN,

*Archbishop of Sydney*

THE IRISH COLLEGE, ROME,

*16th October. 1902.*



## II.—ARTICULI IN CAUSA VEN. OLIVERII PLUNKETT.

ARMACAN.

BEATIFICATIONIS SEU DECLARATIONIS MARTYRII

VEN. SERVI DEI

OLIVERII PLUNKETT,

PRIMATIS HIBERNIAE ET ARCHIEP. ARMACAN.

MARTYRIS IN ANGLIA.

Positiones et articulos infrascriptos dat, exhibet, atque producit Revñus. Gulielmus Henricus Murphy, Antistes Urbanus ac Rector Collegii Hibernensis in Urbe, Postulator in causa praedicta legitime constitutus ad conficiendum processum Apostolicum super martyrio et causa martyrii, et super cultu praefato Ven. Servo Dei Oliverio Plunkett numquam exhibito: ad quem finem et effectum petit illas et illos recipi et ad probandum admitti, nec non super iis testes ab ipso inductos et inducendos examinari, reservata sibi facultate, alios quoque articulos, si opus fuerit, exhibendi; non autem se intendit adstringere ad onus superfluae probationis, de quo solemniter protestatur, non hoc tantum modo, sed alio quoque meliori modo. Ponit itaque, et probare vult et intendit:

## ART. I.

Qualiter veritas est et fuit quod Ven. Dei Servus Oliverius Plunkett e familia inter nobiles nobilissima generatus, ortum duxit Loughcrew, quod est oppidum Comitatus Meath in Hibernia, anno 1629 post Christum natum, de quo die et mense non constat.

*Quod omne probabitur a testibus bene scientibus, qui suae scientiae causam afferent, vel quia viderint, vel quia audierint et constat ex traditione, et fama est publicum et notorium.*

## ART. II.

Maiores eius qui, praestante dignitate accepta, vulgo *Lords de Fingall et Roscommon* erant appellati, non modo census ordinisque excellentia, sed in primis pietatis laude et invicta in Christiana Fide constantia floruerant. Plurimi ex iis, aposto-

licis obeundis ministeriis sese tradiderant ; nonnulli autem ad Episcopalem dignitatem evecti, vel suam vel alienam Dioecesium eximie rexerant.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. III.

Itaque Venerabilis ex ipsis suae gentis memoriis prima hausit virtutum exempla. Iamvero ei erat indoles egregia et maxime ad pietatem proclivis, qua ex re universis civibus erat carissimus, et vel ab aetatis primordiis quanta in posterum sanctitate foret aperte portendebat. Nondum enim e pueritia excesserat, cum iam, divinae gratiae illapsu, ad sacerdotium ineundum vehementer trahi videbatur, et hac in re cura et mens eius tota versari.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. IV.

Cum primum ad eam aetatem pervenit, quae ad animum rectis disciplinis alendum magis videtur idonea, eius curam vir pietate et doctrina insignis suscepit, Rev<sup>m</sup>us. Patritius Plunkett, qui Abbatis S. Mariae Dublinensis titulo erat decoratus. Huius ductu ac praeceptis peur brevi tantum progressum fecit ut virtutis et ingenii laude unumquemque in sui admirationem traduceret.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. V.

Ad sextum et decimum aetatis annum ita pervenit cum iam, pro meritis, omnibus erat notus. Interim, anno 1645 evolvente, morabatur in Hibernia Ven. Petrus Franciscus Scarampa, e Congregatione Oratorii, qui cum ab Innocentio X, Pontifice Maximo, missionem quamdam excepisset, eo se contulerat et maximam sanctitatis gloriam iam sibi comparaverat. Hinc porro efficiebatur ut, communi suffragio Clerus et populus eum apud se retinere vellent, illudque a Pontifice flagrantibus votis expeterent ut illi Hibernam Legationem conferret. Sed Ven. Petrus cum praestantem dignitatem ex animi dimissione abnuisset, et in eo esset ut Romam proficisceretur, quinque ex piissimis adolescentibus elegit, quos secum deduceret qui ecclesiasticis studiis alerentur in Ephebeo illo, vulgo *Ludovisiano*, quod iam inde ab anno 1628 ad sacrorum alumnos, natione Hibernos, recipiendos, conditum fuerat Romae.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. VI.

Inter electos, principem obtinebat locum Oliverius, quippe qui ceteris pietate et ingenii facultate longe antecederet. Itaque commisso itinere eodemque felicissime expleto, ductu et praesidio validissimo Petri Francisci Romam perventum est. Integrum annum Ven. Oliverius rethoricis addiscendis disciplinis, Dandoni praeceptore, consumpsit, quo transacto, in sacrorum Alumnorum collegium cooptatus est.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. VII.

Tunc, redintegratis veluti viribus, ad altiora studia animum appulit, tanta vero alacritate ut qui illum in ingenii diligentiaeque palestra longo anteibant intervallo celeriter praeverteret. Qua ex re nobilis inter aequales ferebatur et magis magisque clarebat in dies, incitans omnes studio suo. Praeceptores autem et moderatores summopere demirati, iam exinde eum sanctum pariterque doctum evasurum virum coniectabant.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. VIII.

Prima litterarum spatia in Collegio Romano (quod vulgo vocant) summa cum laude, octo annorum decursu, emensus, curriculum utriusque iuris in Universitate *Sapientiae* explevit, Antonio Marescotti magistro doctissimo. Augebat interim eius in discendo alacritatem singularis animi suavitas, qua omnibus erat carissimus: morum autem castigatio qua ornatissimus erat, ita efficiebat ut universis aequalibus imitandum exemplar proponi posset.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. IX.

Porro ex studiorum agone, gloriae plenus egressus, ad annum 1654 sacris ordinibus initiatus est. Tunc demum sibi in Hiberniam redeundum erat iuxta iusiurandum, quo quisque alumnus, antequam discederet, se obstrinxerat, ut nempe vix divino cultui mancipatus, in patriam foret reversurus ut sacro ministerio operam daret.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*



## ART. X.

Sed luctuosi id temporis Hiberniaeolvebant dies, quod populares concitationes statum reipublicae miserrimum in modum perturbabant. Hinc infestissimo odio in christianum nomen inflato, Cromwell et Puritanorum causa dira omnia ac nefaria in catholicae fidei perniciem exagitabantur. Ideo cultus divini administri in miserrimo versabant statu, nec modo ipsis difficillimum erat christianam veritatem diffundere, sed vitam ipsam servare. His de causis igitur Ven. Oliverius sacramento exolutus in Urbe mansit, et magistri munus in collegio Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide coepit navare.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. XI.

Tum demum, effuso animo, omnibus exercendis pietatis officiis ita prorsus se dedit, ut Oratoriani Patres S. Hieronymi, a quibus summa liberalitate exceptus fuerat, eum tamquam miraculum susciperent. Hinc facta illa mirabilis virtutum ubertas, qua tum religiosissimi viri nomen sibi comparavit, tum decus summum (Marangoni teste) collegio quod habitavit addidit.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. XII.

Iamvero ex illo tempore desiderium, quo intus flagrabat, ut sese pro fide tuenda devoveret, ex eius exteriori vivendi ratione mire eluxit. Gaudebat enim summopere ad martyrum primi aevi sacraria accedere, quae in Urbe passim reperiuntur, ibique mentis habenis relaxatis, tempora felicissima renovare quando Christifideles sanguinem in testimonium fidei profundere non dubitabant. Videbatur tunc aemulandi cupiditate totus refici: revera autem ex tot virtutis memoriis virtutem ipse hauriebat, qua supremum agonem aliquando fuisset aggressurus.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. XIII.

Charitatis interea officia numquam omittebat. Eo enim opem ferre, ubi magis urgebat necessitas: miseros, egenos, auxiliis et alloquiis levare: dolores mulcere: lacrymas tergere: omnibus sui copiam facere, haec assidua cura ei erant, haec infracta contentio. In nosocomio a Sancto Spiritu uberrimus patuit charitatis ejus campus. Omnes enim qui corporis afflic-

tationibus cruciabantur, quanta salubritas ex laboribus eius effloresceret, apprime experti sunt. Ille effuso sinu amplexabatur omnes, curabatque ut aegritudinem quam minime sentirent; ad hoc vilioribus etiam valetudinarii officiis, quae a famulis assidentibus ministrari solent, mira sui contemptione operam dabat. Qua ex re medici eorundem adiutores, demiratione arrepti, non modo eum tamquam charitatis angelum prospiciebant, sed humilitatem eius summis laudibus prosequabantur.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. XIV.

Singularis pariter prudentiae et doctrinae argumenta praebeuit. Nam ad id unum, quoad vixit, animum appulit ut in omnibus rebus cumulatam perfectionem attingeret. Qua de re cum iam clarissimam obtinuisset aestimationem, cumque nemo esset qui virtutes eius penitus spectatas non haberet, illud exinde consequebatur ut gravioribus muneribus admo-veretur. Itaque, praeterquamquod in collegio de Propaganda Fide solerter ac erudite alumnos edoceret, in Sacra etiam Indicis Congregatione et quibusdam in aliis Consultoris partes egregie sustinuit.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. XV.

Anno denique 1668 volvente, ad dignitatem Procuratoris Generalis Episcoporum Hiberniam ministrantium evectus est. Munus profecto erat gravissimum tum praesertim, cum populari insania et reipublicae moderatorum nequitia, acerrimum bellum in Ecclesiam eiusque administros, aperta rebellione, fuerat indictum. Quapropter nulla iam spes reliqua erat quin animae in exitium ruerent. Enimvero acriores erant rebellionis eventus. Sacrae Domus a Puritanis occupatae vel funditus eversae: Christifidelium conventus vigilantissime prohibiti: Episcopi sanctitate praestantissimi et fidei custodes acerrimi, vel in dissitas plagas amandati vel in vincula coniecti.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. XVI.

Cum igitur pleraeque Dioeceses suis pastoribus essent orbatae (ex viginti sex Episcopis duo tantum reliqui erant), dissolutio in ipsos clericorum mores irreperat, et regularis

disciplina, maxima ex parte relaxata, illanguescebat. Hinc Christi mandata ab ipsis suis administris parum curabantur, et innumera flagitia magis magisque malis artibus inflata, undique scatebant. Haec profecto tristis Hiberniae nationis conditio, quando Ven. Oliverius Procuratoris munus Romae aggressus est.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. XVII.

Quod quamvis ille sibi non dissimularet, tamen commissum officium aequo animo accepit, eo consilio ut, quoad posset, aliquid solaminis, etsi e longinquo, devexatae patriae praeberet. Ad id omnes animi et mentis vires contulit, curans in primis ut clam Episcopis auxilia mitterentur, et qui in exilium fuerant pulsī, in patriam et sedem restituerentur. Illudque sane eius laboribustribuendum est quod Episcopatus nunquam fuerit penitus extinctus, et successiones, ipso patrono, semper servatae.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. XVIII.

Deinde ad alia oculos amantissime admovens, toto pectore connisus est ut a suis civibus Dei iram amoveret, reducens eosdem in Ecclesiae ditionem. Studuit igitur mores cohibere; probra et vitia stirpitus exturbare; tum regularem tum clericalem disciplinam in pristinum restituere.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. XIX.

Dum haec geruntur, anno 1669 evolvente, Ill<sup>l</sup>us et Rev<sup>l</sup>us Edmundus O'Reilly, qui Archiepiscopus Armacanus et Primas in Hibernia erat, diem supremum obiit, exul in Gallia, mense Martio. Necessitas ideo, impietatis causa undique irrepentis, expostulabat ut praesul alter quam citius eligeretur, qui demortui partes regendas susciperet. Hinc efficiebatur ut plures Antistites, quos inter Ill<sup>l</sup>us ac Rev<sup>l</sup>us Petrus Talbot, Dublinensis Archiepiscopus, rem maturare studerent, nonnulla nomina Summo Pontifici subiiciendo eorum qui, pietatis et doctrinae gloria, digni essent ut ad illud munus eveherentur.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*



## ART. XX.

Sed Clemens IX., Summus Pontifex, cum Ven. Dei Servi Oliverii virtutes perspectas haberet, eiusque doctrinam magni faceret, die 9 mense Junio, abruptis moribus, illum, *motu proprio*, ad Archiepiscopalem et Primatiam dignitatem promovit, sic dicens: "*Non est cur diutius consultemus quando rem certam ante oculos habemus. En virum probatae virtutis, consummatae doctrinae, diuturnae experientiae, in ipsa Urbis Romae facie omnibus dotibus conspicuum, Oliverium Plunkett; hunc ego Archiepiscopum Armacanum, hunc ego Hiberniae Primatem Apostolica Auctoritate constituo.*"

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. XXI.

Quanta existimatione et benevolentia Ven. Oliverius apud omnes floreret, id aperte portendunt gaudium effusaeque laetitia quibus electionis nuncium exceptum est. Cum primum enim res innotuit, nemo fuit ex Episcopis Hibernis, vel residentibus, vel in exilium delitescantibus, qui, per litteras ad Sedem Apostolicam missas, gratias amplissimas non referrent Deo et supremo Ecclesiae Moderatori de auspiciata electione. Univerſus autem clericorum ordo gestire ac gaudere visus est, perinde ac si praesentirent quanta bona exinde in Christianam rempublicam confluerent.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. XXII.

Dies interea properabat ad Episcopalem consecrationem constituta. Illud Ven. Oliverius prae cordis exoptabat ut sollemnis ritus Romae celebraretur, quippe qui urbem, tot martyrum sanguine irrigatam et Pontificum gloriis honestatam, summo pere diligeret. Sed Sacrae Congregationi de Propaganda Fide visum est, ob temporum adiuncta, sollemnitem Bruxellas deferre, eo consilio ut exinde postea Venerabilis Hiberniam ingredi posset veluti ex propinquiori civitate decedens, neque iis invisae qui, cum a lege Pontificis Romani plane abhorrerent, quidquid ex Urbe veniret in contemptum vel in odium habebant acerrimum.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. XXIII.

Itaque desiderium suum Venerabilis Sacrae Congregationis consilio submitit, seque ad proficiscendum aequa alacritate

paravit. Tum demum, antequam ex Urbe digrederetur, S. Spiritus nosocomium adivit ut iis valediceret quibuscum duodecim annos coniunctissimus fuereſ. Ibi Moderatoris partes vir probitate insignis agebat, Revm̃us Hieronymus Miskovio, natione Polonus. Qui cum in eo esset ut Ven. Oliverium discedentem effuso sinu amplexaretur, coelesti quodam spiritu inflatus, sic ei loquutus est : “ *Tu nunc, mi Domine, eo vadis ubi sanguinem pro fide tuenda profundes.*” Cui contra Oliverius : “ *Utinam sit ! sed tanta gloria ego non sum dignus ; tu tamen precibus tuis mihi feras opem ut talis voti compos fiam.*” Talia fassus ab amico discessit.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

#### ART. XXIV.

Roma profectus, Belgium adiit. Die 30 Nov. anno 1669, Bruxellis rite consecratus est. Hinc, insequenti anno incunte, in Hiberniam se contulit. Carolus II. rex, id temporis, Anglorum erat, qui etsi per se Christianae fidei non adversaretur, tamen ut rebelles ad suas partes traheret, non semper eidem Catholicae Fidei atque in omnibus favit. Nihilominus, quum in Hiberniam Ven. Dei famulus pervenit, regis vices gerente Lord Berkeley, seditio parumper quiescebat.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

#### ART. XXV.

Effusa civium laetitia, qua Venerabilis exceptus est, angorem parumper Ven. Dei Famuli lenivit : Etenim nullum amplius extabat in Hibernia illius religionis vestigium, quam duodecim tantum annos antea ipse florentissimam perspexerat. Decessore eius demortuo, neque Ordinaria cathedra, neque Metropolitana Ecclesia amplius existebant. Parochiales quoque Curiae et collegia in ruinam erant prolapsa. Tot malis ipse Ven. seipsum tamquam obstaculum opponere pro viribus constituit. Fidenti igitur animo apostolicos labores aggressus est.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

#### ART. XXVI.

Domicilium primo in media Archidioecesi sibi elegit ; deinde Nationale Concilium Dublini convocavit : pariterque Synodo provinciali in urbe Clones praefuit. Non modo Archidioecesim sacra visitatione peragravit, sed etiam totam provinciam lustravit. Ita tribus post mensibus quam Hiberniam appulerat,

haec, per litteram, E<sup>m</sup>o Card. Barberini, Hiberniae patrono, nunciavit: "*In Hiberniam mense Martio adveni, mihique statim dedi operam ut quamlibet sedem in mea dioecesi reperirem. Mense ac dimidio, duo Synoda ac totidem ordinationes peregi: decem millia et amplius Christifidelium confirmavi, tamen in mea provincia quinquaginta millia adhuc supersunt, qui Sacra Confirmatione carent.*"

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

#### ART. XXVII.

Nullo exinde unquam pepercit labori ut animarum saluti consuleret. Civitates, oppida, rura Dioeceseos frequentavit, itinera saepe saepius pedibus agens per loca aspera et praerupta. Famem dies fere solidos et brumalia frigora toleravit: sui prorsus immemor, integras noctes sub dio transegit, aut in casis vel speluncis quievit: quibus incommodis prohiberi non potuit quin, infractus laboribus, semel et amplius in diem conciones fidelibus haberet vel Anglico, vel Hiberno sermone.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

#### ART. XXVIII.

Quod vero magis eius cordi insidebat, illud erat ut sacerdotes qui de recta via divertissent ad bonam frugem reducerentur. Nonnulli enim erant qui, cum immoderate licenterque viverent, toti civitati offensionem concitabant, falsas disciplinas propugnantes. Hos Venerabilis, data opera, piis cohortationibus et exemplo in Ecclesiae sinum amantissime restituit.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

#### ART. XXIX.

Sed nobilissimum facinus, quo Venerabilis optime, id temporis, de Deo deque Christiana pietate meritus est, illud profecto fuit ut praedonum gregem (vulgo '*banda degli spossessati*') ad virtutem revocaverit. Quum catholicam fidem a maioribus acceptam ii. religiose servarent, ab haereticis omnia eorum bona direpta sunt. Calamitatem primo aequo animo tulerunt, sed cum deinde asperrima vitae ratio eorum animos ad rebellionem excitasset, fame et rabie irritati latrones facti erant. Acriter civilis auctoritas eos persequabatur, qui in maximo tum animae tum corporis discrimine versabantur.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*



## ART. XXX.

Ven. Oliverius eos in latebris, ubi sese abdiderant, adivit. Pace et Dei venia proposita, ita se gessit ut illi, poenitentia acti, animi sordes per saluberrimam confessionem eluissent. Deinde pro merita poenae remissione a civili auctoritate obtinuit ut possent se in aliquam Europae vel Americae regionem conferre. Subsidia ad iter peragendum necessaria illis erogavit, eosque personaliter Dublinum usque deduxit.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. XXXI.

Denique ut sacrorum alumni optimis disciplinis instructi in spem Ecclesiae succrescerent, novam scholam in principe Dioeceseos urbe, quam vocant *Drogheda*, fundamentis excitavit, eamque curis duorum Patrum e Societate Jeus commisit. Catholicas scholas in ruinam prolapsas instauravit et populo patefecit, itemque collegium ad sacrorum alumnos recipiendos instituit. Talia vero gessit omnibus humanis subsidiis destitutus et undique hostium malevolentia impeditus. Veruntamen, auspicante Deo, scholae eximie florere adeo ut, vel qui a lege Pontificis abhorrerent suos filios eas ventitare iuberent.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. XXXII.

Interea, sedulo ac diligenter cum Apostolica Sede mutuis literis communicare non destitit, eamque non modo de suae Dioeceseos, sed, uti Primas, de totius Hiberniae progressu, collectis relationibus edocebat. Pariter monita, quae recipiebat, reliquis episcopis confestim impertire curabat. Quae omnia cum, ob subsidiorum penuriam et insectatorum nequitiam, navatu essent difficillima, quanta prudentiae et fortitudinis laude Venerabilis sibi vindicaret nemo est qui non novit.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. XXXIII.

Quoad in Hibernia Regis vices gessit Lord Berkeley, vir humanus, Venerabilis omnia movit ut huius clementiam in lucrum Christianae fidei converteret. Unde anno 1671 ad Sacram Congregationem de Propaganda Fide scripsit: "*Deprecor Eam Tam ut negocia de quibus retuli quam citius maturentur. Tempus est bona agendi, dum Regis Vicarius nostras partes tenet. Quemadmodum nautae. cum prosperos*

*ventos habeant, inflatis velis per aequora celeriter vehuntur, at si contrarii afflent venti, velis subductis, tutum portum occupare debent, ita et nos. Nunc vero vela pandere possumus, et ego, pro mea parte, omnes consumam vires ut animarum bono, Cleri disciplinae, et alumnorum institutionem prospiciam."*

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. XXXIV.

Quo efficientius turpissimum ebrietatis vitium ex clericorum moribus stirpitus evelleret, non modo effusas cohortationes adhibuit, sed etiam poenas minatus est. Ut autem ipse in primis temperantiae exemplum praeberet, vel inter edendum fervidis potionibus prorsus se abstinuit. Ad haec ita olim scripsit: "*In sacra peragenda Dioeceseos visitatione illud mihi potissimum constitui ut execrandum ebrietatis vitium, unde omnia flagitia et iurgia manant, a suis sedibus exturbarem. Quam ob rem Sacerdotibus, sub beneficiorum amissionis poena prohibui tabernas ventitare vel fervidis potionibus (vulgo spirito et Whiskey) uti. Hinc aliquid emolumenti oritur: at quoniam prope irritum est edocere quin exemplum adiciatur, egomet, ne cenans quidem, has potiones adhibeo."*

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. XXXV.

Alias quoque licentias maxime perniciosas Venerabilis e populo sustulit. Inter religiosas familias vero malam consuetudinem, laxu temporis inveteratam eripuit, qua iuvenes, nullo praemisso tyrocinio, in sodalitia excipiebantur: abusus qui in Canonicorum Capitularium electionem irrepserant abrogavit: contentiones denique inter Regulares ordines exortas prudentissime composuit.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. XXXVI.

Sed diu non tulit tot tantaque bona humani generis hostis. Odium in Christianam Fidem eiusque cultores iterum ac vehementius excitatum est. Quatenus fuerit tunc temporis Venerabilis conditio, id ipsum ex eius litteris Sacrae Congregationi de Propaganda Fide datis (anno 1673, die 15 Aprilis) depromi potest: "*Insectatio acerrima fuit eo magis quia dies ad Senatum convocandum haud procul abest, (die 7 Januarii 1673): itaque me abdidi, mecumque Dominus Brennan, Episcopus Water-*

*fordiensis perfugium petiit: Christifideles, bonorum ademptionis metu abrepti, asylum denegant tum Episcopis, tum Regularibus, qui etsi haud multum vexentur, tamen a pavidis Christicultoribus domum non excipiuntur ut sacra peragere possent: Clerici Ordinario nullam ferunt opem. Hinc mihi quoties difficillimum est cibarium panem, licet avenaceum, obtinere."*

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. XXXVII.

Quinam autem fuerit perfugii locus, et quam miserrime instructus, quo denique iucundo erectoque animo tot res adversas Venerabilis tulerit, illud eadem litterae edocent: "*Casa quae me et Dominum Brennan nunc tenet stramentis tegitur, adeo vero ut e cubili conspiciantur sidera, et vel tenuissima pluvia ad lecti pulvinum descendens, nos veniat refrigeratum. Verumtamen nobis strenue constituimus potius fame et frigore mori quam gregem nostrum derelinquere. Illud enim turpe est quod spirituales milites, Romae instructi, mercenarii fiant."*

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. XXXVIII.

Interim, rebellione insaeviente, scholae quas Venerabilis tanto labore excitaverat, vel dilabentes instauraverat, funditus eversae sunt. Infandum exinde cepit ille dolorem, cumque cogitaret tot religiosos iuvenes quos amantissime aluerat derelictos ac dispersos abiisse, fletum nullo modo cohibere poterat. De tanta rerum acerbitate ille tunc cum Sacra Congregatione datis litteris conquestus est, ac veluti si animi moerorem dulci recordatione mulcere vellet, bona omnia innumeraque emolumenta, quae tres et amplius annorum decursu scholae illae attulerant summatim repetebat, magnisque laudibus prosequebatur Patres qui iis praefuerant.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. XXXIX.

Tandem, favente Deo, vexatio contra catholicam fidem parumper restitit, et Senatus convocatio, mense Februario anni 1674 habita, minus tristis contra Catholicos evasit quam cuique credibile erat. Tunc Venerabilis, de latibulo egressus, cum ministerio suo paulo liberius incumbere posset, maiori nisu et animi alacritate ad ea manus intendit, quae commune Cleri et



populi bonum respicerent. Multa ideo expedit, multa tulit. Insulas quibus nomen *Hebrides* longe lateque peragravit, ubi, praeteritae rebellionis causa, nullus amplius sacerdos supererat, maximo cum animarum detrimento.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. XL.

Haec vero sacra inspectio magni erat periculi. Qua ex re Venerabilis, eo rerum gerendarum usu, quo maxime praestabat, sancta artificia adhibuit et vestem mentitus lustrationem aggressus est. In litteris ad Nuntium missis ita se ipse effingebat: "*mundana veste indutum, sclopeis munitum.*" Huiusmodi artibus sagacissimis saepe saepius ille etiam in Hibernia, cum Dioeceses lustraret, divino illustratus lumine et per summam prudentiam usus est. Hinc et Clerus, malevolentia ductus, incusationis sumpsit causam et eius nomen ad Sanctam Sedem detulit. Frustra vero: nam Apostolica Sedes, quae eius fidem noverat, calumniantibus aures non praebeuit: Venerabilis autem hisce difficultatibus, nefario consilio inflatis, se frangi non sivit, et sanctam suam missionem a Deo acceptam pari alacritate prosecutus est.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. XLI.

Cum praeterea infestissi Jansenii errores vel in Hibernia radices agere coepissent, cumque plurimos fautores, nedum inter saeculares, sed etiam inter clericos, quorundam perditorum hominum opera, invenissent, haec fuit Ven. Oliverii cura et infracta contentio ut novam ac foedissimam luem a patria averteret. Itaque die 27 Martii, anno 1677, litteras ad Eñum Card. Altieri, Hiberniae patronum, dedit, his verbis conceptas: "*Quamquam Senatus, nuper Londinium convocatum, nos in terrorem conviciat suis edictis, quibus minas iacit se catholicae fidei cultores de fortunis omnibus deturbaturum, tamen Romani Pontificis assectatores qui in hoc regno degunt, pavent prae coeteris spirituales calamitates, quae imminere videntur ob Jansenii erroris reliquias aliasque res novas, quae adhuc Galliam et Belgicam regionem pervagantur: etenim ex variis harum nationum partibus spirituales operarii huc conveniunt. Te non latet, Eñe. Pater, quam sint perniciosae eae doctrinae, quae libellis undique serpunt. Pro conservatione igitur integritatis fidei, quae pura et incontaminata est in hoc regno, tuis*

*curis ac praesidio commisso, reverentissime humillimeque oro atque obtestor ut haec omnia Beatissimi Patris et Sacrae Congregationis iudicio subiciantur, et aequum aptumque praesidium statuatur ne sectatorum insania huic regno communicetur, Interim neque ego neque meus Clerus, quantum in nobis erit, agere desistemus ad veram fidei integritatem servandam, et quamque pravam doctrinam oppugnandam."*

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

#### ART. XLII.

Illud intereaolvebat tempus, quo vesanus eorum furor, qui a lege Pontificis erant alieni, magis quam unquam Christianum nomen devexaret. Animos enim ad rebellionem excitabat Titus Oates, vir scelestissimus, per suam calumniam in Christifidelis inflatam, quae nomine '*Popish Plot*' vulgo appellabatur. Is fuerat antea Anglicanus administer: at deinde, suadente quodam Tonge (et ipso Catholicorum calumniatore), fidem Catholicam amplexatus, in quemdam religiosum ordinem erat ingressus. Hinc vero, ob sua flagitia et crimina expulsus, statimque ulciscendi libidine captus, Patrum e Societate Jesu coeterorumque Catholicorum nomina ad civile Gubernium detulit eosque lesae majestatis crimine incusavit. Satis fidei, temporibus illis iniquissimis, delatori tributa est, adeo ut, succensis odiis, viri et pietate et religione praestantissimi ad supplicium, indicta causa, fuerint abrepti, quos inter memoria digni sunt miserrimi cives, *Earl Powis, Viscount Stafford, and Lords Petre et Arundel and Belayse.*

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

#### ART. XLIII.

Cum ita igitur se res haberent, illud profecto fieri non poterat quin vexatio vel in Hibernos Catholicos converteretur. Ita, anno 1678 properante, nonnullae promulgationes a Regis Vicario, *Lord Drummond*, editae sunt, quibus constituebatur ut vetustissima Catholicorum fides e terris S. Patricii penitus extirparetur. Priores ictus in Christi gregis ductores fuerunt appulsi, eo consilio ut, demptis custodibus, oves disperderentur, ideoque et praemiis et poenis civium animi ad perfidam delationem impellebantur.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. XLIV.

De his, anno 1679 labente, Venerabilis per literas Internuntium certiore fecit : “ *Quadraginta scutorum praemium tribuitur pro comprehensione Sacerdotis : viginti autem pro Regularis. Mihi persuasum est eam effugere non posse etiamsi me in occulto contineam ; tot sunt qui vestigia mea persequuntur ! Tamen apud gregem meum subsistam, neque eum unquam derelinquam nisi in exilium amandatus.*”

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. XLV.

Quod ipse prospexerat haud sero confirmavit eventus. Etenim cum Revñus Dñus Plunkett, Episcopus Meathensis (idem propinquus, qui Oliverium adulescentem primis praeceptis aluerat), prope esset ut vita migraret, Venerabilis opem in extremo salutis agone petiit. Qui, quamvis sciret se certum in periculum commissurum, tamen e loco ubi latebat Dublinum convolvit ut morienti fidei solamina afferret. Sed ut primum illuc pervenit, die 6 Decembris anno 1679, a militibus comprehensus et crimine incusatus quod invisae religionis ministerium intra reipublicae fines obiisset, in vincula detrusus est.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. XLVI.

Sub huiusmodi incusationis pondere tres menses in custodia transegit. At iam ab initio qui reipublicae praeerant illud sibi constituerant crimen in reum fingendum esse, veluti ac Pontificiae machinationis (vulgo *Popish Plot*) particeps esset : idque eo profecto consilio, ut incusationes in Catholicos inflatae maiori verisimilitudine convestirentur. Quibus ita statutis, ad Praesidum reipublicae Concilium vulgato edicto omnes invitavit, ut si quae haberent criminis argumenta, ea in Venerabilem inferret : id si fecissent praemia forent consecuturi.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. XLVII.

Provocanti edicto tres cives tantum responderunt, Mac Moyer, qui Regularem ac Religiosam disciplinam deseruerat : Murphy et Callaghan, viri perditissimi, qui iterum ac saepius de furto et vi fuerant accusati, horumque criminum publice convicti. Causa igitur in urbe Dundalk, in Hibernia, indicta est et, delectis iudicibus, nemo in eos fuit admissus, qui catholi-



cam fidem profiteretur. Sed ipsa vulgatissima infamia et turpis ebrietatis status, in quo Mac Moyer erat, iudiciaria causa fuit cur, Procuratore Fisci instante, testes seu accusatores reiicerentur ac iudicium differretur.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. XLVIII.

Tunc iterum Ven. Oliverius Dublinum deducitur et custodiae datur. Hic alii quoque Episcopi nec non Archiepiscopus Dublinensis erant in vinculis. Sic isti catholicae fidei propugnatores, rerum adversitate consociati et mutuis dilectionis laqueis devincti, sanctissimam inter aerumnas trahebant vitam et alii alios ad virtutem erigebant.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. XLIX.

Cum ita in custodia haberetur Venerabilis, epistolam ad Internuntium misit, qua inter alia, iudicii adiuncta narrabat :  
*"Mac Moyer, suorum scelerum conscius, timore fuit abreptus et semper ebrius coram iudicibus se sistit. Murphy, alter ex tribus accusatoribus, in fugam se coniecit, quod Iudices cum in supplicium forent amandaturi. Dicitur se in Angliam contulisse, veniam a Rege impetratum, quo deinde facilius me possit accusare, non amplius de maiestate, sed de exercitio apostolicae iurisdictionis. Alter adest testis, qui me de eodem crimine postulat, et verum talis incusatio mihi gloriae est."*

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. L.

Delatores iam viderant in Hibernia, etsi iudicium a viris protestanticis exerceretur, Ven. Servi Dei condemnationem se obtinere non posse : ideoque Angliam petierunt ut Londini iudicium institueretur. Res fuerat prorsus antea inaudita ut processus extra naturalis iurisdictionis fines instrueretur, quin immo iure gentium aperte vetabatur. Attamen scelestissimi auctores tot tantaque moliti sunt, ut quod improba mente conceperant, fuerint consequuti. Mense Octobre, anno 1680, Ven. Oliverius Londinum deportatur atque ibi arcto rursus carceri includitur, nec famulo quidem proprio ad alloquium admissio. In illa custodia totis septem mensibus detentus fuit, omnibus vitae solatiis orbatus. Sed instar omnium erat illi Deus : adeo ut ad fidum amicum non raro scripserit se in illa

solitudine nactum esse quam maxime avebat liberam sibi et sacris studiis vacandi facultatem.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. LI.

Primum die 3 Maii, deinde autem die 8 Junii anno 1681 ad fatale Tribunal examinandus adducitur : Capita incusationis haec ei fuerant falso inficta : 1<sup>um</sup>. Quod epistolas Revmo Dño Baldeschi (qui a secretis Summi Pontificis erat), Principi Colonna, et Cardinali de Bouillon dasset, quibus iidem hortaretur ut auxilia in Hiberniam mitterent ad Catholicam Fidem in pristinum restituendam, eiusque adversarios perdendos. 2<sup>um</sup>. Quod ducem quemdam ad Regem Gallorum misisset, qui militarem expeditionem in Hibernos instruendam curaret, eo profecto consilio ut iidem subigerentur. 3<sup>um</sup>. Quod septuaginta millia militum conscripsisset ut se cum venientibus hostibus coniungeret. 4<sup>um</sup>. Quod pecuniam a clericis exegisset ad Gallos excipiendos et exercitum alendum necessariam. 5<sup>um</sup>. Quod cunctam Hiberniam peragrasset, portus, munitaque loca explorans, quo tutior Gallis pateret ingressus. 6<sup>um</sup>. Quod milites quosdam selegisset, qui se clam in Angliam traderent regem necatum. Brevi, crimina insimulata haec erant : quod cum Curia Romana commercium et notitiam habuisset : in aula Gallica auctoritatem et gratiam : atque inde externae potestatis inducendae conatus iniisset.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. LII.

Tres erant iudices : Sir Francis Pemberton, tribunali praepositus, Dolbein, et Jones : accusatoris partes Procurator Regius agebat, adiuvante sergente Maynard. Reo nullus erat defensor, qui causam oraret, neque temporis dilatio concessa fuit, quam petierat, ut testes ex Hibernia vocatos pro se induceret, quamquam ipse affirmaverat, nonnullos esse inter eos et nobilitate praestantes et regis existimatione pollentes. Ita causa, nulla iuris humanitatisque norma servata, incepta est. Tunc Regis Procurator, dicere exorsus, huiusmodi verba habuit : "*Sollemne et officiale Primatis character, quo se exornatum esse iactat Oliverius Plunkett, id est signum certissimum externae et usurpatae iurisdictionis : id erit etiam causa cur iudices praestent testibus fidem.*"

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. LIII.

Testes denique excussi sunt : omnes perridiculas atque absurdas ediderunt depositiones. Aiebant, exempli gratia, Venerabilem ingentem pecuniam collatis stipibus coacervasse : centum presbyteros domi (quae duo tantum cubacula continebat) hospitio habere : iam a septem abhinc annis septuaginta millia militum conscripsisse. Et quidem haec aliaque id generis, quae suapte natura falsa apparebant, iudices tamquam vera ac probata admiserunt. Quid? Eo usque ipsi pervenerant ut testes ad mendacia incitarent, eosdem auctoritate sua fovescentes. Venerabili vero aperte adversabantur si quando ille accusationes in se illatas optimis argumentis propulsare conabatur.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. LIV.

Etenim ut Venerabilis in patenti fraude testem Mac Moyer corriperet, quaesivit ex eo inter alia : “ *Si verum est quod affirmas, permagnam pecuniam in manibus meis versari, totque milites per septem annos ad mea imperia esse paratos, cur, quaeso, antea me in iudicium non vocasti?* ” Perturbatus restitit hisce verbis testis, nec habuit quid responderet ; quod cum vidisset Iudex, illi in auxilium veniens percontatus est : “ *Quamnam fidem ea tempestate sequebaris?* ” cui Mac Moyer : “ *Fidem Catholicam Romanum.* ” et Iudex pergestiens : “ *Facillimum ideo est perspicere cur eum antea non accusasti.* ”

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. LV.

Itemque cum Venerabilis illud conaretur ostendere, nullam esse tribuendam fidem testibus, qui omnibus flagitiis erant inquinati, iudex qui iudicio moderando praeerat eius verba interpellavit, et “ *Cave tibi (inquit), Domine Plunkett, ne tempus defensionis concessum inanibus digressionibus consumas ; quod si non feceris, parum tibi temporis reliquum erit quo crimina diluere possis. Quid igitur defendis?* ”

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. LVI.

Coepit tunc Venerabilis, humanis omnibus destitutus subsidiis, sic pro se orare : “ *Profiteor in primis, excellentissimi iudices, omnia patrocinii adiumenta mihi deficere, nam tempus denegatum fuit quo testes et documenta ex Hibernia vocarem.* ”



*Scripti equidem : omnia expertus sum ; sed nondum unus est mihi testis, quem accusatoribus opponam : quod ad primam accusationis partem attinet respondeo ne unum quidem nummum extra regionis fines excepisse, praeter tantum denarium (10 shillings) quo me saepe saepius vir quidam praestantissimus, charitate ductus, donavit. . . . Haec caeteraque criminis argumenta nil aliud sunt nisi fraudes ab iis excitatae, qui mei odio flagrant eo quod eos poena (ob eorum flagitia) multaverim. Huc per vim deductus sum ex meo naturali domicilio, ubi porro sunt testes omnes omniaque documenta quae accusatorum fraudes clare evincerent. Hanc unam ob rem vita mea in discrimine versatur eo quod extra patriam sim ; ubi si hoc iudicium foret institutum, accusatores mei nullam meruissent fidem."*

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

#### ART. LVII.

Post haec Fisci Procurator acerrime in Venerabilem et in Catholicam fidem invectus est. Tandem iudicii Praeses sic caussam resumpsit : "*Quod iste (Ven.) munus Episcopi et Primatis Hiberniae a Pontifice Romano acceperit, quod in Hiberniam venerit ut Romanam fidem instauraret : haec certa in eo crimina sunt.*" Hisce dictis iudices e iudicii loco discesserunt ut consulerent inter se : paulo post iterum apparuere et capitalem sententiam protulerunt. Venerabilis interea perstabat intrepidus, subridenti ore. Ut primum verbum audivit, "*reus est mortis,*" pergestit dicens : "*Deo gratias.*"

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

#### ART. LVIII.

Interea Praesulis innocentiam vox communis elocuta erat : sed non audita : intercesserat pro eo Legati Gallici auctoritas et gratia : sed haec quoque ut ingrata repulsa fuerat. Die 15 mense Junio, iterum e carcere arcessitur Dei Servus, ut sententiam in se dictam sollemni forma audiret. Rogatus an aliquid dicendum haberet, respondit : "*Iam aliud in Hibernia iudicium iisdem accusationibus, quibus nunc, in me fuit instructum. Sed cum omnia documenta et testimonia in promptu haberem, iudicium in limine ipso evanuit. Quomodo in Anglia me possunt Anglici Iudices iudicare, sine documentis, sine testibus, cum sint accusatores homines quos ob eorum flagitia punire olim coactus fui?*"

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. LIX.

Perrexit Dei Servus in omnibus reiiciendis calumniis et innocentia sua tuenda. Dixit utique se functum esse munere catholici episcopi, sed in hoc minime crimen lesae maiestatis continere demonstravit. "*Omnis accusationis (inquit) expers et immunis sum : innocens ut parvulus qui heri natus est : hoc dico in conspectu mortis, et in spe aeternae salutis consequendae.*"

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. LX.

Ita fassus, testimonia amplissima recitavit quae de eius probitate duo Regis Vicarii, Lords Essex et Berkeley, ediderant. Ad haec iudicii praeses catholicam fidem execrare coepit : "*Tu (Praesuli dixit) pro viribus dedecus inferre conatus es. Nam quamdiu vixisti, eo unice spectasti ut falsam religionem tuam propagares, quae peior est quam religio paganorum. Eia nunc si vitam integram vis, eice, abiura falsam religionem tuam, quod nisi feceris illud nostri erit eam sententiam proferre, quae praescriptis legibus plane respondeat.*"

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. LXI.

Cum hisce propositionibus Dei famulus strenue renuisset obtemperare, Praeses iudicii sententiam elata voce legit, his verbis conceptam : "*Constitutum est te in carcerem Newgate reduci et illinc per Londinium, Tiburnum transferri : hic ad suspendium adigeris, et ante quam mors adveniat e laqueo sublatus, exenteraberis, et viscera et oculos tuos concremabuntur, deinde caput abscideretur, et corpus quadripartito sectum Regis arbitrio relinquetur.*" Respondit Venerabilis : "*Utinam Deus Omnipotens Excellentiā tuam bonis omnibus prosequatur.*"

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. LXII.

Antequam in vincula reduceretur veniam petiit ut sibi Catholici sacerdotis opem concederetur. Respondit qui inquisitioni praeerat, se opem administri Anglicae Ecclesiae tantum concessurum : at Venerabilis, immutata urbanitate, "*gratias tibi do amplissimas, inquit, sed huiusmodi gratia mihi prorsus inutilis est.*" Denique in custodiam traditur, ubi alter erat sacerdos, professus ex Ordine S. Benedicti, qui pietate flagran-

tissimus, et ipse in odium Catholicae Fidei deprehensus fuerat. Hic porro Ven. Oliverium in extremo vitae agone religionis subsidiis opitulatus est, eiusque postremos dies per suum scriptum hominum memoriae tradidit.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. LXIII.

Quot dies Ven. Oliverius in vinculis transegit, tot in fervidis fundendis precibus consumpsit. Jeuniis corpus macerare sategit, terque et amplius in hebdomada paucis modo panis frustulis famem explens. Itaque semper eum inter carceris aerumnas hilarem deprehenderes, nec unquam imminenti suae caedis sollicitudine affectum. Hinc profecto efficiebatur ut, et oris et corporis habitu, vel excubiarum existimationem religionis reverentiam sibi conciliaret.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. LXIV.

Interim se ad gloriosum obeundum martyrium alacriori animo comparabat in dies : excelsa rerum divinarum contemplatione futura gaudia delibare : piis lectionibus mentem pascere delectabatur. Divinae legis volumen, Breviarium, Missale, illi erant libri, qui in eius manibus versabantur assidue, quos cum gustaret et regustaret avidus, animus totus reficiebatur. Porro in horas connisus est in divina charitate proficere et in poenitentia suarum noxarum.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. LXV.

Eius gaudium eo magis augebatur, quo dies martyrio erat propinquior. Pulcherrimas tunc scripsit epistolas, quarum unam die 22 Junii 1681 amico Bruxellas misit, haec enarrans : "*Lata est in me mortis sententia, quam non timeo, nec quietis mihi quidquam eripit ; sum enim tam liber ab omni conspiratione mihi imposita, quam infans unius diei. Quod ad characterem, professionem, et functionem meam attinet, eam publice professus sum : et cum hoc sit motivum mortis meae, morior libenter, uti nunc Praesulum Hibernorum hic primus, ita exemplum, divina fretus gratia, aliis daturus talem mortem non formidandi. Sed unde mihi creaturae miserrimae tantum suppetit animorum, cum videam, instante morte, ipsum Creatorem meum coepisse pavere et taedere ? Considero sane Christum*



*suo timore ac pavore id meruisse, ut ego sim a timore immunis. Tempus mihi sufficiens educendi ex Hibernia testes negatum fuit: octo diebus serius advenerunt post latam in me mortis sententiam, quam lubens amplector, pro mea professione, caractere, ac functione moriturus. Expecto in dies adduci ad supplicii locum, ubi mihi intestina extrahenda sunt et coram me igne cremanda, demum caput amputandum. Cupio lubenter dissolvi, et esse cum Christo. Condoneo ex animo, et precor ut Deus condonet, omnibus, qui quovis modo morti meae causam praeberunt." Ita ille in litteris postremis cygnaea voce, et spiritu vere divino, morti iam propinquae praecinebat.*

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

#### ART. LXVI.

Tandem, die prima Julii adveniente, ad crates alligatus per Londinii vias, magna comitante caterva, Tiburnum (locum, ubi perduellionis rei morte mulctari solebant) rapitur, supplicium passurus. Hilaris erat ipse erectoque animo, adeo vero ut omnes in sui demirationem traduceret. Tum demum, antequam martyrium obiret, orationem, sua manu conscriptam, ad populum undique circumfusus habuit, ut suam innocentiam palam profiteretur. Omnia iudicii adiuncta enarravit: calumnias in se excitas, fraudes, machinationes inimicorum recensuit: iniurias quibus affectus fuerat notas fecit. Deinde professus est se omnibus iis ignoscere, qui quovis modo morti suae causam praebuissent: Regem eiusque familiam omnibus votis prosecutus est. Postremo a Deo veniam suarum noxarum petiit per Christi merita, perque Virginis, Angelorum, et Sanctorum omnium intercessionem, sibi que sempiternam requiem deprecatus est. Hac concione habita, genua flexit: elata voce "*Miserere*" aliasque preces decantavit donec constitit illis verbis, "*in manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum.*"

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

#### ART. LXVII.

Hisce precibus recitatis, consuetam subiit carnificinam: porro laqueo primum strangulatus est, capite deinde amputatus, et corpore in quatuor partes dissectus. Corpus ut honesto ritu sepeliretur Rex concessit, qui fertur de ipsius morte non modicum sensum habuisse. Populus certe undequaque circumfusus summo animorum sensu ipsius innocentiam, Christianam constantiam, et incredibilem mortis contemptum ita

depraedicavit, ut plurimi palam affirmaverint, etsi ad annos centum vixisset, numquam sibi, Deo, patriae suae, ac religioni Romanae tantum gloriae consequi potuisse.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. LXVIII.

Antequam Ven. Dei Servus ad supplicium raperetur, a Rege impetraverat ut in eo sepulcro ubi quinque Patres e Societate Jesu (et ipsi quatuor antea annos in odium fidei interempti) quiescebant, conderetur. Itaque corpus in arca rite compositum, conditum fuit in Ecclesia S. Getulii. Super sepulcro aere incisa haec verba leguntur: "*Hic quiescit corpus Revmi. Oliverii Plunkett, Archiepiscopi olim Armacani et Primatis totius Hiberniae, qui perduellionis accusatus, per falsos fratres in odium fidei capite damnatus fuit, quam ob rem Tiburnum ad supplicium compulsus, ibique eius viscera concremata, martyrium erecto firmoque animo oppetiit die prima Julii anno 1681, Rege Carolo II.*"

*Quod omni probabitur, etc.*

ART. LXIX.

Nunc vero corpus in Ecclesia Patrum Sancti Benedicti in urbe Downside (in Anglia) religiosissime servatur. Caput autem coenobio Monialium Sancti Dominici in urbe Drogheda Armacanae Dioeceseos traditum fuit, cui coenobio primum praeerat quaedam Ven. Oliverii neptis. Semper summa cum veneratione caput ipsum servatum est.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. LXX.

Omnes qui Ven. Oliverii Plunkett martyrio adfuerunt summa demiratione enixaque reverentia fuerunt perculsi cum angelicam viderent suavitatem, qua eius vultus mirum in modum elucebat. Plerique, pietatis sensibus ex imo commoti, fletum prae dolore nullo modo cohibere poterant.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. LXXI.

Ut primum Venerabilis anima e terra migravit, statim eius martyrii fama, tot tantisque virtutibus exemplis excita, omnibus animus potita est. Tum eum magis magisque tamquam Christiane Fidei propugnatorem ubique laudabant omnes, dicentes eum pro fide catholica tuenda unice atque omnino mortuum esse.

Qui martyrii nuncium ad Sedem Apostolicam miserunt professi sunt Primatem tantam fortitudinem in extremo vitae certamine edidisse ac tantum sibi Fidei gloriam comparasse ut parem umquam non esset assequutus si centum annos apostolicis laboribus obeundis operam dedisset.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. LXXII.

Neque in posterum defuerunt qui et scriptis eius laudes prae-dicarent, eiusque gloriam memoriae hominum commendarent. Juvat hic praesertim ea recolere, quae habet *Catalani*, scriptor clarissimus, in Commentariis suis: (in Pontif. Rom. vol. iii. pag. 313: Ed. Parisiis 1852): "*Certo S. Malachiam Archiepiscopum Armacanum imitatus est Oliverius Plunkett, eiusdem Ecclesiae Armacanae Antistes, atque totius Hiberniae Primas a Clemente IX., Pont. Max., eximiis eius animi dotibus constitutus, anno 1670, aetatis suae 41. Quamquam enim missus erat ad oves, stetit in medio luporum Pastor intrepidus, totamque provinciam circumiens, perquirebat anhelus quem Christi acquireret: paratus et animam suam dare pro ovibus, partes boni Pastoris explevit: quamobrem, licet sub alio pre-textu, violatarum scilicet Regis Anglicae legum, in odium Catholicae Religionis crudelissimam mortem oppetiit die 1<sup>ma</sup> Julii 1681.*"

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. LXXIII.

Haec martyrii certissima fama lapsu temporis non est immi-nuta, sed semper viguit et magis magisque augetur in dies. Id Christifidelium veneratio plane confirmat, quae manifestis signis editur. Etenim iam inde a die quo Ven. Dei Famulus mortem obiit, tum Episcopi tum Benedictini Patres, alii Religiosi Viri, populusque eundem tamquam Sanctum invocare, veri martyrii palma patientem, sempiternae gloriae mercede donatum, appellare umquam non dubitarunt.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. LXXIV.

Eñus Card. Logue de fervida devotione, qua Christifideles tum in Hibernia, tum in Anglia Ven. Dei Famulum colunt, certissimis documentis atque aperte testatur.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*



## ART. LXXV.

Ven. Dei Famulum verum Christi esse Martyrem divinis prodigiis seu signis semper, post eius obitum, portendit Deus. Etenim quatuor annos postquam Ven. Oliverii corpus conditum fuerat, reserato sepulcro, integrum omnino repertum est. At maiori admiratione digna de eius capite prodigia ostendit Deus. Nam non modo caput illud quod *Droghedae* asservatur integrum prorsus est, sed etiam *personalem* vultum, quem Ven. Oliverius vivens habuit, servat omnino, perinde ac si adhuc spiret. Accedit quod odor suavissimus ex eodem capite emanat, quem omnes percipiunt.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. LXXVI.

Tum denique mirae ac subitae sanationes saepe, intercedente Ven. Oliverio, a Deo inter Christifideles, qui eum summa spe invocant, impetratae sunt.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## DE CULTU NUMQUAM EXHIBITO.

## ART. LXXVII.

Qualiter veritas est et fuit quod etsi Ven. Dei Famulus tanta devotione colatur, tamen nihil umquam actum est contra Urbani VIII Decreta, quae cultum Servis Dei nondum rite beatificatis adhibendum moderantur. Ideoque Ven. Oliverii Plunkett honori nec ad eius sepulcrum, nec ad eius imagines, nec ad eius reliquias ullum umquam veri cultus et beatitatis signum adhibitum est, sine venia et auctoritate Sedis Apostolicae.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. LXXVIII.

Qualiter veritas est et fuit quod nunquam preces publico nomine Ven. Dei Servo adhibitae sunt : nunquam eius reliquiae et imagines per sacram pompam delatae aut vetito loco repositae sunt.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

## ART. LXXIX.

Qualiter veritas est et fuit quod eius imagines absque radiis et beatitatis nuncupationibus excussae vel pictae sunt : ab eius

nomine semper abfuerunt *Sancti* vel *Beati* nuncupationes, etiam in libris, qui typis mandatī sunt.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

ART. LXXX.

Qualiter veritas est et fuit quod tum ab eius imagine, tum a sepulcro, tum ab eius reliquiis semper abfuerunt votivae tabellae et lumina. Nunquam eius honori aedes et templa et altaria excitata sunt sine auctoritate et venia Sedis Apostolicae.

*Quod omne probabitur, etc.*

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Haec pro nunc Postulator, reservata sibi facultate alios articulos producendi uti supra, et non se adstringens ad onus superfluae probationis : de quo iterum expresse ac solemniter protestatur, non solum isto, sed et omni meliori modo, etc.

CAUSAE POSTULATOR,

## 'IS OUR EARTH ALONE INHABITED?'

For thus saith the Lord that created the heavens, God Himself that formed the earth, and made it, the very maker thereof; He did not create it in vain: He formed it to be inhabited.—Isaias xlv. 18.

FROM time to time this question has been mooted. It is needless to add, it has been left unsettled, though attempts were made to answer it. *Theologically*, it never can be answered, because Revelation is silent; *scientifically* it can only be answered, if evidence *pro* or *con* be forthcoming. As far as we can at present judge, science lends but little hope to believe that the solution is secreted in her arcana.

But are there reasons for suggesting such a question? If so, and they be advanced in a reverent spirit, submitting every thought and word to the *imprimatur* of the Church, why not advance them, if only to examine what could be said upon a subject which the reader may acknowledge at the close of this essay is not without its interest? In this spirit and for this end we propose to have a little say.

Two reasons exceptionally suggest themselves for fostering the likelihood that some other planet or planets are inhabited by human beings besides this little world of ours:—

1. The comparative *insignificance* of our solar system *ad gloriam Dei Creatoris*;
2. The *inadequacy* of anything like a due resultant of the Redemption *ad gloriam Dei Salvatoris*.

These reasons combined seem to congruously urge for the inhabitation of other planetary worlds besides our own, leaving out the questions, whether their inhabitants were, firstly, created at the same time, or, secondly, under similar conditions to our own.

The first-named reason involves a knowledge of, at least, Astronomy and Cosmology. Few priests have the inclination, and fewer still the time, to devote to the study of astronomy. This is much to be deplored; for, while theology portrays in telling force the Justice, Mercy, and Providence of God



towards fallen man, no science furnishes him with more comprehensive notions of God's Omnipotence, Wisdom, Inscrutability, and Order, than the study of astronomy. And in dealing with atheists, I am strongly inclined to think, that the marvellous revelations of astronomy are more likely to influence them to admit, not to say convince them, of the existence of a God, than the more direct and homogeneous study of Divinity.

The other (second) reason is more of an historico-religious nature, and needs no laboured proofs; hence I propose to treat it first.

Does history, then, past and present, connote 'an *inadequacy* in anything like a due resultant of the Redemption *ad gloriam Dei Salvatoris*'?

It is too trite to open this consideration with the indisputable truth that God wills 'all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth' (1 Tim. ii. 4). Man was redeemed and the New Gospel of his Redeemer promulgated some twenty centuries ago. Its glad tidings have 'gone forth into all the earth, and their words (the Apostles') unto the ends of the whole world' (Rom. x. 18). *Ad quid?*

Some half century ago, about the year 1850, the *Scientific Miscellany* gave a religious status of the world. We may presume that the total population of the world amounted then, in round numbers, to over one thousand millions. A little over *one-third* of these—reckoning together all the Roman and Greek orthodox Catholics, along with all the Protestants of every sect, whether actually or only nominally—were Christians; the remainder, some eight hundred millions were pagans, or unbelievers in the Christ. The latest statistics (1902), published by the *Monitor* of Launceston, Tasmania, after very careful analysis, gives the present population of the world to have reached one thousand five hundred millions; while the proportion of the professors of Christianity to be even less, *under one-third*. In other words, now as then, after twenty centuries of evangelisation, the resultant is, at least, three unbelievers to every Christian. And if we confine our analysis to the faithful alone, to the children of the Roman Catholic Church, the proportion is about six unbelievers to one believer.

Answer now the question: Is that a satisfactory or due resultant *ad gloriam Dei Redemptoris*?

Let us make every allowance; let the highest spiritualist extol to his heart's content the truism that no one can gauge or estimate the value God puts upon one single human soul, purchased by the Redeemer's Blood. Still the sad, sad, desponding thought forces itself into a reflective mind—*three to one* in the twentieth century; *six to one, extra gremium Ecclesiae, extra arcam salutis!* Moreover, what intensifies this disappointment, the progress seems as stationary as the comparative numbers; *three to one* in 1850, *three to one* in 1902.

I shall be told, no doubt, that this is the weakest part of my thesis; that God is a patient God; that, perhaps, the world is still in its infancy; that there is a millennium yet to come, and that the harvest will be more abundant. *Transeat!* Let us, then, to the first and stronger proposition.

‘THE COMPARATIVE INSIGNIFICANCE OF OUR SOLAR  
SYSTEM AD GLORIAM DEI CREATORIS.’

Will this phase of the question postulate other inhabited globes?

Again, the whole position I take up is a *comparative* one. However much might be advanced on behalf of its study *in se*, I propose to confine myself to a comparative inquiry; hence the necessity to consider some of the more remarkable *āta* (not to say *facta*) of the universal starry firmament. If such a cursory survey effects naught else, it will prove beyond contradiction that ‘*coeli enarrant gloriam Dei et opera manuum ejus annuntiat firmamentum*’ (Ps. xviii. 2). Let us proceed from the better to the lesser known and confine our study to that part of the vast heavens circumscribed by our own solar and planetary system, while adoring that Great Creator, ‘Who hath measured the height of the heaven, and the breadth of the earth, and the depth of the abyss’ (Eccles. i. 2).

Then, for the nonce, let us suppose all the myriads of stars,

the innumerable suns which bespangle the heavens on a bright clear night, to be obliterated or veiled from our vision; and that, after our Sun has gone to rest, we direct our powerful glasses in the direction of the 'milky way,' to discern the planets with their satellites, which are ever revolving around our great luminary—the Sun.

#### OUR SOLAR AND PLANETARY SYSTEM.

'And God said: Let there be lights made in the firmament of heaven, to divide the day and the night, and let them be for signs and for seasons and for days and years; to shine in the firmament of heaven, and to give light upon the earth. And it was done. And God made two great lights: a greater light to rule the day; and a lesser light to rule the night; and the stars' (Genesis i. 14-17). Amédée Guillemin tells us, in his work on *The Heavens*, that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the number of planets of our solar system discovered by astronomers was only sixty-four; all of which, with the exception of the *major* planets, were, comparatively speaking, of exceedingly small dimensions. According to our present knowledge the number has been increased to, at least, three or four hundred, consisting of four *larger* planets, viz., Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, and Neptune; four *smaller* planets, viz., Mercury, Venus, our Earth and Mars, while there are many *minor* planets or Asteroids,<sup>1</sup> forming a ring or broad belt between Mars and Jupiter. We may add to these at least nine comets, revolving round our Sun in very eccentric and elongated orbits.

For the purpose we have in view, namely, to show the *absolute* magnitude and the *comparative* insignificance of our solar system, and, *à fortiori*, of the globe on which we dwell, we need only to turn our attention to our Sun and his eight *major* planets.

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<sup>1</sup> More properly called *planetoids*. Sir Robert Ball alludes to 500 of these planetoids, and the latest observations (1902) confirm him (see *Encyc. Brit.*, 10th ed.). The smallest known satellite in our system is likely not more than 8 miles in diameter.



## DISTANCE FROM THE SUN.

In the order of distance, these planets are (from *Chambers' Story of the Solar System*):—

Names		Distance from Sun	
1.	Mercury	...	36 millions of miles. <sup>2</sup>
2.	Venus	...	67 „
3.	Earth	...	93 „
4.	Mars	...	141 „
5.	Jupiter	...	483 „
6.	Saturn	...	886 „
7.	Uranus	...	1,782 „
8.	Neptune	...	2,792 „

Of these Uranus very seldom, and Neptune never, can be seen with the naked eye; and Mercury and Venus have no moon.

## MAGNITUDE.

In order of size they rank as follows:—

		Diameter	
1.	Mercury (smallest)	about	3,000 miles.
2.	Mars	...	5,000 „
3.	Venus	...	7,500 „
4.	Earth	...	7,900 „
5.	Uranus	...	31,800 „
6.	Neptune	...	37,000 „
7.	Saturn	...	74,000 „
8.	Jupiter (largest)	...	88,500 „

*Obs.*—Four, then, are immensely larger, and three somewhat smaller, than our Earth.

Now, it is by a consideration of size, distance, and velocity that we get a faint idea of the marvels of the celestial sphere, which moved holy Job to exclaim: ‘Who can declare the order of the heavens, or who can make the harmony of heaven to sleep?’ (Job xxxviii. 37); and the Wise Man to ask: ‘But the things that are in heaven, who shall search out?’ (Wisdom ix. 16).

## SIZE.

We see by the diameter of the planets just given that the smallest (Mercury) measures across a distance from here to

<sup>2</sup> See remarks on round or approximate calculations on page 428.

America--about 3,000 miles; while our Earth is more than double (nearly 8,000 miles). But what is even this compared with the size of Jupiter with his diameter of close upon 90,000 miles: so that we should have to imagine *eleven* of our worlds (earths) placed in a row or line, to make a Jupiter; in other words, Jupiter is nearly 1,400 times greater than our Earth; or again, to make the comparison more intelligible, if we represent the size of our globe by a large sized *pea*, we must place beside the pea an ordinary sized *orange* to represent Jupiter. *And this is nothing*. Later on, we shall be describing our Sun with a diameter of nearly 900,000 miles; and consequently we should have to put nine Jupiters cheek by jowl in a line, or more than *one hundred* of our Earths to reach the magnitude of our great luminary. *And this is nothing*, as we shall see by and by.

But when we talk of magnitudes like these, our mind becomes fogged; so let us put it another way. We have a fair and more distinct idea of the speed of an express train, dashing along at the rate of 60 miles an hour, or a mile a minute. Now, how long would a journey at this rate take through the diameter of our earth? *Over 5 days and nights*, without stopping. How long to traverse Jupiter? *Over 60 days, or two months*. How long to cut through the Sun? *600 days, or about 20 months*. May we not exclaim with the Royal Psalmist. 'The heavens shall confess Thy wonders, O Lord' (Ps. lxxxviii. 6). *And yet this is nothing*.

The two planets of our system, which are nearly the same size, are our Earth and Venus, that well-known 'morning' or 'evening' star. Sir John Herschell endeavoured to make the relative sizes of our planetary system more intelligible by comparing the Sun and each planet with some of the material things well known to us, for instance: place in the centre of a large round table a ball or globe just measuring two feet in diameter (for example, a fair sized boy's hoop). Then place near it to represent our largest planet (Jupiter), an *ordinary sized orange*; next place a *small orange* to represent Saturn; next a *plum* to represent Neptune; then a *cherry*, to represent Uranus; then a *large pea*, to represent our Earth, and a little smaller one, to represent Venus; then

a *large pin's head*, to represent Mars; and lastly a *mustard seed* to represent Mercury. Thus:—

	Approximate Diameter	Approximate Circumference	Represented by
The Sun ...	866,000 miles	2,720,000	Two-feet globe
Jupiter ...	88,000 „	276,500	An orange
Neptune ...	37,000 „	116,000	Small orange
Saturn ...	74,000 „	235,500	A plum
Uranus ...	32,000 „	100,000	A cherry
Our Earth ...	7,900 „	24,830	A large pea
Venus ...	7,500 „	23,570	A smaller pea
Mars ...	4,500 „	14,140	A large pin's head
Mercury ...	3,000 „	9,400	A mustard seed
The Planetoids	—	—	Grains of sand

Now regard the insignificant position of our Earth in this comparison—a *pea to an orange* or a *pea to a two-foot globe*. And as to its position in the system, it is neither the nearest nor the farthest, nor the middle; and in light and heat from the Sun, it is neither the warmest nor the coldest, nor the middle. Sir David Brewster<sup>3</sup> sums this up by saying: ‘If we compare it (our Earth) with the other planets in reference to their *size*, their *form*, their *density*, the *length* of their year, the *length* of their day, the *eccentricity* of their orbits, we shall find that in all these cases the Earth is not in any way distinguished above the rest.’

#### DISTANCE.

But if we become confounded when we consider the magnitude of the planets of our solar system and of the comparative insignificance of our Earth, what shall we say when we come to measure their distances from us and from the Sun?

As the smallest, so the nearest to the Sun is Mercury (page 420), and yet that distance is 36 millions of miles, and from us 57 millions. The farthest (though not the largest) from the Sun is Neptune, and she is nearly 3,000 millions of miles, or over *thirty times more distant* than our Earth is from the Sun and, therefore, about 2,900 millions of miles away from us. Of course, we cannot grasp these figures, and, conse-

<sup>3</sup> *More Worlds than One*, chap. iv.



quently, let us again have recourse to more familiar examples. The express train, starting on an imaginary straight railroad from our earth to Neptune would take over 5,000 *years* to accomplish the journey without stopping: in other words, if the first man, Adam, were the engineer, and started A.M. 1, he would have scarcely reached Neptune yet. Even for the train to reach the Sun from our Earth it would take 175 years.

Again, light travels at the rate of about 185,000 miles per second; and hence a ray of it would travel 8 times round our Earth *every second of time*. Consequently, when a ray of light starts from Neptune, it will take 4 hours to reach our eye; so that, when you look through a powerful telescope and catch her glimmering light, remember that ray of light started 4 hours before you directed your glass upon the planet. A ray of light from our Sun takes *eight minutes* to reach us on Earth.<sup>4</sup> *And yet this is nothing*, as we shall see before we have done.

#### VELOCITY.

We have just been considering the velocity of light and the time a ray of light takes to reach us from the Sun and from the more distant planets of our solar system. Now let us consider the velocity of the planets themselves both *through space*, i.e., in their orbits, and *on their axes*. For they have a double motion: one in their orbits, called *orbital* motion; and another on their axes, called *axial* motion. In other words, while *they speed through space, they spin like tops*.<sup>5</sup> This double velocity varies in all the planets (excepting Jupiter and our Moon). Jupiter's exceptionally orbital and axial velocity is practically the same, viz., about 28,000 miles per hour. A result is that, if there were an astronomer on our Sun, Jupiter would (like our Moon to us) always present the same surface or 'face.' But, of course, he does not present this phenomenon to us.

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<sup>4</sup> A cannon ball would take over ten years.

<sup>5</sup> Both their orbital and axial motions are from west to east; hence the Sun and stars appear to move from east to west.

I shall here give the approximate measurements of the Orbits, and then a table of approximate velocities.

#### PLANETARY ORBITS.

Mercury	...	over	200 millions of miles.
Venus	...	„	430 „
Earth	...	„	587 „
Mars	...	„	824 „
Jupiter	...	„	2,900 „
Saturn	...	„	5,000 „
Uranus <sup>6</sup>	...	„	11,000 „
Neptune	...	„	17,000 „

#### VELOCITY OF THE PLANETS.

		Orbital motion per hour	Axial motion per hour
Mercury	...	about 100,000 miles	nearly 400 miles
Venus	...	nearly 80,000 „	„ 1,000 „
Earth	...	about 67,000 „	about 1,000 „
Mars	...	over 50,000 „	nearly 600 „
Jupiter <sup>7</sup>	...	about 28,000 „	nearly 28,000 „
Saturn	...	over 20,000 „	about 23,500 „
Uranus <sup>8</sup>	...	about 15,000 „	?
Neptune <sup>9</sup>	...	„ 12,000 „	?

It is worthy of remark that this order of orbital velocity is the same as their order of approximation to the Sun. Now you will observe that the greatest speed attained by any of our major planets works up to over 100,000 miles an hour. Can we grasp what that imports? Compare it with your express train, going at the rate of a mile a minute. It spells over 1,600 miles per minute, or more than 26 times faster than an express train. It means also that in the short space of *two* minutes a distance greater than from Liverpool to New York is traversed by Mercury.

Again, compare it with the flight of a cannon ball, at the average velocity of 1,450 feet per second, and it will be found that Mercury travels 100 times faster than the cannon ball.<sup>10</sup> Even taking our Earth. We are rushing through

<sup>6</sup> Uranus's moons, unlike all the rest, revolve from east to west.

<sup>7</sup> Jupiter requires nearly 12 years to revolve round the Sun at 500 times the rate of an express train (Guillemin).

<sup>8</sup> Takes nearly 90 years to get round.

<sup>9</sup> Takes over 160 years to complete its revolution.

<sup>10</sup> Mercury goes at the rate of 27 miles per second.

space at the rate of, at least, 66,000 miles an hour; or 1,100 miles per minute, or about 20 miles per second; that is *a thousand times faster than an express train*. All this is *nothing*, as we shall see.

But while our Earth and all the other planets of our solar system are dashing along at these fearful velocities, they are also spinning round like tops on their axes. The time of the four nearest to the Sun, viz., Mercury, Venus, our Earth, and Mars, is practically uniform, namely, 24 hours; but as their equatorial diameters so widely differ,<sup>11</sup> the *rate* considerably varies. For instance, while a point on Mercury's equator revolves at the rate of about 400 miles per hour, a similar equatorial spot on our Earth or Venus would be spinning at the rate of 1,000 miles an hour. But what is this compared with Jupiter with his axial rotation at the dizzy rate of over 28,000 miles an hour, or over 460 miles per minute?<sup>12</sup> Here we have another astronomical phenomenon—the largest planet with by far the greatest axial velocity. As to Uranus and Neptune, though man has measured their circumference, the rate of their *axial* rotation seems unknown.

#### OUR SUN.

Having briefly considered the size, distance, and velocity of some of the planets which constantly revolve from west to east in elliptical orbits around our great luminary, we can now turn with better preparedness to examine the Sun himself. 'Sol, vas admirabile, opus Excelsi' (Eccles. xliii. 2). Compared with the planets, even with the mighty Jove, they all dwindle into insignificance. In volume he is one million four hundred times greater than the globe on which we dwell, and his mass or weight alone is equal to seven hundred and fifty times the united masses of all the other bodies which he maintains in his sphere of attraction.<sup>13</sup> His diameter is *one hundred* times that of our earth, viz., more than 800,000 miles.

<sup>11</sup> Though the Earth and Venus are much the same.

<sup>12</sup> As Guillemin says, 24 times faster than a cannon ball.

<sup>13</sup> Guillemin, *The Heavens*, Book I.



And yet great and overwhelming as this seems, anyone situated beyond the confines of his system, outside the orbit of Neptune, could only find him in the sky by the aid of a telescope, while all the other planets, except perhaps Jupiter and Saturn, would be invisible. From the nearest fixed star he would, like other little stars, appear to us twinkling in the firmament. Let us have recourse to another comparison to get an inkling of the magnitude of our *little* Sun. Guillemain<sup>14</sup> tells us that Arago, in his popular *Astronomy*, relates the following incident:—A certain professor at Angers, wishing to give his pupils a tangible notion of the size of the Earth compared with the Sun,<sup>15</sup> counted the number of grains of wheat of ordinary size, contained in a measure called a litre<sup>16</sup>; he found this to be 10,000, consequently 14 decalitres<sup>17</sup> would hold 1,400,000 grains. After making all these into a heap, he held up *one grain* and said to his pupils: 'Here is the volume of the Earth (then pointing to the heap), and there is the Sun.'

Guillemin<sup>18</sup> calculates that so great is the light emitted by our Sun that we should require more than half a million of *full moons* to equal sun-light.<sup>19</sup> And yet our Sun is only catalogued as a star of the second or even third magnitude. And as this great astronomer says, 'The dimensions of the centre of our solar system are now found to represent but *an atom of the luminous sand* of the milky way.'<sup>20</sup> Struve, in his *Etudes d' Astronomie Stellaire*, says that, 'not only our Sun, but all the stars that we can see with the naked eye, are deeply plunged in the milky way, and form an integral part of it.' To our Sun's light and distance<sup>21</sup> we have already

<sup>14</sup> *The Heavens*, p. 24.

<sup>15</sup> Should it not be *vice versa*?

<sup>16</sup> About  $1\frac{3}{4}$  pints.

<sup>17</sup> Ten litres make one decalitre; 100 litres make an hectolitre and one hectolitre equals about  $2\frac{3}{4}$  imperial bushels.

<sup>18</sup> *The Heavens* chap. iii, p. 57.

<sup>19</sup> Or over 5,000 wax candles at the distance of one foot.

<sup>20</sup> Guillemain, *The Heavens*, p. 432.

<sup>21</sup> The old estimate of this distance has been corrected by moderns, who seem now practically to agree that his *average* distance is between 92 and 93 millions of miles.

alluded; we have only to say a word upon his velocity or motion, when compared with his family of planets. Here, as usual, we may distinguish a threefold motion, *proper, orbital, and axial*. His *proper* motion would be that *real* motion he enjoys independent of any *apparent* motion caused by the double motion of our Earth. Of his orbital motion next to nothing seems known. We know, however, that he rotates (spins) on his axis in about every 25 days. If then, we put it at a mean rate of 28 days, and his diameter broadly at 800,000 miles, his circumference will be about 2,500,000 miles; then an equatorial point of his circumference would be revolving at the rate of something like 90,000 miles per day, or over 60 miles per minute; *i.e.*, nearly four times quicker than our Earth. But, *mirabile dictu!* while our Earth and the other planets of our solar system revolve around the Sun, and their satellites (like our Moon) revolve around their planets, each with its own proper and terrific velocity, so (according to Argelander, M. Peters, Struve, etc.) the Sun himself, attended by all his *spinning-tops*—the planets—both major and minor, superior and inferior, along with their respective satellites, *rushes through space*, 'towards the star marked  $\pi$  in the constellation Hercules,<sup>22</sup> with a velocity which causes him to pass over a distance every year equal to 33,350,000 miles!'<sup>23</sup> Imagine this at a rate of something like that of 60 miles (not per hour, like an express train), but *per minute*. Surely *this is something*, and we can only exclaim with the Great Apostle: '*O altitudo!* O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are His judgments, and how inscrutable His ways' (Rom. xi. 33).

What that mysterious and still, to us, dark centre is, no man doth know; perchance in some future age, the arcana may be penetrated by still more powerful instruments, and the great unseen luminary which controls our solar system may be revealed to man. One thing we may embrace in confidence,

<sup>22</sup> The latest observations regard Lyra and not Hercules to be the solar apex, probably R. A. 280° and D. + 38° (*Encyc. Brit.*).

<sup>23</sup> Mitchell's *Orbs of Heaven*, p. 212. But the latest calculations in the 10th ed. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* make it 10 miles per second.

and that is, that this Sun of ours, which, like the other stars, we are inclined to look upon as *fixed*, is most likely *careering* away in a monster orbit, which no astronomer may even dare to estimate.

We are now about to enter the sidereal world. Therein, as in our planetary system, we shall have to deal with colossal calculations. Be it understood that, as in one so in the other, we shall speak in 'round' numbers and, therefore, *approximately*. Two reasons urge the writer to this. Firstly, the absence of exactitude amongst even the greatest astronomers in such delicate calculations; and secondly, in order to tax as little as possible the reader's memory in numbers so enormous.

#### SIDEREAL WONDERS.

We have seen much, and we have called it *nothing*. We drew a veil over the vast celestial sphere and we purposely shut out from our view all those myriads of glittering orbs which bespangle the canopy of heaven. We did this that we might the better confine our attention to our own immense yet puny solar system.

Let us now withdraw the curtain and with naked eye and glass in hand survey the vast celestial firmament, and acknowledge O God! that 'Thy magnificence is elevated above the heavens'; 'for I will behold Thy heavens, the work of Thy fingers; the moon and the stars which Thou hast founded' (Ps. viii. 2, 4). Truly shall we see how 'star differeth from star in glory;' for 'one is the glory of the sun, another the glory of the moon, and another the glory of the stars' (1 Cor. xv. 41); how 'whatsoever the Lord pleased He hath done in heaven' (Ps. cxxxiv. 6); and how 'the sun, moon, and the stars being bright, and sent forth for profitable uses, are obedient' (Baruch vi. 59).

The first impression that strikes the upturned eye of the beholder is that the stars *seem* more numerous than they really are. In the whole sphere the naked eye can only discern about 6,000 stars; and, as a beholder sees only *half* the celestial sphere at a time, his eye can only fall upon half that



number or 3,000. With telescopes and photography, however, that comparatively small number works up to over 100 millions, the greater part of which is in and mainly constitutes the *Via lactea* or 'Milky Way.' But, despite the genius of man and his powerful glasses, let us acknowledge at the outset, with the Prophet Jeremias, that 'the stars of heaven cannot be numbered' (Jer. xxxiii. 22), and let us praise Him 'Who telleth the number of the stars: and calleth them by their names' (Ps. cxlvi. 4); and let us daily in our lauds sing out: 'Praise ye Him, O sun and moon; praise Him all ye stars and light' (Ps. cxlviii. 3).

We are no longer gazing upon planets and satellites, planetoids, and comets, but upon myriads of *suns*, many of which, if not most, are far larger than the Sun of our solar system. For the stars are truly suns, each shining with its own light and diffusing sunshine and heat to the unseen planets which revolve around them. When, therefore, you gaze upon the twinkling stars on a bright clear night, and at the streak of starry *sand* which forms the Milky Way, remember that you are looking at so many suns, around each of which planetary bodies similar to our own may be revolving, and thus forming innumerable kindred solar systems like to ours. For to suppose them to be without planets and to be merely globes of light and heat, would be contrary to analogy as well as reason. No telescope has ever been constructed, and likely never will, powerful enough to detect these planets; even the mighty suns merely look like specks; but we do know of the Sun (our own) which is surrounded by planets, and, moreover, we know that one, though far from the largest one, in fact a very small one, is inhabited, namely, the planet Earth on which we dwell. Why not, then, when we descry other single suns far greater than our own, come to the conclusion that they are but the centre of other solar systems similar to our own? We have remarked that we can see with the naked eye about 6,000 stars or suns. The 6,000 stars we can thus see are all those ranging from the first to the sixth magnitudes. But with the aid of telescopes we can see stars of the seventeenth magnitude, or even smaller; and as the optician's art progresses and the telescopes

become still more powerful or effective, so smaller stars (so to speak) will be revealed. And so it is with comets. At present we may be cognisant of about a thousand of these erratic masses of incandescent gasses.

Now, since we have left our solar system to plunge deeper into the mighty vaults of heaven, let us ask ourselves what distance from us is the *nearest* of the *fixed* stars, after our own Sun, which, as you know, is 93 millions of miles away?

The nearest, after our Sun, is what astronomers call the Alpha of the Centaur (*a Centauri*). Unfortunately this star is never visible in Ireland. We should have to go to the southern hemisphere to see our nearest star; and yet astronomers reckon it two and a-half times *brighter* than our Sun. Now this star or sun is reckoned by Lockyer<sup>24</sup> to be nineteen billions of miles distant; in other words, 200,000 times more distant than our Sun. Its light, therefore, travelling at the rate of 185,000 miles per second, takes over three and a-quarter years<sup>25</sup> to reach our globe; and an express train would require over *three million years* to travel the distance. Now *we have something*. But if we have not the pleasure of seeing this star in Ireland, there is one of the first magnitude called Capella, visible at its zenith on the feast of the Immaculate Conception,<sup>26</sup> though it is twenty times more remote than our nearest star. If then, the weather favours you about December the 8th, look up to the heavens and about the centre you will see (not far from the Pleiades), a constellation of five stars called 'Auriga,' the middle star, and by far the brightest, is Capella; and as you gaze upon its twinkling, remember it is over 400 billions of miles distant and that its light takes 72 years to reach your eye.

There seems little reason to doubt that some of the more distant stars would require 50,000 years to send their light to us. Sir William Herschell goes much further and alludes to stars so distant that a ray of light from them would require 700,000 years. Now, again, *we have something*.

It would be interesting here to give the time that the light

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<sup>24</sup> *Elementary Lessons in Astronomy*, No. 16. The distance is nearly 24 billions.

<sup>25</sup> Chambers' *Story of the Stars* gives four and a quarter years.

<sup>26</sup> Visible every night at same hour.

of eight well-known stars takes to reach us. I take the light times from Guillemin.<sup>27</sup>

A Centauri (the nearest star),	19,000,000,000,000 miles	...	over 3½ years <sup>28</sup>
61 Cygni, 34,000,000,000,000 miles	...	„	9 „
Vega Lyrae, 124,000,000,000,000 miles	...	...	21 „
Sirius (the brightest star),	127,000,000,000,000 miles	...	22 „
Ursæ Majoris, 144,000,000,000,000 miles	...	...	25 „
Arcturus, <sup>29</sup> 150,000,000,000,000 miles	...	...	26 „
Polaris (our Pole star, always visible),	286,000,000,000,000 miles	...	50 „
Capella (lately referred to),	417,000,000,000,000 miles	...	72 „

You will remark that our Pole star is so distant that his light takes half a century to strike our eyes; so that a boy of ten years of age, looking at the Polar Star for the first time may be told that the glimmer he sees in the heavens started from that star forty years before he was born. *And this is something.* Now let us refer to the *brightest* star (to us) in the heavens. It is Sirius,<sup>30</sup> the fourth in the above list, whose light takes twenty-two years to reach us. It may be best seen at the end of December a little above the horizon in the constellation of Canis Major—the Great Dog. It is also not far away from the well-known constellation called Orion. Now, if we were to suppose (for observations at such enormous distances are exceedingly meagre) that the light which Sirius pours forth is no more brilliant than our sunshine, then, according to Lockyer,<sup>31</sup> Sirius would be equal in bulk to more than 3,000 of our suns, and according to Sir D. Brewster,<sup>32</sup> his intrinsic brightness is sixty-three times greater than that of our Sun.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *The Heavens*, p. 340. Flammarion, *Popular Astronomy*, p. 597, gives for the nearest star about 4½ years; 61 Cygni, over 7 years; Sirius, over 8 years; Arcturus, over 34½ years; Polaris, 36½ years; and Capella only 29½ years.

<sup>28</sup> The writer thinks this distance and time underrated (nearer 24 billions).

<sup>29</sup> This star travels at the rate of over 50 miles per second.

<sup>30</sup> The flaming Dog star.

<sup>31</sup> *Elementary Lessons in Astronomy*, No. 100.

<sup>32</sup> *More Worlds than One*, chap. x., p. 165.

<sup>33</sup> The latest observations (1902) make Sirius give out 30 times as much light as our own Sun, though his mass is only double. (See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 10th ed., art. 'Astronomy.')



But one of the most marvellous phenomena in stellar or solar distances is what we know of the  $\epsilon$  star in the beautiful constellation of the Lyre (Lyra), which may be easily distinguished at the end of June, about the centre of the hemisphere. It is a constellation of six stars, seemingly very compact, well up towards the Pole Star, consisting of one star of the first magnitude, called Vega, two of the third, and three of the fourth magnitudes. Now one of these smaller stars appears to the naked eye like a faint *single* star. But if you look at it through a good opera glass you will find it to be a *double* star. Next apply a small telescope and you will have widely separated the double stars, and these will appear to you *two distinct single stars*. Then taking a telescope of much greater power, you will find that each of these apparently *single* stars resolve themselves into two more *double* stars; hence we have what astronomers call the '*double double*.' *This is something*, but far from all. For here we have a system or systems of four suns, in two pairs; while each of these pairs is revolving round some point situated between them, so the two pairs, considered as two single stars, revolve around some points situated between them. And here comes the greatest marvel. Admiral Smyth states that the wider pair will require 2,000 years to complete their orbital revolution, while the closer pair will only effect their revolution in 1,000 years; and possibly, he says, the *two double systems* may require in order to revolve the point lying between them very nearly *one million years*. And yet, mark you, to the naked eye, these four suns of the third or fourth magnitude appear as *one single star*.<sup>34</sup>

If such can be demonstrated regarding a compact cluster of stars like the Lyre, what may not the imagination compass when one comes to consider those *open scattered sort* of clusters, such as the constellation of Cygnus, Ursa Major, Pegasus, Serpens, Pisces, Cetus, Fluvius, Eridanus, Hydra, Virgo, or even the Draco, close up by the Pole Star.\* In the very next constellation to Lyra, and consequently also visible to us, is the apparently six-star constellation called the Swan (Cygnus).

<sup>34</sup> See Lockyer's *Elementary Lessons in Astronomy*, No. 47.

\* Consult any Astronomical planisphere.

The largest of these six stars is one of the second magnitude, while the other five are all of the third; hence all can be seen with the naked eye. Four of these stars are in a line and seemingly *equally* distant from one another. Now, there is also a double star in this constellation, which has become a special favourite amongst astronomers and is listed by them as 61 *Cygni* (No. 61 of the Swan). Moreover, they know the distance between this double star. Hence they can determine the dimensions of the orbit of one round the other, just as we can learn the Earth's orbit round our Sun by knowing the distance between them. The result to anyone else except an astronomer, would seem incredible; namely, that the distance between these two stars, which, to the naked eye, look like a single star, is over 4,000 millions of miles.<sup>35</sup> In other words, for here again we are nonplussed, suppose a ray of light to start from one of these stars towards its twin star, it would take over six hours for that ray of light, travelling at the rate of 185,000 miles per second, to reach the other star; or what comes home more intelligibly still, the express train would require constant travelling for nearly 8,000 years—a longer time than our Earth has been inhabited by man. And a cannon ball, with an average velocity of 1,450 feet per second, would take over 460 years to hit its target—the other star.

Is this anything? Oh! well may we here repeat the words of the Great Creator to Abraham: 'Look up to heaven and number the stars, if thou canst' (Gen. xv. 5); and again with the Royal Psalmist, 'The heavens shall confess Thy wonders, O Lord' (Ps. lxxxviii. 6).

#### A FEW EXAMPLES OF SIDEREAL DISTANCES.

1. The light of our Sun takes over 8 minutes to reach us. An express train would require 177 years constantly travelling.
2. Light from our most distant planet (Neptune) takes about 24 minutes to reach us. An express train would take nearly 5,000 years.
3. Light from the nearest fixed star (a Centauri) takes over three years to reach us; therefore it is over 17 billions

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<sup>35</sup> Lockyer gives it at 4,275,000,000 miles.

of miles distant. An express train would take over 30 millions of years to travel the distance.

4. Light from the Pole Star takes 50 years to reach us; hence it is nearly 300 billions of miles distant from us. An express train would require over 500 millions of years.

5. Light from Capella (in Auriga) takes 72 years to reach us; hence this star is over 400 billions of miles distant (400,000,000,000,000). And an express train would require over 700 million years to do it, and electricity over 1,600 years.

Space will not permit us to pursue the study of individual stars any further. Passing, then, from the constellations, let us arrest our gaze on such a conglomeration of them that their dense masses have cast a pale broad streak, separating the celestial sphere into two almost equal portions, known familiarly as the 'Milky Way.'<sup>36</sup> It traces its forked path way across the great sphere with such a peculiar irregularity that a portion of the broad belt splits itself into two, like a mighty river, for instance, the Mississippi, which, after crossing hundreds of miles, splits itself into two, the other branch of which forms the Missouri. It is near the point of branching off or fork that, lost in this immense vortex of burning suns and innumerable worlds, *our* little solar system lies. As we have said, by the aid of powerful glasses many millions of these suns have been enumerated—so far away in the depths of the heavenly vaults, that to the naked eye they only look like fine nebulous matter, something like a milky gauze. The largest and most powerful astronomical instruments detect still more remote luminous 'sand,' the feeble light of which was set in motion ten thousand years ago. Here we must rest, lost in the contemplation of the Omnipotence of the Deity, while exclaiming with the Royal Psalmist: 'Confitebuntur coeli mirabilia tua Domine!' (Ps. lxxxviii. 6).

What is *our* world now? What that little pea bobbing round a two-foot sphere, or that solar sphere itself bounding onwards and lost amongst the myriads of more gigantic stars? Small and insignificant compared with nearly all the major planets of our own little system; small and puny as it is com-

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<sup>36</sup> 'Heaven's broad causeway paved with stars.'—(*Wordsworth.*)



pared with the Sun that gives it light, what shall we say of it, when we go outside its own system and dive into those immense revolving sidereal systems which we know embrace 100 millions of enumerated suns, or deeper and farther still amongst those innumerable ones, whose light would require perhaps millions of years to reach our little toy of the heavens which, to so many human beings is practically the *only world* in existence? 'Quaecumque voluit Deus fecit in cœlo' (Ps. cxxxiv. 6), and 'Quis enarrabit cœlorum rationem' (Job xxxviii. 37).

And yet you say that ON THIS LITTLE EARTH MAN ALONE DOTH DWELL.

We have compared it with 1° the other planets of our own solar system, and we find it nearly the smallest of them all; 37 2° with our own Sun, and the comparison is ludicrous—a *pea to a two-foot ball*; 3° with the nearest star outside its system, and we are speechless; 4° with the brightest star, and we are confounded; 5° with the more distant sidereal systems, and we are *nowhere*. And we have seen that there is no reason to doubt that every fixed star we behold in the heavens, whether with the naked eye or through powerful telescopes, is a sun and centre of planetary systems; that, just as our Sun has major and minor planets, satellites and planetoids revolving round him, so each fixed star or sun has a similar planetary system.<sup>37</sup> Neither astronomically, geologically, nor theologically do I know of any insuperable reasons why some planet of one, more or each of these innumerable systems should not be inhabited by human beings. Their suns furnish the necessary heat, light, and attraction for the existence of vegetable, animal, and human life on planets sufficiently cooled to produce an atmosphere, just as in the case of Mars and Venus, and, of course, our Earth. If you say, no; we prefer to think our own Earth the *only* favoured one, then,

<sup>37</sup> 'Amongst the satellites or moons which revolve round two of our planets, three are actually larger than one of our major planets (Mercury), and nearly as large as Mars.'—(Lockyer, *Elementary Lessons in Astronomy*, No. 142).

<sup>38</sup> As Lockyer says: 'The relative importance of our earth is, in fact, a *small planet* travelling round a *small star* (the Sun), and our whole solar system is but a *mere speck* in the universe, an atom of sand on the shore, a drop in the infinite ocean of space.'

tell me what reason shall we allege for the innumerable suns and planets that fill the illimitable space above, revolving around one another, dispensing the same b'lessings as we enjoy, if there be neither plant, vegetable, animal nor natural life to enjoy these blessings or give glory to their Creator?

I hear you say their very number, magnitude, brilliancy, regularity, and motion enhance our idea of the Omnipotence and Wisdom of the Great Creator. It is true; but how much more would our ideas expand and our veneration deepen, if we suppose them to have been poised in these unfathomable vaults, not merely as ornaments and mechanical wonders, but for a higher and a nobler purpose? Similarly wrote Sir David Brewster.<sup>39</sup> Neither can it be said that Revelation militates against this theory; for, of course it is but a reasonable theory. In searching the Holy Scriptures testimony may be found rather favouring than inimical to it. But I prefer to take a broader view. The scope of my essay does not require us to go into questions of general, particular, or simultaneous revelations. Either the Divine Revelation, which we have received, is confined to the inhabitants of our Earth, or it is so general that it embraces all the worlds, globes, and systems in existence.

If the former; then we must take the Word of God, as revealed to us, to apply to us and to our conditions alone; if the latter, then it would open up the question of the fall and redemption of the inhabitants of other spheres; but this is far beyond the will, power, or inclination of the writer. As far as he is aware, there is nothing in the Word of God, as revealed to us, to militate against the theory he advocates.

A far stronger case, from a Biblical point of view, was once heatedly made against the now universal belief of the orbital revolution of our Earth around the Sun, coupled with its diurnal motion. We have only to mention Galileo's name to conjure up one of the hottest controversies of the early part of the seventeenth century. Before the sixteenth century (and consequently before Galileo's time) a few learned men made reference to the heliocentric system; notably, St.

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Thomas, Nicholas Krebs and Girolomo Tagliavia; while in 1510 Leonardo da Vinci looked upon the new theory as *proved*.<sup>40</sup> Yet before the fifteenth century any *ordinary* man who would advance that the Sun was the centre of our system, or that the Sun did not revolve around the Earth, would be dubbed a madman. We know full well that neither Pope nor Holy Mother Church issued any *infallible*<sup>41</sup> pronouncements upon it; but, short of that, churchmen could scarcely go further. The language of the Inquisition, of the 'Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, Inquisitors General,' is still in evidence:—

We say, pronounce, sentence, declare that you the said Galileo, by reason of the matters adduced in process, and by you confessed as above, have rendered yourself, in the judgment of this Holy Office, vehemently suspected of heresy, viz., of having believed, and held to the doctrine, *which is false and contrary to the Sacred and Divine Scriptures*, that the sun is the centre of the world, and does not move from East to West, and that the Earth moves and is not the centre of the world; and that an opinion may be held and defended, as probable, after it has been declared and defined to (by) the Holy Scriptures.<sup>42</sup>

You will remark that a reason connected with the condemnation seems that the new system, now universally believed, and we may add, tacitly sanctioned by the Church at large, was *false and contrary to the Holy Scriptures*. Now we may presume that the strongest text of Holy Scripture, if not the only one, opposed to the Copernican Galileo system is found in the Book of Josue, x. 12-14:

Then Josue spoke to the Lord, in the day that he delivered the Amorrhite in the sight of the children of Israel, and he said before them: Move not, O sun, towards Gabaon, nor thou, O moon, towards the valley of Ajalon. And the sun and moon stood still, till the people revenged themselves of their enemies. Is not this written in the book of the just?<sup>43</sup> So the sun stood

<sup>40</sup> See I. E. RECORD, 1886, p. 810.

<sup>41</sup> See *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> The very Pope (Urban VIII.), upon whom our enemies subsequently tried to foist an infallible utterance, in a letter he wrote only four years previously to Galileo's condemnation in 1633, said that 'his (Galileo's) fame will shine on earth as long as Jupiter and his satellites shine in heaven.'

<sup>43</sup> In Hebrew, *Jasher*: an ancient book long since lost.



still in the midst of the heaven, and hasted not to go down the space of one day. There was not before nor after so long a day, the Lord obeying the voice of a man, and fighting for Israel.

Of course the strength of the objection is that, not only Josue prayed with the belief that the Sun and not the Earth really moved, but that God so received his prayer that the Holy Ghost declares that the Sun was arrested in his course and *stood still*.

Now a little reflection will reveal why God appears to connive at an astronomical misconception. Josue immediately followed Moses in the years A.M. 2553 and B.C. 1451. The history of the Jewish people, while under Josue, is commonly believed to have been written by Josue himself. The common belief then was, as it had been from the earliest times and as it remained practically till the seventeenth century of the Christian era, that the Earth was the *centre* of the universe, and that the Sun was always in motion and truly rose in the morning and set in the evening. Even to this day we talk of the Sun 'rising' in the east and 'setting' in the west.

Now, in face of this universal belief (even were you to suppose Josue by inspiration knew better), what would the people have thought of Josue, if he had ordered the Earth (which they regarded as immovable) and not the Sun (which they regarded as always moving) to stand still? They would have laughed him to scorn or thought he had lost his senses. And God knew that; and so He dissimulated the physical inaccuracy, in order that the miraculous fact might become, at least, intelligible to the people.

The old Ptolemaic system, which placed our Earth immovable in the centre and supposed the Sun and Moon and stars to revolve around it, was not only the universally received system, but it may be said the only popular one, best adapted to vulgar capacities and the freest from palpable difficulties, when science was still in its infancy, and the most consistent with common appearances and observations. The gross Israelites were so used to it that, had Moses, Josue, or any other inspired leader known anything of the heliocentric truth, yet it would have been improper, if not

dangerous, to have so much as hinted at it. *How* God worked the miracle is beyond the necessary scope of this essay.

Now, remember that this Scriptural difficulty has only reference to the heliocentric system, and does not affect in any way the theory of the habitation of other planets besides our own. I know of no text of Scripture *against* the latter, while several have been quoted in its favour, notably Isaias xlv. 12 and Ephesians i. 10; iii. 10. But, if ours is a particular revelation, we need not seek for Biblical references to other worlds. It is sufficient for our present purpose to find no Scriptural evidence *against* the theory. But perhaps we may be called upon to face another objection. Granting that the revelation we have received regards only ourselves, still it may be argued that since God relates and alludes to the creation of other worlds (the stars, etc.) why then is He silent about their habitation? This mode of argumentation would carry us too far. He defines the necessity of regeneration, and yet is silent about infant baptism. He categorically declares that 'unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God' (St. John iii. 5); yet He reveals nothing of the status of the poor little ones who die without the waters of regeneration. His written Word unmistakably teaches the necessity of belief, but it presents no tabulated form of the truths essential to salvation.

No; we may propose a theory and consider it on its merits, and yet advance no formal thesis, nor feel called upon to establish one. Beyond the historical fact that the religious status of the world, even in these later centuries, furnishes a poor resultant *ad gloriam Dei Salvatoris*, and the astronomical facts of the comparative insignificance of our planetary and solar system *ad gloriam Dei Creatoris*, we have no intention of going. In any case, true or false, right or wrong, likely or unlikely, we bow to the higher dictates of authority, and we console ourselves that even an academic consideration of the problem has centred our thoughts on the marvels of God's sidereal creation and we heartily sing with the Royal Psalmist: 'Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei et opera manuum ejus annuntiat firmamentum' (Ps. xviii. 2).

And yet a parting word to those who are inclined to view this theory in a favourable light.

If there be another planet or planets of our own or any other solar system inhabited by man, *which* is it likely to be? Physical Cosmology and astronomical research may help us somewhat anent our own solar system; but with regard to the other more distant ones we can do little else than fall back upon conjectures and congruities. Of *our* major planets astronomers do not seem to think that either Neptune, Uranus, Saturn, Jupiter, or Mercury enjoy (at present) all the conditions for human life, as we know it. The two first-named seem to be still in a more or less gaseous and molten state, while Saturn is still too hot, and the mighty Jove is yet without a *solid* crust. Our twin planet (in size), bright little Venus, in Flammarion's opinion, has physical conditions most like our own, and that it could be inhabited by vegetable, animal, and human races but little different from those of our planet (page 371). We may, I think, say a strong ditto to Mars.

Of the more bloody Mars, though only half the size of our Earth, we know more: that he has a real solid crust with polar snows and ice like our own, signs of seas, atmosphere, land, mountains, and vegetation. In a word, nearly all the conditions necessary for man, as we know him.

Mercury—the nearest planet to our Sun—seems totally devoid of atmosphere, much like our Moon—with absence of air and water—and therefore unfit for human life, unless it be of a nature and character so different to what we understand by the term that we should need a new definition. Granting all this, this is again *nothing*, considering there are myriads of other solar systems compared with which our own is but a pigmy.

Moreover, we do not pin our hypothesis to our own planetary system. As a learned astronomer has said: 'It is but a little cosmical island group in the mighty universe' (Ball). Even should time reveal that no other planet of *our* solar system is inhabited, we have yet *millions* of planets in the *myriads* of stellar systems outside ours.

The preparation of this article has cost me much—in time, research, and calculation—but if I have only whetted the appetite for a deeper and more scientific study of astronomy,



I am content and grateful.<sup>44</sup> And those so affected will realise the admissions of that 'elderly religious in Rome,' lately quoted by the gifted writer of 'The Joys of the Contemplative Life,'<sup>45</sup> so pregnant with spiritual thought and true devotion:

To contemplate the beauty of the heavens, to watch the famous astronomers revealing its wonders, and mapping out its parts, and calculating the untold distances and the intricate, yet lightning-like rapidity of the movements of the countless heavenly bodes, makes me almost tremble with a sort of delicious consciousness and realization of the immensity of the creation, *till this little earth of ours seems to shrivel up into a most insignificant particle*, floating on the boundless sea of being, just large enough to bear us and our destinies through the allotted confines of space and time.

E. A. SELLEY, O.S.A.

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<sup>44</sup> Should any reader be tempted to dip deeper into this interesting and ennobling study he would do well to consult Guillemin's *The Heavens*, Lockyer's *Elementary Lessons in Astronomy*, Chambers' *Story of the Solar System*, *Story of the Stars*, Sir D. Brewster's *More Worlds than One*, and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, all of which have been seriously studied by the writer of this essay. Sir Robert Ball's works are of course well up to date.

<sup>45</sup> I. E. RECORD, vol. xii., July, 1902.

## THE DOUBLE PERSONALITY OF ST. PATRICK

IT is easy to observe that the unfruitful has been cultivated and the essential neglected, in the great bulk of scientific study and popular illustration about St. Patrick. The question concerning his birth, which is both insoluble, because of the hopeless corruption of the texts, and useless, because of circumstances, especially of the knowledge possessed about the nationality of the Saint, is frequently raised and debated for the benefit of the general public, while no scholar has taken the writings of the Apostle as the subject of a monograph, and dealt with them philologically and syntactically,<sup>1</sup> established the meaning of the phraseology, and made clear the peculiarities of speech; least of all, used them for what they are, a most exalted expression of mind. And so in other respects. One of the best inspired of his modern biographers has done something in this line, and uttered natural regrets.<sup>2</sup>

The most substantial matter in the case is that of the historical existence of the Saint: the fact of his existence, and its correlation with history, so that sciolism should not be emboldened to imitate Lord Macaulay, who in a wanton and unjustifiable flourish of fancy speaks of 'St. Patrick, for example, if ever there was such a man.'<sup>3</sup>

While, however, the fact of the historical existence of St. Patrick will have to be allowed, as it is actually, from the testimonies—say—set in order by Dr. Whitley Stokes,<sup>4</sup> it must be adjusted with outside history. Now, continental historians are silent about him until the time of Alcuin, when he is mentioned by an act of conformity to the statements of the Irish Church, while, on the other hand, he is unmentioned in the

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<sup>1</sup> As is done with *The Style and Language of St. Cyprian*, by E. W. Watson, M.A., in the volume, *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, Oxford, MDCCCXCVI.

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. W. Bullen Morris, *Ireland and St. Patrick*, pp. 1, 2. In his more biographical work on St. Patrick he has associated himself in this respect with Tillemont.

<sup>3</sup> *Essays*, 'Gladstone on Church and State.'

<sup>4</sup> *The Tripartite Life*, p. cxxix., et seq.

historical documents of the North until Bede, who has placed him in his Martyrology only. Again, in the records of the Irish Church, saving the writings of the Apostle, Patrick is mentioned most often with Palladius, while all traces of the latter are wanting in the works of St. Patrick, which are the supreme authority about the conversion of the country.

On the reverse, general, that is continental, history, makes mention of another person as the Apostle of Ireland; by express description as the successful, and by implication as the sole apostle. This is Palladius, who is unmentioned in Irish history until the middle of the seventh century, when a vague and unsatisfactory account, presumably drawn in the main from continental sources, is given in the *Book of Armagh*, and the foundation laid for a new legend, which was never to be very vital, to take deep roots, or to be wide-branching.

The primary texts about Palladius are the following, from Prosper of Aquitaine, an ear and eye-witness in Rome and in Gaul of the continental side of the event recorded. First in his Chronicle under 429, he writes:—

On the initiative of Palladius the Deacon, Pope Celestine sends Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, in his own stead, in order that he should overthrow the heretics, and guide the Britons to the Catholic faith.<sup>5</sup>

Next, under the year 431, he writes in the same work:—

For the Irish believing in Christ Palladius is consecrated by Pope Celestine, and sent as first bishop.<sup>6</sup>

Thirdly, in the *Contra Collatorem*, he summarises both the passages quoted:—

Nor, indeed, did he deliver the Britains with less speedy care from the same evil (Pelagianism), when he excluded even from that remote part of the ocean some enemies of grace who occupied their native soil, and, having consecrated a bishop for the Irish,

<sup>5</sup> 'Actione Palladii diaconi Papa Caelestinus Germanum Antissiodorensem episcopum vice suâ mittit ut deturbatis haereticis Britannos ad Catholicam fidem dirigat.'—Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, xxxv.

<sup>6</sup> 'Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatur a Papa Caelestino Palladius, et primus episcopus mittitur.'



while he strove to keep the Roman island Christian, made also the barbarous island Christian.<sup>7</sup>

The supposition of an accidental division of the personality of one apostle into two, by a separation of names and careers might be borne out: (1) by an analysis of the case<sup>8</sup>; (2) by bringing into the light thus created a fact in the main overlooked, and (3) by the adjustment of all the testimonies and indications extant under the view thus set forth. It is this second and briefest method which I attempt here.

Now, in this order, the fact which has been overlooked is of no mean importance. Muirchu Maccu Mactheni, the author of the principal biography of St. Patrick, the first of those contained in the *Book of Armagh*, states that the *Scripta Patricii* gave 'Succetus' as the name of the apostle,<sup>9</sup> and, a little later, he speaks of 'Patrick, who was also called Sochet.' Tirechan, the next biographer, in the *Book of Armagh*, who is, perhaps, equal in authority, makes an identical statement on the same authority: 'Succetus, that is Patrick.'<sup>10</sup> The same is asserted by the author of the Hymn of Fiech, and in the *Tripartite Life*, in the preface to the Hymn of Secundinus, the preface to the same Hymn in the *Lebhar Brecc*, the ancient annotations on the Hymn of Fiech, the Homily on the Saint in the *Lebhar Brecc*; in a word, by the majority of the Irish authorities who deal professedly or at length with the life of St. Patrick.

Now, if in his homeland and in his native language the Saint was called by another name, when and why did the change take place? It can hardly be doubted that the occasion of the imposition of a Latin title was his apostolic undertaking, in its preparation, at its inception, or during the early part of its successful course. This is the opinion of the Irish

<sup>7</sup> 'Nec vero signiore cura ab hoc eodem morbo Britannias liberavit, quando quosdam inimicos gratiae solum suae originis occupantes, etiam ab illo secreto exclusit oceani, et ordinato Scotis episcopo, dum Romanam insulam studet servare Catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam'—Cap. xxi., p. 271, *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> I have done this elsewhere: in a paper read at the Second Congress of Christian Archæology held in Rome during 1900, and in a series of articles, published in the *Catholic Press* publications during 1899 and 1900.

<sup>9</sup> *Anal. Boll.*, pp. 548, 549.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 549. Both writers expressly claim in general and in particular authority which carries them much nearer to the age of the apostle.

Church, that is of the only body of history which exists concerning him.<sup>11</sup> Such an assumption is natural and in conformity with the usages of the time and other circumstances of a general order. But, bestowed in connection with his apostolate, the second name would leave room for him to have borne a forgotten name during the first, and, more than obscure, mysterious period of his career. The new name would also be a Latin, or a Latinised one, as belonging by its origin to his contact with the churchmen of the continent. On his arrival among these from the land of Britain, or a British settlement in Gaul, the cleric, or aspirant to orders would have his name changed, and most probably translated or rendered by a Latin equivalent. The baptismal name assigned to Patrick signified in the native language, 'strong in war,' 'glorious in battle,'<sup>12</sup> something rather like an equivalent of the *miles gloriosus* of Plautus. Now the name Palladius would be the equivalent in turn of this, and the period of the life of St. Patrick in which he might have received it corresponds to the career and standing of Palladius as revealed in the passages quoted from Prosper.

It is necessary to illustrate the constituent parts of this hypothesis by an enumeration of facts. The name Palladius was, beyond all question, borne by the ecclesiastic mentioned by Prosper of Aquitaine, but it was one which had been in common use for long. It was in renown as the name of Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus, the writer on agriculture, and of Palladius, the Greek physician, called the Sophista, and the Iatrosophista. In the fourth and fifth centuries it was very widely diffused among Christians, being one which was borne by them as well as by pagans.<sup>13</sup> From its frequent recurrence in the religious literature of those centuries, it would seem, however, to have been a favourite name for Christians, and thus to have become peculiarly theirs. An historian of the Irish Church, citing various instances of its use, remarks upon the coincidence of its occurrence in connection with the Pelagian controversy during the reign of Pope

<sup>11</sup> The instances would be such as those cited above.

<sup>12</sup> See Whitley Stokes, *The Trip. Life*, p. cxxxvii.; p. 413.

<sup>13</sup> Martigny, *Dict.*, p. 446.

Celestine.<sup>14</sup> A Palladius 'holding high dignity in the imperial household, was sent by the Emperors Theodosius the younger and Valentinian as the bearer of their letters to the Council of Ephesus.'<sup>15</sup> Another, who was prefect of the Praetorium at Ravenna, was ordered to proceed against the heretics Pelagius and Celestius.<sup>16</sup>

Monasticism was probably a principal means of making it so frequent a name in ecclesiastical Gaul. The religious life was a special and direct linking of the West with the East. There the name had been borne by a solitary who became Bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia, during the fourth century. An Eastern prelate, Palladius, born in Galatia about 368, wrote the *Lausiac History*, or the records of the Fathers of the Desert, and another, or the same, who was an ardent follower of St. John Chrysostom, wrote a dialogue life of this Doctor at Rome in 408.

The causes of its frequency in the list of the Gaulish bishops may have been identical, or cognate. Monasticism was closely connected with the episcopate. A Palladius was elected Archbishop of Bourges in 377, and another filled the same see in 451.<sup>17</sup> A third was Bishop of Saintes, ascending that throne in 573 and dying at the end of the sixth century.<sup>18</sup> A fourth was Bishop of Auxerre in 651.<sup>19</sup> The name occurs also in the lists of the occupants of other Gaulish sees: of Toulon,<sup>20</sup> of Nimes,<sup>21</sup> of Arles,<sup>22</sup> Tours,<sup>23</sup> and Auxerre.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Cardinal Moran, *Essays*, pp. 53, 54, where he cites, besides other instances, the name of a Palladius exorcist, from an inscription of about 400 in the Roman Catacombs.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54. This is Junius Quartus Palladius. He issued, with Monexius and Agricola, an edict against these heretics. Ussher, *Works*, v., p. 323.

<sup>17</sup> Todd, *St. Patrick*, quoted by O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*. The author, whom I have been unable to consult, is cited as authority for the existence of a Gaulish family of Palladii, p. 53, Moran, *Essays*.

<sup>18</sup> O'Hanlon, *ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, L. xxxvii., pp. 264-266, where other examples may be found.

<sup>20</sup> Duchesne, *Fastes Episc.*, i., p. 269.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 300.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 249. He was a suffragan. Another, p. 356.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 306. ii. Other instances in connexion with the same neighbourhood occur *ibid.*, at ii., pp. 281, 290, 293, 294, 297, 290, and 304.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, i., p. 451. See also ii., pp. 438, 443, and i., p. 22, 26, 74, 95, 100.



The translation or transformation of a barbaric, or, at the least, foreign name, such as Sucat, would be effected preferably by the bestowal upon its bearer of a common name. This would be not at baptism,<sup>25</sup> but on the occasion of contact had by the person with the Latin ecclesiastical, or religious, world in the Gauls; and in the parts of this world where the traces of St. Patrick's life are traditionally discerned the name Palladius was as familiar as its translation from Sucat was natural.<sup>26</sup>

That barbaric and foreign names were changed during contact with the society and churches of the continent is something which may be proved by numerous instances; by as many, indeed, as suffice to distinguish the practice from merely analogous cases in general Christian history. It is not necessary, then, to revert to such cases as are presented by the names and persons of Lucina,<sup>27</sup> Hyppolitus, Trypho, Cletus and Anacletus, Clement, Prisca and Priscilla, Hermes or Hermas, Gregory VII. and Hildebrand for a parallel to this hypothesis of the identity between Palladius and Patrick. Those with which we are concerned belong to a special order: to a usage which was not simply literary but a custom of daily life, in so far as the earliest ecclesiastical history of British Christianity, insular and continental, and of Irish Christianity is preserved. In the records of these churches some names will be found changed under literary influence, moral or material; thus the Amator of St. Patrick's early experiences is an instance to hand<sup>28</sup>; but the examples which will be adduced here betray in many cases evidence that their Latinisation as preserved to us is but a reflex of daily usage, and habitual intercourse. Leaving, therefore, aside the names Latinised in conformity with the style of the narrator, or the modification of which might be ascribed to variants and manuscripts, transpositions of letters or syllables, confusion, and error, we find a large

<sup>25</sup> Martigny, *Dict.*, p. 452.

<sup>26</sup> The various Palladii enumerated in the Index to the *Acta Sanctorum* should be referred to. There is also a St. Palladia, Martyr, celebrated on May 24; Martigny, *loc. cit.*, p. 446. See also p. 903, i., Krusche, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Script. Rev. Mer.*; ii., p. 547, iii., p. 669. The name of Gregory of Tours, which here occurs, is suggestive for the connection of St. Patrick with St. Martin of Tours.

<sup>27</sup> Lightfoot, *The Apost. Fathers*, Part I., St. Clem., i., p. 31.

<sup>28</sup> Morris, *Life*, p. 113.

number of names substituted by transformation, translation, adaptation, and the choice of analogous designations, Latin or Greco-Latin.

The most ancient records of the British Church open with the names of Claudia,<sup>29</sup> Graecina,<sup>30</sup> Lucius,<sup>31</sup> Fugatianus,<sup>32</sup> Damianus,<sup>33</sup> Julius,<sup>34</sup> Aaron,<sup>35</sup> Albanus,<sup>36</sup> Eborius,<sup>37</sup> Restitutus, Adelphius. The tale told of Gregory the Great upon traditional authority, by Bede, in connection with the origin of the Saxon Church, is one of a translation and adaptation of names, personal and local, and is illustrative of the continuance of the usage.

This process of Latinisation held good of the British churches which were in more easily immediate contact with the great body of central Christendom in the West. Thus—to speak of the periods preceding and following that of St. Patrick—the advocates of the view that the Apostle was born in a British settlement on the Continent will find the full influence of this contact in the surviving records. The name of Mallo varies in its translated forms<sup>38</sup>; Festcarius is identified in Festgern<sup>39</sup>; St. Felix is also called Gaturbius,<sup>40</sup> and so on.

In Ireland, Miluic, the master of St. Patrick, called him

<sup>29</sup> Haddon and Stubbs, *Coun.*, i., p. 22.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Lingard, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, i., pp. 2, 3.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7. Haddon and Stubbs, *Coun.*, i., p. 7.

<sup>35</sup> Haddon and Stubbs, *ibid.*, p. 5

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>37</sup> Lappenberg, *England*, i., p. 12. Eborius is explained as Ever or Ivor, an aboriginal name; Restitutus as Rystyd, and Adelphius as Brawdol. 'The names given to the messengers and missionaries by our chronicles are Elvan, Fagan, Medini, and Damian. Now we learn from Mr. Rees (*Welsh Saints*, 84) that in the neighbourhood of Llandaff are four churches, called after the names of Lleawg or Lucius, Dyfan, Ffagan, and Medwy.' Lingard, *loc. cit.*, p. 3, who at p. 68, note, remarks:—'The Saxon of Deusdedit (sixth bishop of Canterbury) is said to have been Frithona: when or why he took the Latin name is not noticed. Two other disciples of the Romans are mentioned, whose names were Thamur and Berctgils. Thamar kept his name without change or addition; Berctgils acquired the surname of Boniface . . . It would be easy to show that such change of names was not unusual in the Western Churches both centuries before, and centuries after, this period.'

<sup>38</sup> Duchesne, *Fastes Episc.*, i., p. 12; ii., p. 203.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, ii., p. 265.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, ii., p. 387.

'Cothraige, the Irish reflex of the old Celtic Caturigos,'<sup>41</sup> and so strong was the sense of the meaning in names that 'the legend about Patrick serving four households arose from a popular etymology: Cothraige, from Cethartige.'<sup>42</sup> Secundinus is the Latin name of Sechnal. Thus the preface to the Hymn of this saint says: 'Sechnall, the son of Restitutus, from the Lombards of Letha (Italy) and of Darerca, Patrick's sister, made this hymn. And Secundinus was his Roman name, but those of the Irish made Sechnall.'<sup>43</sup> Similarly, Benen is identified as Benignus,<sup>44</sup> Iserninus as Fith<sup>45</sup>; Coroticus, to whom the Apostle addressed his memorable letter is a Celtic chief, named Coirthrech in Irish, and bearing apparently Caradoc, Caratacus or other aboriginal name.<sup>46</sup> Calphurn, the father of the Apostle, has a like variety of names,<sup>47</sup> and so Fotid,<sup>48</sup> his grandfather.

Moreover, the usage in force from the date of the introduction of Christianity persevered for a very long time. St. Mochta of Louth was also called Mochteus, and Mavateus<sup>49</sup>; he returned from Rome with twelve disciples, one of whom was called Edanus, in Irish Aedham,<sup>50</sup> while there is mention of another Mochta, or St. Caylan, in Ireland before the arrival of St. Patrick.<sup>51</sup> We find the name Iborus in the list of bishops consecrated by the Apostle, and the name seems to be identical with Ibar<sup>52</sup>; Enda, the founder of Aran, is also Endus<sup>53</sup>; St. Manchen, or Mancenus, may be identified at Rosnat or Whithern, Casa Candida, or Alba<sup>54</sup>; Sidhal or Siedhel is not

<sup>41</sup> Whitley Stokes, *The Trip. Life*, p. cxxxvii.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, note.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 383. Moran, *Essays*, p. 89. 'Seadnall, properly Seanchall, or Secundinus Seanchal, pro Shayunchull, is the Irish for Secundinus, Secundus, and Felix, happy.'—p. 116, *Anc. Irel.*, O'Brennan.

<sup>44</sup> Whitley Stokes, *ibid.*, p. 597.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 343. Patrick and Iserninus, that is bishop Fith, were with Germans in the city of Olsiodara, Auxerre.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. c., Healy, *Insula Sanct.*, p. 93.

<sup>47</sup> Healy, *ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88; Morris, *Life*, p. 458.

<sup>49</sup> Whitley Stokes, *ibid.*, p. 205; Moran, *Essays*, pp. 29, 93.

<sup>50</sup> Healy, *Insula Sanct.*, p. 146.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156. O'Brennan, *Anc. Irel.*, p. 89.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.



so renowned as is its translation, Sedulius.<sup>55</sup> 'Patrick placed over the important church of Elphin Asicus, and Bite or Biteus, the son of Asicus, and Cipia, the mother of Bite the Bishop.'<sup>56</sup> 'Cathmael is commonly identified with Cadoc, or Docus, one of the most celebrated fathers of the Welsh church,' called also Cadoc, or Cathway the Wise<sup>57</sup>; the name of Brendan of Clonfert was Latinised into Brendinus.<sup>58</sup> Colgan is inclined to think that Bishop Moinenn of Clonfert is identical with Moncenius, the founder of the great monastery of Rosnat.<sup>59</sup> Muirchu, the author of the biography of St. Patrick in the *Book of Armagh*, speaks of 'my father Cognitosus, patris mei Cognitosi,' about which Bishop Graves suggested that Cognitosi was intended as a translation of the Irish *mactheui*, cognate with the noun *machtad*, and others, and with the verb *machtnaigim*, 'I ponder over,' 'I wonder at,'<sup>60</sup> and finally Maelbrihte by similar methods becomes Marianus, with the added appellation Scotus.<sup>61</sup>

Given the existence of such a usage, the possession by the Apostle of a name corresponding pretty nearly with that borne by the ecclesiastic mentioned by Prosper of Aquitaine as the successful preacher of the faith in Ireland becomes a matter of moment; but it is of increased suggestiveness owing to the difficulty attaching to the correlation of the life of St. Patrick with general history; to the equal difficulty attaching to the correlation of the life of Palladius with Irish history; to the natural similarity of the careers attributed separately to each of the two; and to numerous exigencies presented by the record of the conversion of Ireland.

WILLIAM J. D. CROKE, LL.D.

<sup>55</sup> Healy. *Insula Sanct.*, p. 30.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 197.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 220.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 223.

<sup>60</sup> Whitley Stokes, *ibid.*, p. 269.

<sup>61</sup> Moran, *Essays*, p. 32.

# Notes and Queries

## THEOLOGY

### EXTRAORDINARY CONFESSOR OF NUNS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly say in next number of I. E. RECORD what are the formalities to be gone through by a nun who wishes to call in the Extraordinary for Confession outside the stated times of Quarter Tense?

Outside the cities the number of Confessors for any convent is very limited. Generally speaking, there are for convents in country towns only the ordinary Confessor and the Extraordinary. The latter comes, of course, four times a year, namely, at Quarter Tense. If a Sister wishes to see the Extraordinary at any other time, must she, or the Superior, write to the bishop of the diocese to obtain permission?

To have to do so would seem rather hard, and might be sufficient to deter many a nun from expressing the desire to see the Extraordinary. It is generally understood that in recent years a great relaxation has been made in the stringent law which governed all convents in former times, but in the ordinary volume of theology there is not much information given on this point.

It would be a great favour to your correspondent, and a great help to many priests on the mission, to be given a fuller and clearer knowledge on this question. Can the reverend mother call in the Extraordinary without having first to write to the bishop or other dignitary for permission to do so? And, if so, how many times in the year may she reasonably do so? Of course, it is understood that in every case it is for Confession, *aliis verbis*, that every case is *bonâ fide*.

CONFESSARIUS.

It may help our correspondent, if we first state briefly the main provisions of the law affecting the confessions of nuns as it stood before the Decree *Quemadmodum*<sup>1</sup> introduced those changes to which he refers.

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<sup>1</sup> 17 Dec., 1890.

The main provisions of the law were embodied in the Constitution, *Pastoralis Cura*, of Benedict XIV. That Constitution approved and confirmed the practice that nuns observing the strict enclosure should have one and only one ordinary Confessor approved for hearing the confessions of each Community. To obviate the difficulty created for such nuns by this restriction of the right to choose a Confessor, the Constitution provided that facilities for confessing to an extraordinary Confessor should on certain occasions be afforded (1) to the whole Community in each convent, and (2) to individual nuns.

(1) To meet the wants of the Community as a whole, the Constitution provided (*a*) that, at least twice each year, an extraordinary Confessor should visit each convent and hear the Confession of any nun who desired to confess to him, and (*b*) that all the nuns were on these occasions to present themselves to the extraordinary Confessor, though they were not bound to confess to him.

Those enactments might suffice for the Community as a body. But, it was further necessary to make provision for individual nuns who desired to confess to a strange Confessor, in the interval between the visits of the extraordinary Confessor. Hence, Benedict XIV. further laid down that in certain cases, outside the visits of the extraordinary Confessor to the whole Community, a nun should get an opportunity of confessing to an extraordinary Confessor. The cases specified are :—

1. When a nun is *in periculo mortis* and wishes to confess to a priest other than the ordinary Confessor.

2. When a nun cannot be induced to confess to the ordinary Confessor.

3. When a nun who is not in danger of death, and who habitually confesses to the ordinary Confessor, desires, on occasion, to see a Confessor other than the ordinary for the purpose of deriving, as she believes, greater spiritual profit from his guidance.

In the two former cases, it would manifestly be obligatory on the bishop, or other superior to whom the nuns are subject, to depute a Confessor to whom the nun is willing to confess.



In the third case, Benedict XIV. counsels, but he does not oblige, bishops and other superiors of nuns to accede to the request for an extraordinary Confessor.

It is to be noted that though the provisions above recited apply only to strictly enclosed nuns, Benedict XIV. exhorts bishops and other superiors to adopt the same procedure with regard to all those nuns who are similarly restricted in their choice of a Confessor.

These were the main features of the law as it stood until 1890. Even a strictly enclosed nun had no right, outside the two or more annual visits of the extraordinary Confessor, to confess to any Confessor other than the ordinary Confessor, unless she were in danger of death, or positively unwilling to confess to the ordinary Confessor. At other times, the opportunity of confessing to an extraordinary Confessor—even though it might seem to the nun useful or more or less necessary—might be granted as a favour, but it could not be claimed as a right.

In 1890 the reigning Pontiff granted to all nuns as a strict right what before they had to beg as a favour. The words of the Decree are as follows:—

Praeterea, firmo remanente quoad Confessarios ordinarios et extraordinarios Communitatum quod a Sacrosancto Concilio Tridentino praescribitur in Sess. 25, cap. 10 de Regul., et a D. N. Benedicti XIV. statuitur in Constitutione quae incipit *Pastoralis Cura*: Sanctitas Sua Praesules Superioresque admonet, ne extraordinarium denegent subditis Confessarium, quoties ut propriae conscientiae consultant ad id adigatur, quin iidem Superiores ullo modo petitiones rationem inquirant, aut aegre id ferre demonstrent. Ac ne evanida tam provida dispositio fiat, Ordinarios exhortatur, ut in locis propriae Dioeceseos, in quibus mulierum Communitates existunt, idoneos Sacerdotes facultatibus instructos designent, ad quos pro Sacramento Poenitentiae recurrere eae facile queant.

In regard to this Decree, which so greatly enlarges the freedom previously enjoyed by nuns in the matter of Confession, it will be sufficient to observe:—

1. That the Decree applies to all nuns, whose choice of a Confessor is subject to the usual restrictions—not merely to those who are strictly enclosed.

2. That the permission to a nun to confess to a Confessor

other than the ordinary—or the extraordinary at his stated visits—is intended for exceptional cases only. A general admonition to this effect may and ought to be given by the local superioress. Moreover, it will be the duty of the bishop to repeat this admonition if he discovers in any Community a growing tendency to supersede the ordinary Confessor.

3. That bishops are exhorted, though not obliged, to approve in their dioceses a number of extraordinary Confessors for the Confessions of nuns who desire to avail themselves of their privilege under this Decree.

4. That a nun has a strict right to ask, as often as she thinks necessary, for any one of these approved Confessors. If no extraordinary Confessors have been appointed, a nun has still the right to demand that an extraordinary be named for her special need.

5. That the superioress, to whom application is to be made in the first instance, is bound to accede to the request for the extraordinary Confessor, even though she deems the request unreasonable and unnecessary; and that without asking the reason on which the application is based, or showing any displeasure at the fact that the application has been made. Of course, if it were manifest to the extraordinary Confessor who was called in that the application was not *bonâ fide*, or that it was quite unnecessary, he would be bound to refuse to attend.

In answer to the specific questions of our correspondent we say, therefore—1. That, the local superioress may, without reference to any one, call in one of the extraordinary Confessors, if any have been appointed for the purpose of this Decree. 2. That she is, moreover, bound, without putting any questions, without showing reluctance or displeasure, to call in such a Confessor, as often as a request is made by one of her nuns. 3. That she is bound to call in the particular Confessor whom the nun desires to see. 4. That where no extraordinary Confessors have been appointed by the bishop, the superioress is bound, at the request of any of her nuns, to apply to the bishop for faculties for an extraordinary Confessor to hear that nun's confession; and that the superioress is bound to accede to such a request as often as it is made.

## BAZAAR TICKETS—A CASE OF JUSTICE

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly solve the following case in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD?

A lady receives lottery tickets to dispose of them among her friends. Full number of tickets are sold, the money received, but time runs quickly with her, and she forgets all about lottery tickets and money in her possession until the day of the drawing of prizes has passed. Some of the purchasers might have won a prize, say even the highest recorded on the ticket, fifty or a hundred pounds. What is she to do? Are these lottery tickets a real contract between the parties?—I remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

C. H. O'N., *Administrator.*

Palace, St. John's.

Our correspondent does not state whether the drawing of prizes was organised for a charitable purpose. Let us assume (1) that the object was not charitable.

In selling the tickets the lady acted as the agent of those who organised the prize-drawing. In their name, she undertook, at least by an implied contract, that purchasers should participate in the drawing and take their chance of winning a prize. As she has failed to carry out her undertaking, the purchasers have a right either to rescind the contract and secure a refund of their money, or to demand compensation for the loss inflicted on them by depriving them of their chance of a prize. We may assume that they would prefer to get back their purchase-money. For, in a lottery worked at a profit to the organisers, the money value of the chance attaching to a ticket is less than the price of that ticket. The lady would therefore, satisfy her obligation by returning the money to the purchasers of the tickets.

If, however, (2) the lottery were organised for a charitable purpose, our decision would be somewhat different. *Per se*, indeed, the obligation of the lady would seem to be the same as in the former case. Any purchaser would have a strict right to demand a refund of his money—unless, of course, he originally intended the price of the tickets to be an unconditional gift to the charity. Such an intention is certainly not universal; we doubt if it is even common among those who

buy bazaar tickets. It is one thing, however, to insist *ante factum* on one's right to participate in this charitable prize-drawing: it is another thing, *post factum* to insist on the return of one's money when a mere oversight has deprived one of his chance of a prize. Assuming, as we do, that the object of the prize drawing was charitable, and, moreover, that the tickets were bought without any undue pressure, it is not unreasonable to presume that the purchasers would waive their strict right and consent to have the money devoted to that charitable purpose for which the lottery was promoted.

D. MANNIX.

## LITURGY

### CONDITIONS FOR GAINING CERTAIN PLENARY INDULGENCES

REV. DEAR SIR,—The conditions ordinarily required to gain a Plenary Indulgence are enumerated by you in last month's I. E. RECORD, as 'Confession, Communion, and visit to a church, etc.'

In the prayer-book issued by the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, they are enumerated: Confession, Communion, and prayer for the Pope's intentions.

While, again, in our *Ordo Divini Officii Recitandi*, page viii., there is given the 'Tabula Festorum, in quibus Indulgentia plenaria omnibus Christi-fidelibus totius regni conceditur, qui confessi sacram communionem perceperint.' Here there is no question either of prayer for the Pope's intentions or of visiting a church. Will you kindly explain whether these three apparently different directions mean the same thing, and oblige

PERPLEXED.

We need scarcely observe that in granting Plenary Indulgences it rests with the Supreme Pontiff to prescribe the conditions on which these may be gained, and that consequently the requirements may vary in different cases. Within certain limits, however, the works usually enjoined are fairly uniform, and, outside the time of Jubilee, embrace as a rule Confession, Communion, and a visit to a particular church or prayers for the Pope's intentions, or both. But to find out the precise conditions required in each individual instance it is advisable to



have recourse to the original Rescript or Act of Concession. Now, in connection with the Indulgences to which our correspondent refers, if we examine the Apostolic Indults we shall find that the conditions for gaining them are not the same all round. These conditions to which, with one exception, we merely referred incidentally in the last issue of the I. E. RECORD, we shall now briefly enumerate. (1) For the Indulgences attached to the Festivals of SS. Peter and Paul and St. Patrick, Confession, Communion, and prayers for the Pope's intention are necessary. (2) For those connected with the festivals of patrons of churches and oratories, there is required, in addition, a visit to these places, except for those who are lawfully impeded. (3) In all the other cases, besides Confession, Communion, and prayers for the intention of His Holiness, a visit to a parochial church is necessary.<sup>1</sup>

We feel sure that the contradictions which our correspondent has drawn attention to are altogether apparent. It was not, we presume, the purpose of the compiler of the *Ordo* to give an exhaustive enumeration of all the requirements necessary for each and every one of the Indulgences tabulated. His object was rather to invite to them the attention of his educated clerical readers who, before announcing them to their congregations, would ascertain from some reliable sources what precisely it was necessary to do to gain each Indulgence. It may also be noted that in regard to the visit to a church and the prayers for the Pope's intention, these two conditions, though formally distinct, yet may be fulfilled by the same act. For, according to the *Raccolta*,<sup>2</sup> 'Any person who on the day appointed for gaining an Indulgence, receives Communion in the church which is to be visited, and there offers pious prayers to God, is to be considered as having satisfied the obligation of Communion, of the visit, and of the pious prayers enjoined for the gaining of the Plenary Indulgence.' The Indulgences of which we have been speaking are granted to the faithful generally throughout Ireland. They are, therefore, with the possible exception of that attached to the First Friday of each month, independent of all

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* I. E. RECORD (Third Series), March, 1882, pp. 182-185.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Introduction, n. 7.

connection with religious Associations. The members of such bodies, especially of the Confraternity of the Rosary and of the Sodality of the Sacred Heart, can gain Plenary Indulgences on the Feasts of the Blessed Virgin and our Divine Lord, by fulfilling the conditions detailed in the Manuals of these Societies.

P. MORRISROE.

## DOCUMENTS

### RESOLUTIONS OF THE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY

AT the Annual October Meeting of the Irish Hierarchy held at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, October 8th, 1902, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted.

#### (1) THE LAND QUESTION.

The project of a Conference on the land question between representative men, recognised exponents of the interests of the tenants on the one side and of the landlords on the other, commands our earnest sympathy.

For the sake not only of tenant and landlord, but of every section of our people, we rejoice to see that at length a combined effort is being made to solve a problem which, in its unsettled condition, necessarily provokes social strife, puts a premium on careless cultivation, and places a barrier in the way of every large effort for the good of the country.

We earnestly trust that all those on whose co-operation the success of this important movement depends may approach the consideration of it in the spirit of conciliation in which it has been initiated.

#### (2) THE HEADMASTERS AND THE INTERMEDIATE BOARD.

We strongly support the claim put forward by the Catholic Headmasters' Association that a representative committee of the heads of Secondary Schools in Ireland should be recognised by the Intermediate Education Board, and should be consulted by the Board in reference to the selection of books to be prescribed for use by students, and other important details of the programme.

As pastors of thousands of Catholic students who have to follow the courses of study and the reading prescribed by the Board of Intermediate Education, we protest, as it is our duty to protest, against the placing of objectionable books upon the programme of the Board.

An opportunity should be afforded to representative teachers to put before the Board any objection they may have to make against any book the use of which it is intended to prescribe. In this way only can schools be effectively protected against a recurrence of grave difficulties such as have arisen of late from

the placing of certain books upon the Board's programme, an evil not at all satisfactorily dealt with by the expedient, hitherto adopted by the Board, of subsequently allowing the use of other books as alternatives.

(3) ASSOCIATION OF CLERICAL MANAGERS OF SCHOOLS.

(1) An Association of Clerical Managers of Schools shall be formed in every Diocese forthwith, membership to be open to every Clerical Manager in the Diocese.

(2) The members of each Diocesan Association will elect three representatives as members of a Provincial Association, which will meet quarterly.

(3) Each Provincial Association will elect three delegates to constitute a central body, which will meet in Dublin once a year at least.

(4) Each Association, Diocesan, Provincial, and Central, will elect its own Chairman and Secretary.

(5) The Secretary of each Association will, in a case of urgency, convene a Meeting of his Association on the requisition of four members.

(6) Seven members shall form the quorum for a Meeting of the Central Association.

(4) CLUBS AND INTEMPERANCE.

Much as we sympathise with the efforts made for the promotion of Temperance by the early closing of public-houses on Saturdays and closing on Sundays, and deeply impressed as we are with the utility of legislation having this object, we are convinced that such legislation would be to a large extent inoperative and useless if some steps were not taken to restrict the privileges of clubs, privileges which we know from experience to be a fruitful source of Intemperance.

**ADDRESS TO THE POPE FROM THE IRISH PARLIAMENTARY PARTY**

The following is the Irish text of the Address:—

Dó'n Tpeaf leóman Deug Comarba Peadair 'ran Áro-  
 pointificeacht, 7 Com-ionann leir: b'faoe a Riaglaó,  
 Tairgear Feirirí na hÉireann a lán-eineáclann asur  
 a nSráó.

Ar an donmáó lá veug ar fíóit ve'n míbuióe 1902,  
 o'aoir ár oTigearna 7 zcpuinnuóó 1 oTig-feir na mbre-



atan bí ré iarraigíte ag Uachtarán Feiriyóe na h-Éireann, Seagán Ua Réamoinn, in ionas uilliam uí bhuain, b.f., cabraigíte ag Captaín Dómnallán, b.f., mar gheall ar veimniúgteóirib imear ag na bFeiriyí ó h-Éirinn:—

‘Nac féiriyí le feiriyóe na h-Éireann, ag labhairt do náiríun bfuil ruy-móir a noaoine oluē-éangailte le úmór ceanaíuil de éadaoir pēadair le rlabha neim-bhírte do cuimnióe triađmair aēt cuimoiúgte ’nárí rtaíir go geanaíuil glóirímar: agur le uiríaim neamcuimriúgte agur móir-meap da realbadóir oirdeapic fá látaíir an bliadain a cuiríear ríagluđad fionaríac an pápa leo i gcom-fao le realao Naomh Pēadair, gan a gcom-đairíeacār a cūir go bual-đarad cuige ’na n-aimm féin agur i n-aimm píce milliún Catoliciúe atá marí éotuđad agur marí éonganta ag an gCrieríeam Catoliceac in đac tíir ’na labhairtarí an bēaríla ar fuair an uoiríain marí gheall ar fáiríe agur ar fionar na h-aimríre aríab é toil Dē uile-Comáctarí a tábairt do ’na ríagluđad; ar gcom-fulang leir an bPápa ro-beannuigíte in đac imríe agur buaríreac óa bfulaingíeann ré leir; ar n-úrnuigíte oírre de cum Dē a leaēnúđad a řaođail com řaoa ’r féiriyí le tréimíre beaēad an éinne óaonna a oul; an řaođal agur an ríaglal a beir com tairíbeac i mbeannac-tairíib ar řon crieríim, ar řon boētanacēta, ar řon fulaingíe an éinne óaonna go léir, ar řon řaoiríreacēta. Agur go n-íarírtar ar řríom-larígteóir feiriyóe na h-Éireann, Sír Tomár Ermono an ríerōtíuđad lán toilēeannac řeo ó luēt řeire na h-Éireann a leađan ag coraib an pápa.’

The following is the Latin text:—

Die 31 mensis Julii, anno 1902, habito Londini, in ipsis aedibus Sancti Stephani, conventu Deputatorum Hibernorum, Praeside Joanne Redmond, statutum est communi consilio et unanimi.

Decurrente jam vicesimo quinto supremi sui Pontificatus anno, quo summi decessoris Petri consecutus est dies, non possumus amantissimo Patri et Pontifici, Leoni XIII., et sensus nostros, populariumque nostrorum non manifestare. Deputati enim sumus ad res suas procurandas ab illa gente cujus pars longe maxima Romanae Petri Cathedrae, non fidelitate tantum et amore, sed et factis historicis perpetuo devicta, immensa nunc

veneratione et cultu eum prosequitur qui Cathedram illam dignissime tenet. Accedimus, ergo, non nomine solum proprio, sed et nomine viginti decies centenorum millium, qui, qua late viget Anglorum lingua, ubique terrarum dispertiuntur Hiberni, Fideique Catholicae praesidium sunt et firmamentum. Tibique, Sanctissime Pater, et illorum omnium, et nostras laetissimas gratulationes proferimus, quod Deo Optimo Maximo in te longissimos annos multosque honores conferre placuerit. Simulque dolemus varias immensasque sollicitudines quae te undique premunt ; Deumque enixe deprecamur ut ad extremum usque vitam regnumque protrahat quae tot taliaque bona ecclesiae pauperibus, rebus omnibus adversis humanis, ipsique libertati attulere.

Hancque nostram unanimem sententiam et votum velit, omnium nomine, Thomas Baronettus Esmonde ad pedes usque sanctissimi Domini Leonis deferre, ejusque in nos nostratesque omnes largissimam efflagitare benedictionem.

The following is the text of the Irish Party's Resolution, which was passed at a meeting held in St. Stephen's, on 31st July, Mr. John Redmond, M.P., in the chair :—

The following Resolution was proposed by the Chairman, on behalf of Mr. William O'Brien, seconded by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and supported by Captain Donelan, on behalf of the Protestant members of the Party :—

That the Irish Parliamentary Party, representing a Nation the overwhelming majority of whose members are bound in affectionate allegiance to the Chair of St. Peter by an unbroken chain of sad but cherished historic memories, and by an unbounded reverence and admiration for its present illustrious occupant, cannot allow the year to pass which marks the prolongation of the auspicious reign of his Holiness Pope Leo to the days of Peter, without dutifully tendering to his Holiness, in the name of 20,000,000 of Irish Catholics, who are the mainstay of Catholicity throughout the English-speaking world, the expression of their and our own joyful congratulations upon the unparalleled length of days and honours with which it has pleased the Almighty to bless his reign ; our sympathy with his Holiness in the manifold anxieties which still surround him ; and our fervent prayer that it may please Providence to prolong

to the utmost human limit a life and reign which have been so fruitful in blessings to religion, to poverty, to human sufferings, and to liberty—and that Sir Thomas Esmonde, M.P., the Chief Whip of the Irish Parliamentary Party, be requested to lay this unanimous resolution of the representatives of Ireland at his Holiness' feet.

**REPLY OF HIS HOLINESS<sup>1</sup>**

To Sir Thomas Henry Grattan Esmonde, Baronet, J.P., M.P.,  
Hotel Malara, Rome.

HONOURABLE SIR,—The Holy Father has particularly desired me to address this letter to you to give testimony to the satisfaction caused him by the homage you have renewed in the name of the Irish Parliamentary Party. I herewith have pleasure in remitting you a Papal document, which will give cause for rejoicing to those who have entrusted you with the noble mission of representing them, and at the same time I take the opportunity of offering you the assurance of my high esteem and respectful salutations.

M. CARDINAL RAMPOLLI.

The following is a copy of the Papal Document referred to:—

To Our Beloved Son, Sir Thomas Henry Grattan Esmonde,  
Bart., J.P., M.P., Pontifical Chamberlain.

BELOVED SON,—The Sons of St. Patrick, who from time immemorial have been so eager to testify devotion to the Holy Father, could not fail in this year of Our Pontifical Jubilee to join their voices in the magnificent concert of felicitations and good wishes which has come to Us from even the remotest regions. It has been very agreeable to Us to receive the homage of filial devotion you have come to renew to Us in the name of the Irish Party. The welcome We have given you in the Vatican enables you to realise how great is the goodwill We have in Our heart for Our dear Irish children; but it is not enough for Us to ask you to be merely the faithful reporter of Our sentiments towards your nation. We wish to repeat in this letter how agreeable to Us has been the mission with which you have been intrusted, and We hereby renew to those

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<sup>1</sup> We give the version of the Pope's reply which was published in the Irish daily papers. Not having seen the original we do not accept any responsibility for the translation.—ED. I. E. RECORD.

you represent, as well as to yourself, who have so worthily discharged the mission, the assurance of Our paternal goodwill by giving them from Our heart the Apostolic Benediction.

Given at Rome, at the Vatican, 12th October, 1902.

LEO XIII.

### THE APOSTOLIC LEONINE COLLEGE

DE COLLEGIO APOSTOLICO LEONIANO IN URBE CONSTITUENDO.

LEO PP. XIII.

*Motu proprio.*

La vasta e ben diretta coltura del Clero, estesa non solo alle scienze filosofiche e teologiche, ma ancora ad una cognizione profonda di tutte le altre discipline atte a formare uomini eminenti per eletto ingegno, per illuminata dottrina e soda pietà, per poi condurli al più alto grado di perfezione nei molteplici ministeri ecclesiastici, Ci fu in ogni tempo sommamente a cuore, tanto che ad avviare sacerdoti al conseguimento di queste esimie qualità, furono ispirati non pochi atti del Nostro Pontificato.

Il che fu da Noi sempre ritenuto di suprema necessità, giacchè ben chiaro apparisce che al saggio e prudente governo di una Diocesi, di un Istituto, di un Seminario, di una Parrocchia è intimamente connesso il bene e la salute del popolo cristiano.

Da queste considerazioni sorse in Noi l'idea di fondare in Roma sotto i Nostri occhi un nuovo Istituto educativo a complemento di tutte le analoghe istituzioni ecclesiastiche già esistenti, il quale, mercè il generoso concorso di pie persone, ha di già ove attingere i mezzi per addivenire fra breve un fatto compiuto.

Ed affinchè il nuovo ente abbia vita e sanzione da un atto della Nostra suprema Autorità, col presente dichiariamo di fondare, siccome fondiamo, l'Istituto anzidetto, avente per esclusivo fine la superiore educazione del Clero.

Tale Istituto che prenderà il titolo di Collegio Apostolico Leoniano di superiore educazione ecclesiastica, ed al quale sarà riunita la Scuola Apostolica, già retta dal Sacerdote Filippo Valentini verrà inaugurato quanto prima nel vasto locale a tal uopo costruito ai Prati di Castello presso la Chiesa di S. Gioacchino.

A maggior decoro ed incremento del nuovo Istituto nominiamo il Signor Cardinale Casimiro Gennari, residente in Curia, Protettore del medesimo.

Diamo poi l'incarico al nominato Signor Cardinale di formu-



lare il Regolamento interno, con la cooperazione di Monsignor Ernesto Fontana Vescovo di Crema, da Noi designato Rettore di esso Istituto, per quindi sottoporlo alla Nostra sanzione.

Dato in Roma presso S. Pietro il giorno 31 Agosto, 1901, anno vigesimo quarto del Nostro Pontificato.

LEO PP. XIII.

# EXTRACTIO CHIRURGICA FOETUS IMMATURI

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE PROPAGANDAE FIDEI, DUBIUM CIRCA  
LICEITATEM EXTRACTIONIS CHIRURGICAE FOETUS IMMATURI.

Die 20 Martii 1902.

*Illme. ac Rme. Dne.*

R. D. Carolus Lecoq, Decanus Facultatis Theologiae in ista Universitate Metropolitana, per litteras diei 12 Martii anni 1900 sequens dubium proponebat circa interpretationem resolutionum S. Officii quoad liceitatem extractionis chirurgicae foetus immaturi: 'Utrum aliquando liceat e sinu matris extrahere foetus ectopicos adhuc immaturos, nondum exacto sexto mense post conceptionem?'

Curae mihi fuit factum dubium solvendum transmittere eidem Supremo Tribunali S. Officii. Illi vero Emi. ac Rmi. Patres Card. Inquisitores generales, in congregatione fer. IV die 5 vertentis mensis Martii, post maturam rei discussionem, sequens emanarunt responsum: '*Negative*, iuxta Decretum fer. IV, 4 Maii 1898, vi cuius foetus et matris vitae quantum fieri potest, serio et opportune providendum est: quoad vero tempus, iuxta idem Decretum, Orator meminerit, nullam partus accelerationem licitam esse, nisi perficiatur tempore ac modis, quibus ex ordinarie contingentibus matris ac foetus vitae consulatur.—Praesens vero decretum expediatur per Ordinarium.'

Haec habui, quae cum Amplitudine Tua hac super re, pro meo munere, communicarem: et precor Deum, ut Te diu sospitet.

Addictissimus Servus

M. Card LEDOCHOWSKI, *Praef.*

ALOISIUS VECCIA, *Secr.*

R. P. D. Paulo Bruchesi,  
*Archiepiscopo Marianopolitano.*

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**MASS ON HOLY THURSDAY AND THE SATURDAY OF  
HOLY WEEK**

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MEDIOLANEN. DUBIUM CIRCA MISSAM IN FERIA V. ET IN SABBATO  
SANCTO.

Emus. et Rmus. Andreas Carolus Card. Ferrari Archiepiscopus Mediolanensis, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi ea quae sequuntur reverenter exposuit :

In Missali Ambrosiano in Missa feriae V. in Coena Domini habetur sequens rubrica : ‘ Haec Missa celebratur ab uno tantum Sacerdote in Cathedrali, et in unaquaque Collegiata, Parochiali, vel alia eiusdem generis Ecclesia, non autem in Oratoriis privatis. Et in Ecclesia quidem Cathedrali, Collegiatave, praemissis Lectionibus, Orationibus cum Psalmellis contentis in fine Missalis pro eadem quinta Feria, dum cantatur novissimus Psalmellus, Archiepiscopus, seu dignior Sacerdos cum Ministris accedit ad Altare et facit Confessionem, etc.’ Similia habentur in Rubrica. Missae Sabbati Sancti, in qua tamen non invenitur ‘ Et in Ecclesia quidem Cathedrali, Collegiatave.’ Mos autem invaluit in nonnullis Ecclesiis paroecialibus vel subsidiariis has Missas legendi loco canendi. Ratio quam afferunt est quod rubrica neque explicite praecipit canendam, cum dicat tantum ‘ celebratur ’ neque implicite pro ecclesiis quae non sint Collegiatae. Hinc idem Emus. Orator ab ipsa Sacra Congregatione expostulavit : Utrum mos legendi dictam Missam tum in Feria V. in Coena Domini, tum in Sabbato Sancto in eiusmodi ecclesiis valeat ?

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, audito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque accurate perpensis rescribendum censuit ; *Attentis Rubricis Missalis Ambrosiani et Memoriali Rituum a Benedicto Papa XIII edito pro cleri defectu, in ecclesiis minoribus, Missam lectam in casu permitti posse.* Atque ita rescripsit.

Die 18 Iulii 1902.

L. ✠ S.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praef.*

D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD. Translated into English from the Syriac, with an Introduction and Notes. By Professor Cooper and Canon Maclean. Edinburgh: Clark and Co.

SINCE the publication, in 1899, of the Syriac version of this long-lost work, many scholars throughout the world have devoted especial attention to the study of this priceless relic of antiquity, and most readers have been made acquainted with its contents. As the writer of these lines heard all about the version from the friend that discovered and published it, Mgr. Rahmani, the Uniat Syrian Patriarch of Antioch, and as he has treated of it in a paper read at a Catholic Congress, which was held recently, he may be excused from going into details here. So let it suffice to say that of the extant liturgical works belonging to the early ages of the Catholic Church, the Testament is undoubtedly one of the most important. It was written in Greek, apparently soon after the beginning of the fourth century, and its Syriac version—which is dated—was made by the great St. James of Edessa, A.D. 687. The original text is not known to be in existence, but besides the Syriac version, there is an Arabic (derived from a Coptic) and also an Ethiopic. The editors of the present work have been able to use also an independent Syriac translation of the Prelude to the Testament, which was published only last year.

It is a great pleasure to have now in English an admirable translation, in some places more precise even than the Latin one of the first editor. It is the work of a thoroughly competent Syriac scholar, to whom however we do not mean to ascribe a knowledge equal to that possessed by the Antiochene Patriarch of his own liturgical language. Great care has evidently been taken with the notes appended to the English translation, though as regards the theological aspect they do not bear comparison with Rahmani's *Dissertationes*. A Catholic, but more especially a bishop, has a *real* knowledge of what is said here about the Hierarchy and the Sacrament of Orders. It is relevant to remark that the forms accompanying the two-fold

imposition of hands in the consecration of a bishop used at the present day in Mgr. Rahmani's rite are the same as those given in the Testament. He says: 'Ecclesia enim Antiochena Syrorum in ea pontificalis parte, quae est de consecratione episcopi, caeremonias quasdam, ad verbum expressit ex *Testamento*, ex quo etiam desumpsit ipsam ordinationis formulam, quam *orationem Clementis* nominat.'<sup>1</sup> And in reference to the first form, he says in a note (p. 29) 'Eadem verbotenus adhibetur in Pontificali Syrorum.' Again (on p. 158) he remarks: 'Sciendum est formulas ad utramque impositionem recitandas hodie etiam usu vigerè tum in ecclesia alexandrina Coptorum tum in antiochena Syrorum.' A comparison between the respective notes on the Words of Consecration also shows how much advantage is on the side of the Syrian Patriarch. He translates the Words as they appear in the Testament thus: 'Hoc meum est corpus, quod pro vobis confringitur in remissionem peccatorum. Quotiescumque hoc facietis, resurrectionem meam facietis' (p. 43). And on this he remarks: 'Notandum est hic mandatum Domini de facienda memoria ipsius resurrectionis adnecti consecrationi panis, uti extat apud Lucam xxii. 19, quod a ceteris liturgiis ad finem utriusque consecrationis fuit adjectum. In 1 Corinth. xi. 24 seqq., dictum mandatum adnectitur tum consecrationi panis, tum consecrationi calicis.' And he thus translates the relevant passage in the sermon or instruction delivered to the *fideles* or the *credentes* before the oblation, when the Mass of the Catechumens was over and they had been sent out: 'Ejus corpus, cum frangitur, fit salus nostra, et sanguis, spiritus, vita et sanctificatio' (p. 61), or, as he paraphrases it (p. 179): 'Post allata verba, paucis interjectis, sic Mystagogica commemorat sacramentum eucharistiae: "Ipse est (*i.e.*, Christus) cujus corpus, cum frangitur, fit in nostram salutem, et sanguis in spiritum, vitam et sanctitatem."'

Turning now to the present work, we find that the translation of the Words of Consecration is the same: 'This is My Body which is broken for you for the forgiveness of sins. When ye shall do this, ye make My resurrection' (p. 73) And the marginal notes are good. 'The wording differs considerably from that in the New Testament. It resembles most nearly St. Matt. xxvi. 27, 28, and 1 Corinthians xi. 24, 25. [On 'do' and 'make' in the second sentence.] The Syriac "does" equally

<sup>1</sup> Prolegomena, p. xvii.



well for "offer" in both cases, *cf.*, 1 Corinthians xi. 26.' So far so good, but when we refer to the Notes proper (pp. 171, 172) we find these erroneous statements: 'But we may not improbably deduce from the evidence the conclusion that in the fourth century (as among the Orthodox Easterns very generally now) the recital of Our Lord's Words was regarded as a historical statement prefatory to the Oblation and Invocation, there being no pre-Reformation authority, as far as is known, for placing them after it. We may probably further infer that the "Western theory of consecration" that the only essential words are "This is My Body" . . . "This is My Blood," etc., all prayers and invocations being but edifying additions, is not that of the fourth century.'

This is not the place to deal in detail with these erroneous observations, so we shall only remark that if the *soi-disant* 'Orthodox Easterns' have separated themselves from the centre of Catholic unity, the infallible head of the Church, it is not to be wondered at if they deny the Real Presence of Our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament in virtue of the Consecration, or regard the recital of His Words as an historical statement. Protestants, Calvinists, Presbyterians, etc., deny the Real Presence absolutely. But evidently those whose liturgy is contained in the Testament did not, neither did those whose beliefs may be learned from the pages of Brightman's *Eastern Liturgies*. The present editors do not, so far as we have observed, indicate what they personally hold. It would, however, be as incorrect to imagine that those 'Orthodox Easterns' are a Church, or part of the Church of Christ—One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic—as to fancy that Protestants or Presbyterians are. De Maistre is right in saying that at present there is no such thing as the Eastern Church. Outside the Uniats, or those in communion with the Vicar of Christ, among the Eastern sects ignorance prevails and dissension in doctrine is rife, though it must be said that in the East there are not so many heretical sects as in England or Scotland. But to assume that the idiosyncrasies of these, unhappily, separated brethren who are infected with Nestorianism, Eutychianism, etc., regarding the *Epiklesis* are indetical with the faith of the Church in the fourth or any other century is simply preposterous. Do they imagine that Christ used an *Epiklesis*? or that when He spoke the words of consecration, bread and wine was not immediately changed into

His Body and His Blood? or that He did not empower and command His priests to do what He himself had done? or that the Catholic Church did not understand and carry out the intention of her Divine Founder?

The heretical notion respecting the *Epiklesis* was broached, so far as we know, by Theodore of Andida in the twelfth century. He was almost as great a disgrace in the East as Berenger of Tours had been in the West. Both of them denied truths of faith, and set themselves up in opposition to the Catholic Church. To imagine, however, that their respective heresies are what the Church at any time taught is to close one's eyes to history, or to lose even the idea of the Church. Her unchangeable doctrine is simply the logical contradictory of the heterodox notions entertained respectively by the Archdeacon of Angers and the Bishop of Amida. Berenger was formally condemned; and Theodore would probably have been condemned in the Council of Florence had not the Greek deputies (the Archbishops of Nice, Trapezond, Mitylene, and Kiew), on the part of their Church, repudiated his exposition of the *Epiklesis*. In these circumstances, a definition *ex cathedra* was unnecessary; indeed, it was felt that it might be construed to imply that the Greeks had fallen into heresy. The ancient and orthodox faith of the Greek Church is expressed in these words of its deputies: 'Ad hoc ut sitis certi de credulitate nostra, videatis Joannem Chrysostomum qui hoc clare ponit; et sumus parati publice confiteri, quod nos tenemus sicut vos, quod in verbis solis Dominicis conficitur.'<sup>2</sup> We are not concerned with the subsequent backsliding of the Greeks, so here we leave them.

But the mention on the part of the editors of the Reformation period strikes a Catholic, or even a believer in the Real Presence, as singularly infelicitous and irrelevant. What have the 'Reformed' or 'Orthodox' Westerns to do with the Blessed Sacrament? Calvin, Zwingli, etc., denied the Real Presence, and though Luther did not give up this revealed truth, yet Lutherans have done so. Hence the less said about the Reformation the better, in notes on an ancient liturgy of the Catholic Church. The divine truth, enshrined in the hearts of those who used this part of the Testament, was trampled under foot by those apostate priests or by their misguided followers.

We have left the notice of the Introduction to the last. It

<sup>2</sup> Harduin, ix., 977.

is excellent, being brief and to the point. The two learned editors evidently have a wide acquaintance with the literature on the Testament and kindred books of antiquity. But we observed with surprise that the best work on the Testament was not used, nor even mentioned, unless the passing remark on p. 25 refers to it. We mean Funk's *Das Testament des Herrn u. die verwandten Schriften*, Mainz, 1901. The omission is all the more noticeable, as the learned editors set a high value on his *Die Apostolische Constitutionen*. Another work that might have been consulted to advantage on the 'Didache' is Specht's *Die Apostelchre*. But these incidental remarks must not be taken as implying that there is a defect in the Introduction. English readers have a great deal to be thankful for, and many will hope that the editors may be enabled to produce another similar work.

R. W.

STUDIA SINAITICA. XI. APOCRYPHA SYRIACA (Protoevangelium Jacobi et Transitus Mariae, etc.). Publishers: Cambridge Univ. Press.

THE learned editor, Mrs. Lewis, has deciphered the palimpsest texts above-named in a 9th and 10th century Arabic MS. purchased by her at Suez in 1895. A fragment of the Syriac version of the Protoevangelium was published many years before by Wright.<sup>1</sup> As is commonly known, the name 'Protoevangelium' alludes to its being in part a story of events alleged to have occurred prior to the period at which the Gospel history begins, and the name (though not prefixed originally) was adopted from some Eastern Christians by Postel, who first brought the Greek text to Europe in the sixteenth century. The work itself is a forgery, full of airy fancies, and was condemned in common with other apocryphal writings by Pope St. Gelasius. The 'Transitus Mariae,' which professes to be a narrative of the Blessed Virgin's death, is, we need hardly say, a similar production, and it was condemned by the same Pope. (The Greek text of this legend was discovered and published by Tischendorf.)

It is painful to see in this number of the *Studia Sinaitica*<sup>2</sup> the following remark about the *Decretum Gelasianum*: 'Supposed to be a forgery; see *Encyclopædia Britannica*.' The *Encyclopædia* is, no doubt, a source of useful information on profane subjects innumerable, but in its statements

<sup>1</sup> *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament*, 1865.

<sup>2</sup> Preface, p. xvi., note.

regarding supernatural or revealed truth it is frequently untrustworthy.<sup>3</sup> The work contains many Protestant errors, so there is no reason to be surprised at its mistake here. The writer of its unsigned notice of Pope Gelasius dismisses the subject of his celebrated decree with the perfunctory remark that it is evidently a forgery. It is a pity he does not inform his readers what reason he considered himself to have for making this assertion. But to turn to a reliable guide in such matters, Hefele<sup>4</sup> says that most of the oldest and best MSS. of the decree agree in ascribing to St. Gelasius. So, too, do the most ancient writers that mention it, among them being Hincmar of Rheims and no less a personage than Pope St. Nicholas I., though we readily acknowledge that as both the Archbishop and the Pope were imposed on by the False Decretals,<sup>5</sup> their judgment is not of great weight. Here, however, a distinction has to be made. With regard to the first part of the decree (*De Spiritu Sancto, De Canone Scripturae Sacrae, De sedibus Patriarchalibus*), which does not concern us here, Thiel and Friedrich have shown that it was issued by an earlier Pope, namely, St. Damasus. It would appear, however, that the chapter was subsequently confirmed by Pope Gelasius, and that this eventually led to its being joined to his own three chapters (*De Synodis oecumenicis, and De libris recipiendis, et non recipiendis*) as if it were part of one and the same decree. Also that Pope Hormisdas renewed the chapters thus combined, adding at the same time some fresh enactments, for which cause apparently in some MSS. the whole decree is attributed to him, just as in others for the contrary reason it is attributed to Pope Damasus.<sup>6</sup> There can, however, be no doubt that the section of interest to us at present, the one, namely, dealing with the apocryphal books, is substantially the work of Gelasius. We say this, because Battifol maintains<sup>7</sup> that while portions of the list belong to a period preceding that of Pope Gelasius, it appears to have received its final form about the year 500.

But, at any rate, we possess in the 'Decretum Gelasianum' a document of great antiquity and an official statement made by the one supreme authority in matters of doctrine. A Vicar of

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<sup>3</sup> See *v.g.* its article on the Pentateuch by Wellhausen, and its reference to Catholic doctrine, etc., *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> *Conciliengeschichte*, Bd. ii., s. 619.

<sup>5</sup> See especially Von Scherer's *Kirchenrecht*. Graz, 1886, vol. i., p. 224.

<sup>6</sup> Charteris does not give this explanation, but his view is quite compatible with it. See his *Canonicity*, p. 24, note.

<sup>7</sup> *Dict. de la Bible*, vol. ii., col. 153.



Christ condemned both the 'Protoevangelium Jacobi' and the 'Transitus Mariae.'

Hence it is as absurd as it is unjustifiable to assert that the special honour which Catholics rightly pay to the Immaculate Mother of God owes its origin to these spurious, legendary compositions, part of one of which indeed is grossly offensive. The Catholic faith rests exclusively on the divine revelation contained in Scripture and Tradition, both of which, together with their infallible interpretation, have been entrusted to the one true Church, of which the Pope is the visible head. But heretics and unbelievers who have, if any, a very inadequate concept of what is meant by the Incarnation, do not know the honour that is due to the Blessed Virgin. Some of them maintain in defiance of ecclesiastical history that the Papal condemnation of the apocrypha is a fable, and what is still more preposterous—others among them assert that these very works are the source of a Catholic belief and devotion. That occasional statements in the 'Protoevangelium' and the 'Transitus' should be found to coincide with Scripture or Tradition need cause no surprise, for they may contain some fragments of Christian truth in the midst of fantasies,<sup>8</sup> but such agreement surely does not show that St. Matthew's doctrine of the Virgin-birth or St. John's 'great sign in heaven,' a woman clothed with the sun, etc., were derived from works of fiction; nor *a pari* that the dogma of Our Lady's Immaculate Conception, or the well-founded pious belief in her Assumption, are derived from them. With regard to the Assumption, see Fr. Livius, who treats the subject excellently, and on the 'Protoevangelium,' see Bardenhewer's *Altkirchliche Literatur* (pp. 403-407). On Catholic subjects, it is necessary to read Catholic authors. Charteris, a Protestant writer, in other respects well informed, displays lamentable ignorance on the point of Christian doctrine just alluded to, namely, the veneration due to the Mother of God.<sup>9</sup> The same must be said of the writers in two recent Biblical Dictionaries. It is painful to see the same heretical notions endorsed in this number of the *Studia Sinaitica*,<sup>10</sup> and to find a rationalist, Ewald, quoted as an authority on a subject of which he knew nothing. His flippant, irreverent, blasphemous remarks are positively shocking.

<sup>8</sup> See Fr. Coleridge, quoted by Fr. Livius, *The Blessed Virgin in the Fathers of the First Six Centuries*, p. 352.

<sup>9</sup> *Canonicity*, p. c., Introduction.

<sup>10</sup> Preface, p. xvi.

Many will, however, read this number of the *Studia Sinaitica* for the sake of the Syriac, and for its publication they will feel deeply grateful to the erudite editor. In this respect the volume deserves the highest praise, and students will find its contents exceedingly useful. Others will read it in order to obtain more knowledge of the Apocrypha, etc. It should be mentioned that the volume contains also fragments of the Peshitta, Septuagint, etc., including an unique one<sup>11</sup> which has not been discovered in the original Hebrew. Let us hope that the lady to whom we owe the first leaf of the MS. will succeed in bringing to light some more portions, and thus increase the debt of gratitude that we all feel towards her.

R. W.

DEFENSIONES THEOLOGIAE DIVI THOMAE AQUINATIS de novo editae cura et studio RR. PP. Paban et Pegues ejusdem Ordinis. Johannes Capreoli, O.P., Thomistarum Principis. Tours: Alfred Cattier. 1900-1902.

THE Pontificate of Leo XIII., to whom this reprint is dedicated, will ever be memorable for his recommendation of the theology and the philosophy of St. Thomas. Since the first of his Encyclicals, etc., on this subject was issued, in 1878, a fresh impetus has been given to the study of the Angelical Doctor's writings. In one of the most important of these utterances, Leo XIII. named Cajetan and Ferrariensis as being trustworthy witnesses to the one true tradition and the commentators whom he wished students to use, on the *Summa Theologica* and the *Summa Philosophica* respectively. We find in the great work of Capreolus, which had for three centuries been out of print, the same explanation as that given by the two Dominicans just mentioned. Both, in fact, learned a great deal from him and followed him, for in such esteem was he held that he was called 'Princeps Thomistarum.' And the present Pope, in acknowledging the dedication, says of him: 'Floret ille, vel quatuor post secula, opinione hominum prudentiorum uptote qui ejusdem Doctoris sapientiam et a reprehensione aculeisque dissentientium tueri et recta interpretandi ratione illustrare probe contenderit.'

Before proceeding to a description of the work, it will not be amiss to say a few words about its author, John Capreolus, a native of Languedoc, received the white habit in the Dominican Priory at Rodez. From 1409 to 1411 he lectured on the *Sen-*

<sup>11</sup> Eccli. xviii. 17b-27.

*tences* in the Sorbonne, and when he had taken his final degree there, he was in course of time made rector of the University of Toulouse. In 1426 he returned to Rodez, where he devoted himself exclusively to the completion of the theological work that was destined to render him famous. It had been commenced long before, for according to William of St. Germain, the first of its four books had been written during his residence in Paris. The second book was finished in 1426, the third in 1428, and the last in 1433. On April 6th, 1444, the author, who was as remarkable for holiness as for learning, was called to his rest.

The *Defensiones* has ever been regarded as the greatest product of the second period of mediæval Thomism. It was the book of the day. The end of the fourteenth century had witnessed in some schools of theology a coalition opposed to the moderate Realism taught by St. Thomas. The professors, who at this time revived Nominalism, advocated a system differing but slightly from that of Roscellin, Abelard, and Siger de Brabant, who was a contemporary and an adversary of St. Thomas. Occam is generally regarded as the founder of the resuscitated Nominalism, or, to give it its specific name, 'Terminism,' which in his day was styled 'the new doctrine,' but Aureolus and Durandus had prepared the ground for it. In defence of the truth, the great theologian, Capreolus, undertook and accomplished the task of refuting the modified system put forward by the new Nominalists. He unmasked their theory, as St. Anselm had unmasked Roscellin's, and showed the fatal consequences of a false notion of Universals, as soon as it came to be applied to the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation.

Among the prominent writers that held this view, Göthals (Gotteschalchus), Varro, Scotus, John of Ripa, Adam, Aureolus, Gregory of Rimini, Durandus, Occam, Guy of Terrena, and John Peter D'Oлива were the objects of his special attention. They were in their own schools the leaders of thought, so Capreolus is careful not to pass over in silence one single objection to which they had attached any importance.

A feature of special value in the work is that it is a faithful picture of the theology of the period in the Universities of England, France, and Italy. The problems which then occupied the minds of professors and students are clearly exhibited. It must however be said, as the present editors observe, that the objections are not always given in the words of their respec-



tive authors, but in the form in which Capreolus found them reproduced in the pages of his chief opponent, Aureolus. Wherever this occurs, the learned editors have directed attention to it by a marginal note, so that no mistake on this head should arise. The reader can see at a glance, for instance, whether an argument employed by Scotus is taken from one of his own works immediately, or through the medium of the *Commentaria* and *Quodlibeta* of the 'Doctor facundus.' Two Dominicans, also, Hervaeus and Paludanus, who departed from the teaching of their school and their Order, by accepting the Nominalism of Durandus, are answered by Capreolus. It would be, of course, impossible here to pursue this subject further, for the details we must refer those who take an interest in the matter to the pages of the new edition of the *Defensiones Theologicae*, in which some excellent typographical devices render it easy at first sight to know between whom any particular question is being discussed, and what are the respective arguments of both sides. Let it suffice, then, to say that in the first book the errors of Aureolus and their refutation occupy the greatest space, and in the fourth those of Durandus (Doctor resolutissimus) and the replies to them.

The method employed by Capreolus in answering objections directed against St. Thomas' doctrine is the right one. Wherever it is possible, he lets the Saint speak for himself. It oftens happens that an argument on which one of his posthumous opponents relies has already been proposed by the Saint to himself and solved. Perhaps it is not in works so commonly known as the *Summa*: it may be in the *Opuscula* or in the *Questiones de Veritate*, but the intimate and extensive knowledge of his master's writings Capreolus possessed, at a time when Indices and Concordances were rare, enabled him to give the relevant words. Or, again, when the meaning of a passage was contested, Capreolus could quote a parallel one to prove that his own interpretation, the traditional one, was correct. This is in accordance with the time-honoured axiom of the Dominican School, viz., that St. Thomas in his own best commentator. The passages selected are so apposite and so numerous, that on the subjects they treat of, the *Defensiones* serve the purpose of a real Concordance to the works of Capreolus's master and guide.

Although the *Defensiones* adopt the order of books, questions, and articles found in the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard



(the text book of that age), they are not a commentary on the work. They are what they profess to be, what their title page states—a defence of the theology of St. Thomas. As he not only commented on the *Sentences*, but in his own *Summa* reproduced the questions and the order of the questions to which students of Peter Lombard were accustomed, the arrangement in both works is substantially identical.

Everything shows that Capreolus was one of the greatest theologians of his time, and that his work fully deserved the praises bestowed on it by Leander, Altamura, Trithemius, Possevin, Bellarmine, Labbé, Spondanus, Dupin, Hurter and others. And Cajetan, whom Cardinal Zigliara used to call the greatest of all commentators on St. Thomas, had a profound respect for Capreolus, as also had Ferrariensis. In the controversy which took place some years ago between Schneemann and Frins on the one side, and Feldner and Dummermuth on the other, it was proved that the doctrine opposed by Molina and Suarez from different standpoints was that taught by St. Thomas, Capreolus, Ferrariensis, Cajetan, and Bannez. Fr. Dummermuth (Regent of Studies, Dominican Priory, Louvain) attached great importance to the commentary of Capreolus, the ‘*Princeps Thomistarum*,’ as being an official witness to the unbroken tradition of the Dominican school in the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Students of St. Thomas owe a debt of deep gratitude to the present editors. Three volumes of the reprint have been issued, and it will be completed by three more which will be issued without delay. The first of the published volumes corresponds to eight Distinctions in the first book of the *Sentences*, and treats therefore of the nature of theology, its object, subject, etc.; of God, His Existence, Unity and Trinity, the generation of the Son, etc. The second volume contains the questions on the Holy Ghost, mission of Divine Persons, etc., and the third volume deals with Creation and the Angels, about whom a surprisingly large number of queries are put, and answered.

It is to be hoped that a copy of this celebrated work will be found in every theological library.

R. W.

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<sup>1</sup> See Dummermuth's *S. Thomas et doctrina præmotiones physicae*, 1886, pp. 454-482, and his *Defensio doctrinæ S. Thomæ*, 1895, pp. 329-352.

HEBRAISCHE TEXT DES BUCHES ECCLESIASTICUS. Father  
N. Peters, O.S.B. Freiburg: Herder. 1902.

ONE of the most remarkable discoveries in recent years is that of part of the original text of this inspired book. Jesus, the grandson of Sirach, or 'Siracides,' as he is often called, says in the prologue to his own Greek version that it was written in Hebrew. St. Jerome read it in the original, and some of the Jewish rabbins quoted passages, but after the tenth century no such trace of its existence is any longer to be found. Great then was the joy of scholars when in 1896 it was announced that a leaf of a Hebrew MS. had been discovered, and the joy increased as more leaves were successively brought to light. At present about half of the original text has been recovered.

The Greek version of Siracides had suffered so much in transmission to us owing to the mistakes of copyists that certain parts of it had lost all meaning, *e.g.* xxxvii. 4, 5, appears equivalent to 'There is a companion who rejoiceth with his friend in his joys, but in the time of trouble he will be against him. There is a companion who condoleth with his friend for his belly's sake, and he will take up a shield against the enemy.' It is to the latter verse that we would especially direct attention. The man whose motive for condolence was the prospect of a dinner would hardly prove so true in time of danger; but if he actually did, he would deserve not censure, but praise. The Greek as we have it now is obscure, but if we turn to the original text, everything becomes clear. The verses are written in antithetic parallelism, and they mean 'Badly acts the friend who looks to his dinner, but in the time of need is on the opposite side. The true friend fights against the enemy, and takes up a shield against the foe.' Several other instances of similar scribal errors in our present Greek text could be pointed out. This applies to the Vulgate also. The version we have of the book is the Old Latin or *Vetus Italica*, uncorrected by St. Jerome. It must, however, be said that owing to the superiority of the MS. from which it was made, the Old Latin in many passages gives the meaning of the Hebrew less incorrectly than the Greek text current at the present day. (See Swete's *Septuagint*, or any good commentary.)

The numerous fragments of the text of Ecclesiasticus, of which we spoke above, were published separately, in different periodicals and pamphlets, according to the time of their discovery.

Fr. Peters has, however, had the happy thought of collecting them all into one handy volume for the use of students, namely, iii. 6-xvi. 24, xviii. 31-33, xix. 1-3, xx. 4-7, xx. 13, xx. 30, xxv. 8, xxv. 13, xxv. 17-22, 23 (*half verse*), 24, xxvi. 1-2, xxvii. 5, xxx. 11-xxxiii. 3, xxxv. 11-xxxviii. 27, xxxix. 10, xxxix. 15-li. 30. He prints these so as to exhibit their parallelism, for Ecclesiasticus is one of the poetical books of Scripture. And he adds a translation with critical notes and commentary. Some idea of the thorough nature of his learned explanations may be given if it is mentioned that they fill no less than 315 closely-printed 8vo pages.

In his Prolegomena, Fr. Peters has an exhaustive description of the Hebrew text, the four MSS. now in part extant, and their critical value, etc. He then examines with most minute care the Greek version as now found in more than twenty MSS., in order to show their place in textual criticism. He next passes in review the two Old Latin, the Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian and Syro Hexaplar versions (all derived from the Greek), as well as the patristic quotations. Special attention is then devoted to the Peshitta version, which, as having come immediately from the Hebrew, and as being so accurate, affords independent witness to the worth of all the other versions just mentioned. Lastly, the language and style and rhythm of Ecclesiasticus are treated of, and this section is one of the most interesting in an exceedingly valuable work, every page of which shows that the author is not only conversant with the vast amount of learned literature recently published on his subject, but that he himself is one of the greatest living authorities. R. W.

A SHORT CATECHISM ON RELIGIOUS LIFE. For the use of Nuns, Novices, and Postulants. By His Eminence Cardinal Svampa, Archbishop of Bologna. Translated from the Italian by a Priest of the Diocese of Dublin.<sup>1</sup>

OF the excellence of this little work, and of its utility to many persons interested in convent life, there cannot be two opinions. It gives in concise form the substance of Catholic teaching regarding the vocation to religious life and the obligations of the religious state. The author is an ecclesiastic of

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<sup>1</sup> This work is for private circulation and can only be obtained from the Rev. Wm. Lockhart, St. Joseph's, Glashule, Kingstown, co. Dublin. Post free, 4d.

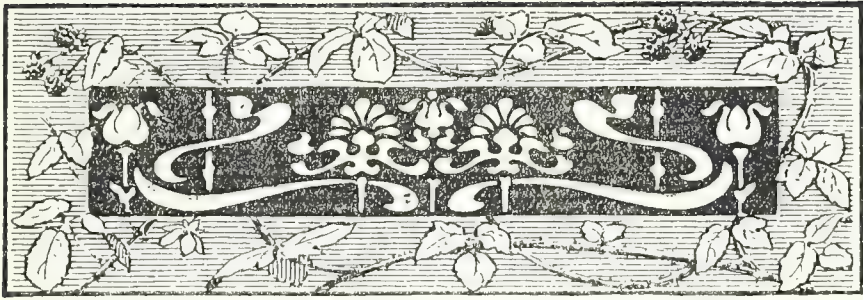
great experience and accurate knowledge, and his little book has been very *judiciously* translated. The manners and customs of one country, however, differ very widely from those of another, and a work suited to Italian young ladies who are aiming at a religious life might prove anything but suitable to the postulants and novices of this country. In the present case, whilst we consider the work decidedly useful, we confess that we should not care to see it placed indiscriminately in the hands of all aspirants to convent life. We are inclined to think that it would frighten many away without any very definite reason, and that it might cause trouble of mind and conscience to some who are already only too prone to be disturbed. If judiciously used, however, the book may be of great service in particular cases. Some copies at the disposal of a reverend mother and of a confessor will be always useful.

LA MÈRE DE DIEU ET LA MÈRE DES HOMMES. By J. B. Terrien, S.J. Paris: P. Lethielleux.

IN both volumes the author seems to have exhausted nearly every truth or thought about Mary contained in Scripture and Tradition or unfolded by theology. The first volume, *La Mère de Dieu*, makes a deep and profound study of the divine maternity, its nature, reasons, prerogatives and exercise. The second volume, *La Mère des Hommes*, deals with the nature and advantages of Mary's intercession, of the great need there is for devotion to her ; Mary is the mother of the world, and the author seems to believe that there is no grace given to men by the Beloved Son that does not first pass through her hands.

J. W. M.





## IRISH BISHOPS OF STRASBURG

**T**HE first apostle of the province of Alsace was in all probability St. Maternus, the same converted Roman soldier, who, with two companions, announced the good tidings of the Gospel in the countries around Cologne, Treves and Liege. St. Maternus does not appear, however, to have been attached to any particular See. He was, in the strictest sense of the term, what the Germans call a 'Regionarius' or 'Wander-Bischof.' The first regular bishop of Strasburg of whom we have any record is St. Amandus, who, according to Grandidier,<sup>1</sup> was succeeded in chronological order by St. Justin, St. Maximin, St. Valentine, and St. Solarius. The succession was then interrupted for some years owing to the irruption of the Vandals and the Huns. The pagan worship that had gone down before the first apostles soon began to re-assert itself. In vast regions of the province it had never been wholly suppressed, and in some parts had not even been assailed: for Christian missionaries had not been able to penetrate to its strongholds and convince its followers of the superiority of the Gospel. Strasburg itself, or Argentoratum as it was still called, was only recovering from the idolatry into which it had relapsed, when St. Fridolin came there about the middle of the sixth century and erected a church in

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<sup>1</sup> Grandidier, *Histoire de l'Eglise et des Princes-Evêques de Strasbourg*. 2 vols. Strasbourg: Francois Levraut. Imprimeur de l'Intendance et de l'Université Episcopale. 1776.

honour of St. Hilary of Poitiers.<sup>2</sup> From the time that the See was restored after the barbarian invasion down to the reign of King Dagobert II., thirteen bishops followed one another in almost uninterrupted succession. Then two Irish bishops come upon the scene, St. Arbogast and St. Florentius, who occupied the episcopal throne of Strasburg from about 673 to 693.<sup>3</sup> Who were these Irish bishops? What brought them to Alsace? What did they accomplish on the scene of their labours?

#### ST. ARBOGAST.

We should state at once that whilst the Irish nationality of St. Florentius is generally admitted, that of St. Arbogast has been questioned and denied. A certain number of writers, including the Jesuit Coccius<sup>4</sup> and Schoepflin,<sup>5</sup> the author of *Alsatia Illustrata*, assert that he was born in Aquitaine in Gaul. They rely for this assertion on the authority of Utho, a monk of the tenth century, who also became bishop of Strasburg and wrote a brief Latin life of his predecessor, St. Arbogast. But in Latin documents of at least equal antiquity, Arbogast is set down as an Irishman, and the tradition of the country regarding his origin is gathered up and recorded in one of the oldest breviaries of the diocese of Strasburg.<sup>6</sup> We may be sure that Mabillon had enough of evidence to convince him when he stated unequivocally that Arbogast was a native of Scotia.<sup>7</sup> The circumstances in which Arbogast

<sup>2</sup> 'Vers le milieu du sixième siècle une nouvelle église s'éleva dans Strasbourg en l'honneur de St. Hilaire. St. Fridolin, originaire d'Irlande et Abbé du monastère de St. Hilaire de Poitiers quitta cette ville et vint avec les reliques du patron de son église en Allemagne où il fonda l'Abbaye de Seckingue. Il prit sa route vers l'un 568 du côté de l'Alsace. Il bâtit un monastère sur la Moselle, une église dans les Voges et une autre à Strasbourg. Le monastère qu'il fonda en Lorraine fut nommé "*Hilariacum*" et porta depuis le nom de St. Nabor, ou St. Avold.'—Grandidier, *op. cit.* i., 165.

<sup>3</sup> We follow the dates given by Grandidier, the illustrious historian of Strasburg. Dr. Lanigan fixes the date of the death of Florentius at 687.

<sup>4</sup> *Dagobertus Rex*, chap. xv.

<sup>5</sup> *Alsatia Illustrata*, i., pp. 646, and foll.

<sup>6</sup> This breviary was printed in 1489. It says in the First Vespers of the feast of St. Arbogast, 'Hunc nobis specialem mater Hibernia misit pastorem,' and in the First Nocturn of Matins we find, 'Clarior ortus natalibus Hibernia oriundus, velut unum ex fluminibus paradisi, Arbogastus emissus est.'

<sup>7</sup> An. Or, S. B. I., 487. 'Arbogastus origine Scottus.'

became bishop tend, moreover, to confirm in the strongest way the contention of such writers as Guillibert<sup>8</sup> and Longueval.<sup>9</sup>

Sigebert III., King of Austrasia, died on the 1st of February, 656, leaving as the only issue of his marriage with Queen Himnehilde, a young prince named Dagobert. This youth, minor though he was, succeeded to his father's throne, but had occupied it only for a few months when he was overthrown by the treachery of Grimoald.

Grimoald was the son of the famous Pepin of Landen, and had occupied the post of Mayor of the Palace to Dagobert's father. Grandidier, who dedicated his *History of the Prince Bishops of Strasburg* to Cardinal de Rohan, is responsible for the statement that Sigebert was a very bad politician though a very holy man. At all events he had the misfortune to entrust his son as well as his kingdom to Grimoald. When the wily minister got possession of the boy he proceeded to mould his disposition and character in such a way as to suit his treacherous projects, and now that he had come to the throne the question was how to dispose of him.

Grimoald gave out that young Dagobert had a vocation for the religious life, and wanted to consecrate himself entirely to the service of God. He at the same time produced a document which purported to transmit the crown to his own son Childebert in case King Sigebert left no heir. Now as the heir that had been left was anxious, according to Grimoald, to forfeit his claim, the constitutional provision made by Sigebert in order to secure the succession was bound to come into force.

The hair of the boy-king was cut off by the order of his unfaithful guardian as a mark of his consecration to religion, and a subservient bishop was found in the person of Didon of Poitiers to convey him to Ireland and shut him up in a monastery.<sup>10</sup>

It was in the monastery of Slane, founded by St. Patrick and governed in its first years by St. Erk, 'the sweet-spoken judge,' preceptor of St. Brendan, and friend of St. Brigid,

<sup>8</sup> *De Episcopis Argertorati*, 89.

<sup>9</sup> *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*.

<sup>10</sup> Grandidier, *op. cit.*, p. 201.



that young Dagobert was received in Ireland. There he remained for twenty years and received an education that fitted him for the throne much better than any he could have got on the Continent in those days.<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile the report was industriously circulated by Grimoald that Dagobert was dead. He accordingly got his son Childebert proclaimed king and did his best to get him acknowledged by the nobles and people.<sup>12</sup> But his treachery brought upon him nothing but misfortune. It is needless to enter here into the details of the conflicts and revolutions that ended in the restoration of Dagobert. The story is one of the romances of history. St. Wilfrid of York became the medium of communication between the nobles of Austrasia and the monastery of Slane.

It was about the year 670 that Dagobert regained his throne. The beginning of his reign was happy and peaceful. The establishment of religion as the foundation of government was the chief concern of his life. Strasburg, the southern capital of his realm,<sup>13</sup> naturally demanded a good deal of his attention, and Dagobert thought he could not confer upon it a greater benefit than to give it in succession the two bishops who came from the country in which he himself had been educated.

Arbogast, of whose infancy and youth practically nothing is known, had lived in retirement for years in the Vosges mountains. He resided chiefly in the forest of Hagenau.<sup>14</sup> There he built a church which he placed under the protection of the Blessed Virgin and of St. Martin of Tours.

But the obscurity of the forest could not hide the virtues of the saint. His fame had spread throughout the country and had reached the ears of the king. When the See of Strasburg became vacant in 673 by the death of its

<sup>11</sup> See Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, vol. i., pp. 61, 62. Also Archdall.

<sup>12</sup> 'Grimoalde n'osa porter le crime jusqu' à attenter à la vie de son souverain. Il se contenta de faire enlever le jeune roi, après lui avoir fait couper les cheveux comme pour le dévouer à l'église. Didon Evêque de Poitiers, quoique du sang royal de Clovis, n'eut pas honte de se rendre l'esclave de la passion du ministre et de se charger de cette indigne commission. Ce fut lui qui conduisit, Dagobert en Irlande où ce prince vécut longtemps ignoré.'—Grandidier, *op. cit.*, p. 201. Also *Adonis Chronicon*, apud Bonquetum, vol. ii., p. 669, and Ursitius, Part ii., p. 74.

<sup>13</sup> Metz was the capital of Austrasia in the north.

<sup>14</sup> It is since called the Holy Forest, 'Heilgen Forst.'



bishop Rothaire, Arbogast was selected to succeed him. His nomination was due to the influence of Dagobert who was deeply interested in the welfare of the Church, and knew by experience the character of the Irish monks, and of Arbogast in particular.<sup>15</sup>

Arbogast accepted the episcopal dignity against his will and in the midst of the world and its excitement was always anxious to return to his solitude. He took advantage, however, of the king's gratitude and generosity to promote the cause of the Church and of religion. His cathedral of Strasburg was richly endowed by a permanent grant of the lands of Roussach and of the domain of Isenburg in which the king resided.<sup>16</sup> For himself Arbogast would accept nothing. He got a little hut constructed for himself in a deserted spot outside the city, on the bank of the Rhine. There he spent most of the time he could spare from his episcopal labours, and many are the miracles, according to his biographers, that were performed by him in this lonely retreat. A convent was subsequently built on the spot occupied by the bishop's cell. It was demolished during the religious wars of the sixteenth century. The name, St. Algaſt, given to the village in the neighbourhood is the only survival of the important establishment that flourished for so many years on the ground which St. Arbogast had consecrated by his prayers.

St. Arbogast ruled the church of Strasburg for only five or six years, from 773 to 778 or 779. When he felt that death was coming upon him he gave orders that his body might be buried near the church of St. Michael, outside the city, in the graveyard that was set apart for criminals. He wished thereby

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<sup>15</sup> Arbogast is said to have brought back to life and health Dagobert's son, Sigebert, who was wounded whilst hunting. During his exile Dagobert had married the Saxon princess Bactilda, by whom he had five children, two of whom were afterwards honoured as saints. See Grandidier, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 207.

<sup>16</sup> The original document containing this donation was seen by Utho, who wrote the life of St. Arbogast in the tenth century. It was subsequently lost or destroyed and a clumsy attempt was made by the canons of Strasburg, in the twelfth century, to fabricate a document of their own and pass it off as the charter of Dagobert. It is quite clear that this document is a forgery. It went so far as to devise to the chapter vast tracts of land that had never been given by Dagobert, but did not take care to avoid contradictions and to make its dates correspond to the exact time of Dagobert's reign.

to share the humiliation of our Lord, and by the last act of his life to show how intimately united he was to his Master in his spirit and in his heart. An Irish poet who has often drawn his inspiration from the sacred history of his country did not allow this touching incident to escape his notice. In the following lines he gives a free version of the words of the saint's biographer, Utho<sup>17</sup>:—

Leave cope of silver and painted book,  
Mitre of gold and jewel'd crook,  
Apart in the vestry's darkest nook :  
But in Mount Michael bury me  
Beneath the felon's penal tree—  
So Christ Our Lord in Calvary.  
This do as ye my blessing prize  
And God keep you pure and wise!  
These were the words—they were the last—  
Of the blessed Bishop Arbogast.<sup>18</sup>

#### ST. FLORENTIUS.

At the death of St. Arbogast, King Dagobert, in agreement with the ecclesiastical authorities of the time, did his best to persuade St. Wilfrid of York to accept the See of Strasburg. St. Wilfrid on his way to Rome was just then paying a visit to the prince whom he had helped to restore to the throne, and the king eagerly desired to retain at his court the friend and protector of his youth. St. Wilfrid, however, could not be persuaded to remain. He wanted the Pope's assistance in his dispute with Ermentrude, the wife of Egfrid of Northumberland, who had driven him from his see on account of his denunciation of her conduct. The See of York had the first claim upon him and he could not be induced to abandon it at a time of trial and distress. On the refusal of Wilfrid the see of Strasburg was offered to Florentius, a

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<sup>17</sup> 'Cum autem sentiret imminere diem extremum in monticulo urbi vicino extra civitatem, ubi Sancti Michaelis est ecclesia constituta, sepulturam sibi fieri precepit, et eo se ferri et sepiliri; imitans Salvatorem Christum qui extra portam elegit sibi sepulturam. At vero post multos annos inde translatus et d coenobium Surburge deportatus ibi est honorifice reconditus.'

<sup>18</sup> D'Arcy McGee.

monk who had probably accompanied Dagobert from Ireland.<sup>19</sup> and who was living a solitary life in the Vosges mountains.

The cell in which he had lived for years was at the foot of the mountain of Ringelsberg, on the bank of the Hasel river, about twenty miles from Strasburg. Here he practised the most rigid austerities, and is said to have performed wonderful miracles. That Florentius worked miracles is clear enough; but as Grandidier observes, many of his biographers whilst making him a zealous *thaumaturgus* make him anything but a reasonable *thaumaturgus*. According to the same authority many of those who wrote accounts of Florentius had more at heart the making of a great reputation for the Saint than the love of truth.

Let those [he says] who are animated by the spirit of genuine piety announce the virtues of the saints in such a manner as to induce others to follow their example. Let them excite the faithful to have recourse to the powerful intercession of those who have won the crown, in order that they may obtain grace in their infirmities and help in their weakness. But they should none the less set their faces against those abuses and superstitions which some people are trying to introduce into Christianity, debasing thereby the holiest of all religions and conveying to the world a notion of it that is opposed at once to its purity and to its grandeur.<sup>16</sup>

The learned historian probably refers here to such legends as that related of St. Florentius by a Canon of Haselach in the twelfth century. According to this worthy canon St. Florentius having been called on one occasion to the palace of Dagobert and seeing no attendant to whom he could hand his cloak during his audience with the king, hung it on a ray of sunshine that was then passing through the ante-chamber. The cloak remained hanging here until the saint came out from the audience to put it on again. This was evidently the popular way at the time of magnifying the reputation of the saint, and understood *as a legend* we do not see what great harm it does to religion or to anybody.

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<sup>19</sup> 'Florent était Ecossais de nation ou plutôt Irlandais, car dans ces temps on donnait aussi le nom d'Ecosse à l'Isle d'Hybernie et l'Ecosse était connue sous le nom d'Albanie. L'Irlande d'ailleurs si féconde en Saints fournissait depuis longtemps à la Gaule des hommes Apostoliques et des modèles des vertus monastiques.'—Grandidier, vol. i., p. 227.

<sup>20</sup> Grandidier, vol. i., p. 231.

It was on this occasion also that Florentius cured or converted Bathilde, the only one of the king's daughters who showed a vicious disposition. In gratitude for his services King Dagobert made a perpetual grant to Florentius of the lands of Haselach, which he had chosen as his retreat. Thus was laid the foundation of the great monastery of Haselach, which was first inhabited exclusively by the Irish followers of Florentius, but which subsequently became a great centre of religious energy for the natives of Alsace. We shall have occasion to refer to this monastery elsewhere and to show the extent of its influence and the quality of its work.

During the years of his episcopate St. Florentius set himself to put the work of the evangelisation of Alsace on a sure and permanent footing, and with that object in view he felt that he could not do better than establish a centre of missionary zeal in Strasburg itself. He accordingly built in the suburbs of his cathedral city a hospice and a church which he placed under the patronage of St. Thomas the Apostle. Both of these he gave over to his countrymen who came in great numbers to help him in his labours.<sup>21</sup>

The principal assistant of Florentius was his archdeacon, Fidelius, also an Irishman, whose memory is always associated in Alsace with that of Florentius.

On the death of Florentius in 693, his body was interred at the monastery of St. Thomas at Strasburg. It was subsequently transferred to Haselach by Rachio, bishop of Strasburg, and from that day forward a dispute that lasted for ages and that was carried on with great bitterness and considerable dishonesty on one side or the other arose between the monasteries of Haselach and St. Thomas of Strasburg. The canons

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<sup>21</sup> 'La renommée de St. Florent ne cessait d'enrichir l'Alsace de nouveaux anachorètes qui vinrent la décorer de leur vertu. L'éclat de celles de l'Evêque de Strasbourg fit naître dans le cœur de plusieurs de ses compatriotes le saint désir de le voir, et de l'admirer par eux mêmes. Les Ecossais et les Irlandais accoururent à travers les mers pour jouir de la présence de Florent. L'évêque jaloux de se conserver ses compatriotes dont il pouvait faire autant d'ouvriers évangéliques, leur procura une demeure dans sa ville épiscopale. Il leur fit bâtir hors de Strasbourg un hospice auquel il ajouta une église qu'il dédia à l'honneur de l'Apôtre St. Thomas. Cet hospice devint ensuite un monastère, puis un chapitre de chanoines qui fut longtemps célèbre pour le grand nombre de nobles Alsaciens qui l'ont illustré par leur science et leurs vertus.'—Grandidier, vol. i., p. 235.



of St. Thomas denied the authenticity of the transfer of the saint's body to Haselach, and claimed that it had never been removed. In the fourteenth century the Emperor Charles IV. had to be called in to settle the quarrel. The emperor decided in favour of Haselach, and took advantage of the occasion to transfer to the cathedral of Prague<sup>22</sup> where he resided, an arm of the saint, for which he had a costly shrine constructed and an altar erected on which the shrine was to be kept.<sup>23</sup>

The canons of St. Thomas still persisted in their claims, and another bishop of Strasburg, Louis of Bavaria, was obliged to put their institution under an interdict and to excommunicate anyone who held in sermon or in print that the body of St. Florentius was still in their possession. The fact is that the possession of so valuable a treasure was the source of much wealth to an institution in the Middle Ages, owing to the crowds of pilgrims it attracted. This accounted to a great extent for the zeal of the Canons of St. Thomas, who, when Luther appeared upon the scene became his ardent disciples and proved how sincere was their devotion to the relics of their patron once contempt for them became more profitable. The popular devotion to St. Florentius, however, was not so mercenary. The prayers, litanies, and offices by which the saint was honoured were collected in the eighteenth century by a Father Louis and published at Strasburg in a very interesting volume.<sup>24</sup> Here in the hymn at Prime we read:—

Te vouant tout entier à Dieu

Tu fus comme Abraham à sa voix si docile

Qu'abandonnant l'Irlande et traversant les mers

Tu sçus pour ta vertu chercher un sur asile.

On the 7th of November every year<sup>25</sup> crowds of pilgrims

<sup>22</sup> Konigshovius. *In Chronico*, p. 136.

<sup>23</sup> Five years later Rudolf, Archduke of Austria and Landgrave of Alsace obtained part of the left arm of the saint which was brought to Lille in Flanders.

<sup>24</sup> *Histoire de la Vie et du Culte de St. Florent, Evêque de Strasbourg*. Strasbourg de l'Imprimerie de Levrault.

<sup>25</sup> Father L. Winterer, who has for many years represented his native Alsace in the German Reichstag, writing of the death of St. Florentius, says:—

'Ainsi mourut à Strasbourg le 7 Novembre, 693, ce noble fils de l'Irlande que la main miséricordieuse de Dieu daigna conduire dans notre Alsace. Une foule innombrable était réunie à Strasbourg lorsque son corps

flock to the church of Haselach, which now remains in undisturbed possession of the relics of St. Florentius. There these prayers are repeated and the memory of one of the great apostles of Alsace is kept fresh and young in the hearts of the people who s'till reap the fruits of his labour.

J. F. HOGAN.

## PRIESTS AND TEMPERANCE PROPAGANDA

THIS year has witnessed a welcome awaking of activity amongst temperance reformers. The multiplication of public-houses in Ireland and the consequent drunken excesses of our people, have at length become so great an obstacle to our industrial progress, that all classes happily united in passing a law suspending the granting for the next five years of any new licences, except in very special and well-defined circumstances. But the snake of intemperance is only scotched; he is not yet killed. There is now grave danger that our interest in further temperance reform may calmly die away. We may fancy that enough is now done to save our poor people from their generous folly and good-natured sins. But when we remember that Ireland, containing as she does only four and a-half millions of people, spends over fourteen millions in drink; that poor as she claims to be, yet she pays over six millions sterling in voluntary taxes, as duty; that nearly 100,000 persons are arrested for drunkenness annually; that amongst these are, shocking to relate, 13,000 of the fair daughters of Erin; that in the five exempted cities of Ireland over 20,000 persons are arrested for drunkenness on the Sabbath Day—when we remember these disagreeable facts, we may see that much still remains to be done.

Now indeed is the acceptable time for our temperance work.

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fut confié au tombeau dans le monastère de St. Thomas. Les larmes que tous verserent furent des larmes consolées qu'on verse près du tombeau d'un saint. Douze siècles se sont écoulés depuis ce jour; la mémoire de St. Florent est toujours restée également cher un peuple chrétien. Des milliers de pèlerins d'Alsace se rendent chaque année à l'église de Haslach où reposent aujourd'hui les reliques du Saint évêque Florent.'—*Quelques Saints de l'Alsace*, par L. Winterer. Rexheim, 1897.

Now is the hour of salvation for our people. The trumpet call of battle, summons the Irish priest to-day more than ever in the past, to rise and defend his people against God's enemies. An ever increasing section of laymen, Catholic and non-Catholic, are daily asking why the secular priests of Ireland do not do something tangible and practical to cope with the evils of drink; why they do not do more than preach a hardy annual of vague declamation against the 'terrible vice of intemperance?' Year after year the bishops write learned and eloquent Lenten pastorals urging, inviting, nay commanding the priests and people to do something to suppress intemperance in our midst. These pastorals are used as very welcome substitutes for a sermon for two Sundays, and in some places for three or even more Sundays. Then these grand pastorals are laid aside, and no more is heard of temperance reform till the following Lent. Lay people often ask me—why we priests do not carry out the teaching of our ecclesiastical superiors? why are we apparently so indifferent to the temporal and spiritual welfare of our countrymen? If the drink evil is as great as all seem to admit, why do we not form associations to combat it?

One explanation is this: priests generally do not fully realise the extent of the ravages produced by intemperance. Some few priests see clearly the havoc resulting from our drinking habits, but are narcotised by the all-pervading indifference and apathy of those around them. The reason why so many priests do not clearly see the ruin caused by our drinking excesses, the reason why we do not do some practical work to put down intemperance, is mainly due to the fact that we do not read about or study the means afforded by the reformers in other lands to make their people sober and happy. We never read books dealing with temperance problems. We carefully avoid as reeking with dangerous microbes all literature dealing with the drink question. We in a very superior way, look down with ill-concealed contempt on temperance reformers, and declare in our narrow ignorance, that their statements are mere ranting and intolerable nonsense. We seldom read anything about temperance reform, and consequently our interest is never aroused in it.

If a man never reads a sporting paper, he takes no interest in race news and turf items and sporting brevities. When he sees a race horse, he knows nothing more about him than that he is an equine quadruped: he sees no future possibilities in him: he never reflects whether the cheers of victory, or the muttered denunciations of defeat await the animal at the grand stand. He knows nothing about the pleasure or pain associated with the turf. His mind is blank as to these things: he has not sporting knowledge enough to make him think about, and take an interest in the turf battle.

So it is with the priest who never reads anything about the evils of intemperance. The misery, woe and sin caused by drink are not realised by him, as his attention was never directed to them. They were never analysed or presented to his mind. He is like a person ignorant of astronomy, who gazes on the firmament at night, but sees not the suggestive conjunctions of the planets and the fascinating order of the stars. When he meets a drunken man with a congested face, he merely sees an unfortunate fellow who walks rather inartistically and talks somewhat incoherently. He regards this sot as like the rest of men, except that in his mode of travelling home he ignores the principles of geometry. On the other hand, to the priest who has studied the temperance question, to the priest whose mind has been sharpened by the observations of others on the baneful results of excessive drinking, to the priest whose heart has been taught to feel for another's woe, whose charity urgeth him to save his fellow man from sin and sorrow—to this priest, a terrible vista reveals itself. He vividly realises the pain and confusion caused in a happy household by the entrance of that drunkard; the magnetic influences of the priest's enlightened sympathy makes him feel for the anguish of that wretch's sorrowing wife, and for the misery of his ragged children; he sees in that drunkard an instrument for the wrecking of what might be a happy home, for blighting the saddened smile on the innocent faces of his little ones; to this priest the sighs of the winter storm come laden with the heart-sobs of a grief-oppressed wife, and with the bitter oches of a feeble and aged parent. To the priest who takes no interest in the temperance ques-



tion, to the priest whose mind has never been directed to the desolation spread over our fair plains by drink—to such a priest, a public-house is merely a comfortable building, where there is much money, glaring lights, great cheer, loud laughs of merriment, and broad jokes, a pleasant place enough on a cold night. But to the priest who knows that there are nigh 18,000 such houses in Ireland, who has read and studied the terrible statistics of drunkenness, to him there appears written in large characters over every public-house a dire inscription, visible only to such as he, invisible to the careless and thoughtless passer-by. That inscription has written on it a doleful statement, viz., ‘Those who enter here often abandon faith, hope, and charity, prudence, justice, self-reliance and self-respect.’

Let us glance at the literature, which, aided by personal observation, will show us the magnitude of the drink demon’s ravages in our country. At the end of this paper will be found a list of books and pamphlets that should have a place in every priest’s shelf. In selecting a list of books no two persons would likely agree. I have been guided by two considerations—merit and cheapness. I must add another observation about them. Nearly all of them advocate total abstinence rather than temperance. No doubt some will hurl against them the cheap and handy objection that they are too extreme—too absurd. With such people it is useless to reason. For the benefit of those who might be stunned with the reiteration of this objection, let me point out that Father Mathew at first advocated temperance rather than total abstinence, but failed completely to effect any reform in the people. Cardinal Manning became a mighty power in England, and a saviour for the poor Irish exiles, when he laid aside his impracticable though moderate temperance plans, and unfurled the total abstinence banner. I know lesser lights, still in the flesh, who thought that temperance rather than total abstinence was the goal to be aimed at, but practical everyday work in the temperance field soon converted them to the total abstinence platform. Others, whilst admitting that the teaching of total abstinence is in accordance with science and practical experience, yet say it is inopportune to publicly

preach its tenets, as it exposes the whole temperance party to ridicule, and the scoffs of the tippling majority. These I answer with Father Mathew that the reformer who is guided by Christian principles should not falter through fear of ridicule. Desperate evils need desperate remedies. It is only enthusiasts and extremists that ever effected any mighty reform in face of grave difficulties. Extremists for the tenants' interests in Ireland at first excited ridicule; still it is to the extremists rather than to the moderates that the Irish farmers owe the solution of the land problem. We have literature dealing with the various phases of the drink evil—its religious, medical, social, and political aspects. At the outset I may remark that only a few, a very few, books about temperance are written by Catholics. There is not published, as far as I can find out, any collection of Father Mathew's sermons and lectures.

Unfortunately Catholics are deeply interested in the whiskey trade—'Our only trade is in the whiskey punch,' with a little porter added recently. The inevitable result is that we are very loth to restrict or cripple the demoralising trade of our friends and relations.

The Catholic Truth Society of Ireland publishes just three booklets about temperance subjects: *Our Duties to the Dead and How we Discharge Them*; *Temperance and the Working Man*; *The Life of Father Mathew*. The Catholic Truth Society of England publishes, *A Sermon on Drink*, by Bishop Ullathorne; *Temperance and Thrift*, by Canon Murnane; *Our National Vice*, by Cardinal Manning; *A Temperance Reader*, by Dr. Cruise, and a few other minor works.

Though England is like Ireland a drunken country, yet it has a strong and energetic temperance party, with a very extensive literature. Though many of the works are Protestant in tone, yet others of them may be used by any creed. Every Protestant diocese in England has its own temperance magazine and literature. There is a very extensive temperance publishing firm at the 'National Temperance Depot,' 33, Paternoster Row, London, E.C. It is now called the Ideal Publishing Union. Even a glance through its catalogue will show the gigantic efforts these sturdy English make to stem the tide of intemperance.

Another place to get temperance literature is at the Association for the Prevention of Intemperance, Offices, 4 and 5, Eustace-street, Dublin. You may secure most of the English pamphlets from these offices. The most attractive and useful booklet published by this society is Archbishop Ireland's *Message to Ireland*. I may remark that this most useful Association is very much crippled for the want of subscriptions. It promotes temperance measures in Parliament, and protects the general interests of temperance there. Hence it deserves our support. Unfortunately very few of our priests subscribe to it. It cannot be reasonably alleged that it is too Protestant in its constitution for us, as it has among its Vice-Presidents the names of two Catholic Archbishops, ten Catholic Bishops; the chairman of its executive is a Catholic. Surely this is a fair representation enough for even the most exacting. Father Mathew did not scruple to work with Quakers. These are the places where temperance works are to be had. The cheap booklets might be placed in the Catholic Truth Society box, which should be in every church.

I think that the best plan of campaign for a priest to adopt in preaching against the drink evil is to take up separately each phase of the temperance programme, and preach or give a lecture on different aspects of the question about once in every two months. Let him announce on the previous Sunday the subject of his intended discourse; let him put in the Catholic Truth Society box the pamphlets treating on this subject, and invite the people to read them. For example, take drink at wakes and funerals. Put into the hands of the congregation, on the previous Sunday, Dean Hallinan's excellent booklet, *Our Duties to the Dead and How we Discharge Them*. Then the ground is well prepared for the priest to sow the seeds of temperance reform. It will be easy to convince his flock of the wickedness and folly of this custom, and a few well-chosen words will move them to take effective steps to abolish it. Take the Anti-Treating League. On the Sunday previous to the bi-annual revival, put into the Catholic Truth Society box Father Finlay's excellent pamphlet, *The Drunkard in Ireland*, and also Archbishop Ireland's *Message to Ireland*, and earnestly urge the people to



read them. It will be then comparatively easy to move them to war against this baneful custom.

Then let the temperance preacher take up the question about drink as necessary for health, and let him distribute the pamphlet *Doctors and Drinking*, and similar works refuting the common superstition about drink as a panacea for all the ills our flesh is heir to. The temperance writings of Doctors Cruise, Cosgrove, Richardson, Kerr, and Burns, all prove that from a medical standpoint, alcoholic drinks are always useless and generally injurious. The little *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* always contains most useful extracts from the writings of eminent physicians about the medical aspects of drink. The same remark applies to the *Temperance Catechism* by Father Cullen, especially the new edition for colleges and schools.

On another occasion our temperance reformer may give a lecture pointing out the cost of the drunkard to the community, by showing the number of people in the workhouses, asylums, gaols and hospitals owing to their gross intemperance. In addition to the works already mentioned the pamphlets, *Drink and Crime*, *The Necessities of the Age*, by Father Mulcahy, are useful for this purpose. By showing the costly consequences of intemperance to the community at large, by proving the close connection between drink and crime and pauperism, we would soon rouse our people from the drunken torpor which now enthrals them.

There is a firm belief among the working classes that alcoholic drinks are absolutely necessary to sustain them in their hard work. In the appended list of booklets will be found a most useful little work entitled, *Abstinence and Hard Work*. In it are given many forcible examples of the superiority of total abstainers over even temperate drinkers in undergoing hardships, in withstanding the attacks of sickness and disease, and also in enduring toil and hunger.

If we want statistics, the *Temperance League's Annual* is the most reliable and useful for general purposes. It costs but one shilling annually. The Annual Report of the Irish Association for the Prevention of Intemperance gives us the special statistics and special information about Ireland.



The Report of the last Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws contains all that is worth knowing about temperance plans and aspirations. There is a very useful summary of the Irish case to be had at the Eustace-street offices for sixpence.

If we wish to study drink as a social evil, Father Halpin's Father Finlay's, Father Maguire's, and Father Mulcahy's pamphlets are sure to greatly enlighten us. In addition the most exhaustive, and best work that I know is the *Temperance Problem and Social Reform*, by Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell. There is a sixpenny abridged edition of their larger work which is a veritable storehouse of the most interesting facts and figures served up at first hand. This work, especially the larger edition, gives a full and complete history of temperance reform, its successes and failures in other lands. It also shows the cause of its defeats, and suggests the best solution of the licensing question. There is no better treatise on the social aspect of the drink evil.

There is another very comprehensive and interesting book entitled *The Discipline of Drink*, by the late Father Bridgett. It deals with the general aspects of intemperance: its rise and progress in the British Isles, and the laws enacted by the Church and State to suppress it. The fame of its author is a sufficient proof of its literary attractiveness.

There is a weekly review that has done more to make temperance a respectable and desirable virtue and to make intemperance quite an unpopular accomplishment—it has done more than all the temperance preachers—I refer to the *Leader*. It has brought into the temperance ranks people that the priest could not reach. It was the first public organ that called on bishops and priests to induce the young members of their flocks to take up useful trades, to enter manufacturing firms, in preference to the grog shop. We unfortunately leave manufacturing enterprises to our dissenting brethren, and devote all our time to selling or drinking whiskey and porter.

The English penny weekly papers, the *Alliance News* and the *Temperance Record*, keep us *au fait* with temperance

questions and views. It is a disgrace that there is no special Catholic temperance paper published in Ireland.

If we wish for the facts, and figures, and suggestions about special features of temperance work, *e.g.*, about Sunday Closing, we may have them from the National Temperance Depot, London.

*The Police Courts and Drink.*—Another source of information for temperance reform is had in the reports of the police courts. Herein will be read something about the sayings and doings and social life of the submerged tenth. For the priest who dearly loves his country, there is no greater stimulus to temperance work than the perusal of the police court proceedings. He would thereby feel himself impelled to go and wreck drunkeries that demoralise and criminalise our unfortunate comrades, who, only for drink, would be the most chivalrous, pure, and noble people in Europe. Now they are the most repulsive dregs of humanity in very many cases.

*Biography.*—The Biographies of Burns, Sheridan, Hartely Coleridge, Mangan, will also help very much to convince us how easy it is to give to whiskey the genius that was meant by a kindly Providence for the welfare of mankind. The life of Father Mathew by Maguire, and by Father Thomas, O.S.F.C., will also be stimulating reading.

*Sermons.*—Temperance as a sin, as a direct injury to our souls, is well described in sermons by Father Tom Burke and by Bishop Ullathorne. Those who wish to keep alive their knowledge of Greek will find in St. Chrysostom's works many able sermons on intemperance.

*The Political Standpoint.*—So far I have dealt with literature relating to the medical, economic, social and religious aspects of temperance. If we wish to know anything about drink as the fertile source of our political woes, just read the history of Ireland especially in the '98 movement. I often thought that if someone collected an account of the different occasions when the drunkenness of her sons ruined the political welfare of Ireland, he would do a great service to enlighten us as to the real cause of our enslavement and degradation.

*Four Great Catholic Works.*—There are four works of general interest written by Catholic clergymen, to which I would wish to direct special attention. The first is *The Temperance Question*, by Father Hugh O'Reilly, Newry. This pamphlet gives a special summary of the temperance case from an Irish standpoint, and gives also conclusive reasons that should urge us to establish a national temperance organization.

The second is the *Necessities of the Age*, by Father Mulcahy. This is a more ambitious, exhaustive, and learned work than the former. It sums up very clearly all the evidence against the evils and miseries of intemperance, and shows all the happiness and joy that temperance brings in its train. He calls extensively on history, medicine, political economy, statistics, and religion to prove with overpowering arguments the necessity for temperance reform. It is most useful for priests preparing sermons and lectures on the drink question.

If the two former works appeal rather to the intellect and help to convince our reason, certainly the third, Archbishop Ireland's *Message to Ireland* appeals more to the heart, and does more to make us fight and work for temperance than either of the former two. It is the most fascinating and thrilling appeal ever made to Irishmen to become sober. He worked night and day in St. Paul's, and worked successively, to suppress intemperance amongst his exiled countrymen. He induced the Irish there to give up their grog shops and take themselves to other avocations. To-day scarcely an Irish name appears over a whiskey store in his cathedral city. He detached a few priests to go through his diocese and organise it in the temperance cause. These priests are specially engaged in giving temperance lectures and sermons, and in establishing and organising temperance societies. Loving his country with an intense love he heard the voice of the Irish calling him to come again and work in their midst, and teach them the ways of temperance. He came and delivered his famous impassioned address in Cork, and his words are now echoed from sea to sea in Ireland, and are greatly helping us to regain our lost virtue of temperance.

*Father Finlay's Pamphlet.*—No priest in our day has done more to raise our people in the intellectual and industrial world than Father T. A. Finlay. The publication in pamphlet form of his views about the drink question, is in my opinion one of his best deeds for the spiritual and national good of his countrymen. He points out in the most forcible language the three great causes of drunkenness in Ireland: the excessive number of public houses; 'the easy tolerance which public opinion extends to the drunkard's offence'; the custom of 'treating.' With pitiless and biting logic he proves the drunkard's crime against faith and fatherland. He states hard facts and quotes relentless figures that should humble us to the dust. He brushes aside as worthless drivel many of the newspaper apologies for our intemperance. He gives us, if not the gift, at least the necessary data, to see ourselves as others see us. He shows us too clearly 'who has made so many women weep, and so many children mourn, who has brought so many families to destitution, and scattered their members in beggary or exile.' As his name is known in every home in the land, as the friend and benefactor of the Irish people, his words must naturally have great weight with them. This penny booklet should be in every home in every parish in Ireland. Let our priests see to it.

*The Father Mathew Union.*—There is another source of temperance literature and influence—one that contains, in my view, the hope and strength of the temperance cause. I refer to the Father Mathew Union of total abstaining priests. This Union has just held its first general meeting in Cork, and at it several most useful papers were read. These are now published in the Report of the Union. I fondly hope that all our priests will read them, for they are written by priests specially for priests. The organisers of this Union founded it, because they remembered that even Father Mathew completely failed to reform the Irish, till he followed the Quaker Martin's advice, and gave up his glass of punch, then so necessary for sociality. It is to be devoutly hoped that all our total abstaining priests will join immediately this Union, and make it—as it might and should be—a great power in the land; make it the centre



and source of temperance reform, which, if it comes at all, must come, not from religious orders, not from Protestant and Catholic laymen, but, to be permanent and universal, it must come from the secular priesthood of Ireland. Those who wish to know about the rules and conditions of membership in this Union should communicate with its able and zealous secretary and organiser, nay its founder, Rev. Walter J. P. O'Brien, C.C., Doneraile, County Cork.

*Refining Amusements the Handmaid of Temperance Reform.*—I think every thoughtful person will admit that we Irish have a rather strong craving for fun, merriment, and laughter. The children of sorrow, we try to escape from sadness and care by recourse to artificial cheerfulness. And it must also be admitted that alcohol does, at least temporarily kill care, and give an anæsthetic to sorrow. Hence, if we really wish to reform our poor people, we must give them some substitute for alcohol to narcotise their grief and numb their aching pains of disappointment. All the reports of the Royal Commissions on the drink question, all successful temperance reformers, lay it down as a first principle that we must give the people a counter attraction to the public-house. There is no use in telling our flocks to stick to the pump and teapot, if we do not supplement their attractiveness by giving them at least occasionally some entertainment that will kill the dread monotony of their dull and cheerless lives. We must have recreation rooms, clubs, dances, and concerts for our people. If you read any treatise on the social problem, you will see that it is laid down 'that man is a social being desiring concourse with his fellows: his constitution demands the alternation of work and play, of strain and relaxation, of expenditure of work and renewal of power—in a word, that continual recreation that is necessary to restore the elasticity of life.'

*The Sordid Environments of the Poor.*—Often when the poor man returns from work, his ears are pained alternately by the Billingsgate of a thriftless wife, and the puling of a neglected child. His weary eyes rest alternately on untidy rooms and ragged children. His instincts urge him to seek solace in his misery by a visit to the whiskey store of the

glaring lights and warm comfort. Unless we priests make life more cheerful, joyous, and attractive for the poor, we cannot wonder that our people fly from our shores as from a leprosy-infected country; we cannot wonder that they seek the public-house as a change and relaxation from the sordidness and irksomeness of their daily lives. At the bottom of the emigration and temperance problems, is the entertainment-for-the-people question.

*John Burns' Views.*—Hear what John Burns, the labour leader and temperance advocate says:—‘Anything that will give working people more pleasure will help in the way of temperance. Let those who want to make the people more temperate provide games, libraries, and opportunities for social enjoyment. Give them pleasure and they will not seek the public-house.’ The Royal Commission for Scotland reports that the spread of education, and the extension of cheap literature adapted to the wants of the people, aided by the establishment of lectures, reading rooms, and schemes for national recreation have done much to withdraw the operatives from the public-house.

*A Practical Suggestion.*—Our National Schools might and should be used, not merely to instil knowledge into the minds of the mere youth, but also to keep the adults on the path of truth and sobriety. Concerts, magic lantern, cinematograph, dancing—all should be employed frequently to amuse, instruct, and edify our flocks. These amusements might be made not only to pay their way, but also to raise the necessary expenditure to convert our school-rooms from their present condition, and make them centres whence our youth may learn cleanliness, order, discipline, and above all a healthy ambition to have their surroundings cheerful and attractive.

The excellent treatise by Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell, already mentioned, is the best work I know that treats of the social remedies for intemperance.

*The Homes of the Poor.*—Another source of information relating to temperance is had from the book of humanity itself. Visit the houses of the poor. In the drunkard's abode you behold the look of dazed and helpless despair crushing down

the healthy ambition of its inmates. Then turn to the smart and tidy home of the temperate man and woman, and behold how the smiles of joy replace the tears of woe. Look also into the workhouses and hospitals, and see for yourself how the one points the moral, and the other adorns the tale of the temperance reformer.

*General Conclusion.*—Each priest can do something to redeem our poor country from its drunken bondage. All the priests united in aims and actions, can make it truly great, glorious, and free, if only they rise from their dreamy indifference and work in very deed for the glory of God and the honour of Erin.

At the beginning of the last century Norway was the most drunken country in Europe. Now it is the most sober. It was thus transformed principally by the holy zeal of its Protestant clergy. The Sweden of to-day consumes only half as much as the Sweden of the beginning of the nineteenth century. This is the fruit of temperance organisation.

The work of the Catholic priesthood is a ministry of love. Love for our fellow man is the great test of religion according to Christ Himself. By this we are known to be His true followers in that we love our brethren. The aim of every true Catholic, according to St. Francis, should be to leave the world at least a little better than one finds it. It is our bounden duty to see that the web of religion be woven into the entire fabric of our social life. We must change, if needs be, the social customs, and national traditions that make our people intemperate and unthrift. Ireland may indeed be easily changed by the magic touch of the teetotaler hand. I see in the future the Erin of our youthful dreams and fancies, Erin the fair mother of sober and brave men and of virtuous and holy women. I see the wrinkles of drunken sorrow leave her queenly brow, and the tears of woe disappear, and the shadows of moral obliquity pass away. Her calm, holy, and majestic face is beaming with the beauty of all the virtues, but especially of the great cardinal virtue of temperance. When the petty nothingness of this selfish world is lighted with rays from eternity, we will then see how good and

noble it is to make even small sacrifices to answer our Saviour's and our country's call, and to work and labour for faith and fatherland.

J. FENELON, C.C.

PENNY BOOKLETS FOR THE MASSES.

(1) *Our Duties to the Dead and How We Discharge Them*; (2) *Temperance and the Working Man*; (3) *Life of Father Mathew*; (4) *Temperance Catechism*; (5) *The Drunkard*, by Archbishop Ullathorne; (6) *Total Abstinence from Catholic Point of View*; (7) *Temperance and Thrift*, by Canon Murnane.

The foregoing from the Catholic Truth Society, 27 Lower Abbey-street, Dublin.

(8) *Message to Ireland*, by Dr. Ireland; (9) *Doctors and Drinking*; (10) *The Medical Side of the Drink Question*, by Dr. Richardson; (11) *Facts about Alcohol*, by Dr. Ridge; (12) *Drink and Crime*; (13) *Alcoholic Drinks not Necessaries of Life*, by Dr. Carpenter; (14) *Is Alcohol a Necessity?* by Dr. Richardson; (15) *Naked Lights*.

The foregoing from National Temperance Executive, 4 and 5 Eustace-street, Dublin.

(16) *The Drunkard in Ireland*, by Father Finlay.

TWOPENCE.

*The Temperance Question*, by Father O'Reilly, Newry.

THREEPENCE.

*The Necessities of the Age*, by Father Mulcahy.

MORE ADVANCED WORKS.

SIXPENCE EACH.

(1) *Abstinence and Hard Work*; (2) *Dialogues on Doctors and Drinking*; (3) *Intemperance and its Bearing on Agriculture*; (4) *Temperance Problem and Social Reform* (Abridged); (5) *Summary of Recommendation of Majority and Minority Reports*; (6) *Summary and Analysis of Evidence of Irish Case before late Royal Commission*.

The foregoing from the National Temperance Office, 4 and 5 Eustace-street, Dublin.

(7) *Intemperance*, by Professor Campbell.

ONE SHILLING EACH.

(1) *The Beverages we Drink*; (2) *National Temperance League's Annual*; (3) *The Case for Sunday Closing*; (4) *Abstinence and Hard Work*; (5) *Temperance Lesson Book*, by Dr. Richardson; (6) *Life of Father Mathew*, by Maguire, abridged by Rosa Mulholland.



All the foregoing from the National Temperance Office, 4 and 5 Eustace-street, Dublin.

(7) *Temperance Lessons*, by Dr. Cruise and Father Cologan ;

(8) *Temperance Speeches*, by Cardinal Manning.

Those to be had from the Catholic Truth Society, 69 Southwark Bridge-road, London, S.E.

The Ideal Publishing Union, 33 Paternoster-row, London, E.C., is the great Temperance publishing firm. Works also had from National Temperance Executive, 4 and 5 Eustace-street, Dublin.

Since the above paper was written, I see the Catholic Truth Society has published Monsignor Hallinan's booklet, *The Drink Question : its Relation to Church and State*. It is a clear and well-written summary of the Drink Problems. As it is a timid and very temperate appeal to priests to take an active part in the Temperance movement, it is of little use to the laity.

J. F.

## THE IMAGINATION OF A PHILOSOPHER

WERE proof of the extreme difficulty of attaining to abstract truth needed, none more convincing could be advanced than that *à posteriori* argument with which the history of philosophy furnishes us. For, to confine ourselves to one branch of metaphysics, what is the witness of the past with regard to psychological science? We find the greatest thinkers of nearly every age in the world's life devoting themselves to the study of their own mind; they have analysed its activities and synthesised the results of their analysis. They have compared their conclusions with those of the philosophers who preceded them, have met in discussion with their contemporaries and passed on the fruits of their labour to their posterity; and yet more than two thousand years of reflexion and discussion have failed to produce any unanimous explanation, we do not say of *all*, but of a single fundamental fact of psychology. The majesty of mind has so appealed to some philosophers that thought came to be regarded by them as the only reality; for them, all else that seems to be is but the evanescent creation of the mind that thinks it. Nature itself is but a picture projected by the mind, the senses but a delicate cinematograph of illusion. Others, conversely, see in Matter the first and only cause of all that is, and they have degraded mind itself to the level of a throbbing nerve, a vibrating molecule. Mr. Huxley writes: 'Even those manifestations of intelligence and feeling which we rightly name the higher faculties, are not excluded from the classification of *phenomena resolvable into muscular contraction*.' 'The brain,' says Voght, 'secretes thought as the liver does bile.'

The very existence of Idealism, Materialism, Agnosticism, Scepticism, and the other *isms* which dominate the various schools of thought is a proof of the real difficulty of the task a philosopher sets before himself. Where so many contradictory and contrary opinions prevail, evidently much error

must exist. Though all may be more or less wrong in their conclusions, all cannot be right; for true philosophy cannot be at strife with itself. The path of truth has assuredly been cut by many a cross road, and not a few original thinkers have mistaken the way in their journey through the land of abstract thought, turning down some by-lane only to find themselves face to face with the intellectual precipices of Scepticism and Agnosticism or helplessly lost in a confusing labyrinth of mutually destructive conceptions.

It must be admitted by Catholics that the philosophy with which the Church most closely identifies herself and in the terminology of which many of her dogmas have been formulated, has consistently avoided such mishaps. Guided by a faith which guarantees the spirituality and immortality of the soul and its power of knowing God and the world He has made, Scholasticism has been enabled to discover and formulate, in support of these truths, reasons which have escaped the notice of thinkers not so protected from error. The consistency and definiteness of scholastic teaching on the main facts of philosophy is in as striking contrast with the hazy vagueness and conflicting conclusions of many of the systems which oppose, where they do not ignore it, as the clear dogmatic teaching of the Church is with the chaotic disorder and confusion of heresy.

Modern philosophy shuns definition, it abhors syllogism, denies the very existence of first principles, it will not tie itself down to any series of fixed propositions. It is always eluding you; it promises to take shape in the instant next to come; and when you have followed it far and grasped nothing, laughingly it tells you that inquiry is better than results, and bids you be glad that you have had the exercise of the chase after a phantom. I think anyone who has made a study of the 'Absolute' will appreciate what I mean.<sup>1</sup>

Harmonizing better than any other philosophy with the plain truths of the Gospel, Scholasticism deserves at least more consideration than it has received outside the Church during the last three hundred years. A recent lecturer at Trinity College, Dublin, speaks of Idealism as 'the only philosophy which can now be truly called living.' To him

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<sup>1</sup> Rev. Joseph Rickaby, *Month*, Jan., 1901, p. 3.

Scholasticism, if he gave it a thought at all, is dead ; a curiosity interesting as a mediæval relic but without any appeal to modern intelligence. In his *Renaissance Studies* Mr. W. S. Lilly becomes positively tedious in his repeated allusions to 'effete Scholasticism.' The same contemptuous attitude was more explicitly emphasised by Mr. Frederic Harrison some years ago in a philosophical tournament in the pages of the *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, where the only reply he vouchsafed to Mr. Wilfred Ward's able criticism of his *Religion of Humanity* was a footnote in which he stated—

In whatever form Mr. Ward may care to present it, Catholicism is not, in my opinion, within the field of serious religious philosophy. If the thinking world is not yet ready to accept mine, it has so long ago decided to reject his, that the question need hardly be reviewed in the *Nineteenth Century*.

However, interest in Aristotelianism at the English universities is said to be increasing, and the growing dissatisfaction with that modified form of Hegelianism which has for some years contented Oxford thinkers is perhaps a sign of better times.

The results of such a change of front cannot but be beneficial, even though they may not appear as rapidly as we might be tempted to expect. Perhaps for many years to come the only manifestation of a closer consideration of Aristotle's principles will be a more destructive criticism of other systems and a keener application of the rules of logic to the analysis of those great psychological and theological problems which in these days occupy the minds of so many thinkers. Men may become less ready to accept theories whose plausibility partly consists in their unintelligibility and antagonism to the common sense of the plain man. A little of that wholesome rationalism, with which the scholastics have been branded, may be gradually absorbed by those who are tempted to study the commentaries of the schoolmen, and the perusal of these works cannot but prove a healthy antidote to the credulity which has so long accepted assumption for proof and rhetoric for logic.

It is not our purpose in the following pages to prove the truth of Catholic psychology or Ideology. Still less will it



be our endeavour to compile a guide book or map of philosophical truth. We shall be contented with an attempt to raise a danger signal, to erect a sign-post at one of the more puzzling cross roads that meet the student along the way of abstract truth. Having described the path by which we consider the truth is to be reached, we shall follow for a short distance down the lanes of error some of those English philosophers whose ultimate conclusions are destructive of all sane philosophy. We would point to confusion between *sense* and *intellectual* knowledge as the cause of the chief difficulties of abstract thought, and therefore as the most prolific source of philosophical error. We do not contend that this confusion is the sole cause of the divergence of view. Though Descartes, Leibnitz, Kant, and Hegel differ so widely from each other and from the scholastics in their final results, they all agree in considering the distinction between sensile and intellectual perception as the fundamental fact of psychology.

Before turning to those whom we consider to have erred through failing to observe this distinction, we shall briefly summarize those points of contrast between man's higher and lower cognitive faculties which Catholic philosophers rightly believe to be all important. With St. Thomas we hold that the operations of *sense and imagination* differ from those of the *intellect* proper, especially in this that the senses and imagination act through and with dependence on a bodily organ, the brain, whereas the intellect acts without any *intrinsic* dependence on matter. The intellect has no bodily organ of thought. If thought depends largely on the state of the brain, it is not because of any intrinsic dependence of the intellect on the brain but because this latter is the organ of the imagination on which the mind depends *extrinsically* as a condition for its operation. The imaginative picture which ever accompanies and is so closely knit to thought is that which is so often confused with thought itself. The limits of the former are imposed on the latter with disastrous results. To clearly distinguish the idea from the material conditions which necessarily accompany it is the task of every philosopher who would pass securely through that region of truth which is the proper sphere of metaphysical speculation.

From its dependence on matter it follows that the sense can know only material objects and qualities, while the spiritual nature of the intellect and its freedom from this intrinsic dependence on an organ of thought enables it to attain also in some wise to spiritual objects. Again, the sense cannot reflect on the contents of sensation and analyse its action. Its operation is always direct, ever reaching out to the object, never turning back on itself; the intellect, on the contrary, can return in thought upon itself and its operations. The eye cannot see its own sight, but the intellect can think about its own thought. It is conscious of an *ego* which it distinguishes clearly from the objective world into touch with which the senses bring it. Nor can the senses form judgments or deduce reasons. Predication and syllogising are beyond the scope of the lower faculties.

Lastly, and here we come to the most important point of difference, the sense only brings us to the knowledge of singular things, concrete groups of phenomena according to their impression on the bodily organs: the intellect is capable of abstracting from all individuating marks and represents objects under their universal and general aspects. Our *intellect* is incapable of representing to itself that precise difference which distinguishes one of a species from its fellow. We have, properly speaking, no singular ideas—that is, ideas which represent that last determining attribute which constitutes a nature as belonging to A rather than to B. When the mind is said to form an idea of an individual this only signifies that by implicit reflexion on the sense-knowledge whence the idea has been abstracted, the mind recognises the connection of its universal idea with certain particular and individual sense objects and is thereby led to classify those objects as possessing the nature represented by the idea. If we think of an individual man, Peter, the *intellect* represents his humanity, the *senses* picture that particular height, colour, shape, which the man has; we are conscious that our idea originated from this particular group of sensations and so we know the individual. Our knowledge is composite—particular and universal. The particular or individual element is furnished by the sense, the universal or general by the intellect. Hence the possibility of the predication, ‘Peter is a man.’

The *phantasm* or imaginative picture into which the interior collecting or grouping faculty (*sensus communis*) gathers the various phenomena reported through the several external senses, always represents some individual concrete thing by means of its accidental qualities. At times the outlines of the phantasm will be vague and indistinct—as when we endeavour to picture a typical specimen of a class which contains many different individuals, and this vagueness may lead us to confound the phantasm with the universal idea. A passage from Mr. Herbert Spencer's *First Principles*, which we shall presently quote, will illustrate the confusion. The indefiniteness of the phantasm, however, is not a true universality; for if the picture imagined is to fit the different individual objects, its shifting outlines must be modified and defined in turn for each to which it is to be applied. We can easily conceive that a cloud with a little shaping from the wind could successively be 'almost in the shape of a camel,' 'like a weasel,' and 'very like a whale'; yet without the required modifications it could never, even to the most diplomatic of courtiers, resemble in profile such varied objects as those suggested by Hamlet.

The universality of an *idea* is not derived from any such vagueness or indistinctness. Its contents can be predicated without alteration of all the individuals which share the common nature it represents. Inadequate though it be, it is true as far as it goes; nor does it contain, even vaguely and indistinctly, those points which differentiate one individual from another. Thus, if we think of *man* our mind represents a nature common to all human beings. This nature does not, within certain limits, involve a definite size, shape, or colour; and in thinking of man as such we mentally abstract from these various accidental qualities. We find no difficulty in grouping under this general notion even a collection of such diverse specimens of the race as showmen gather together on their platforms of 'Human Freaks.' The imagination or fancy is paralysed in the attempt to represent a single type which would stand for each and all; for what material representation could display any common quality possessed by the 'living skeleton' and the 'fat boy,' the giantess and the



dwarf, the 'boneless contortionist' and the 'limbless wonder.' Any attempt to merge all points of difference would result in the failure to retain in the imagination any resemblance to the several monstrosities. This results precisely because the points of difference are accidental objects of sense, while the common nature is substantial and is the proper object of intellectual cognition.

Let us here illustrate the effects of confounding the sense picture with the idea proper. The passage we have selected from Mr. Spencer's works is all the more noticeable as, occurring at the beginning of his chapter on Ultimate Religious Ideas, it affords a premise whence the coryphæus of modern Agnosticism concludes that a state of doubt is the only reasonable attitude of mind with regard to the existence and nature of a First Cause.

The use of the words *thought*, *imagination*, *idea*, *conception*, *perception*, as synonymous, expressing one simple process of knowledge would be pardonable in other contexts where less accurate use of terminology is needed; in the following passage the indiscriminate use of these words veils a confusion of thought and inaccuracy of analysis which leads to the surrender of the very powers of the mind to know truth.

When, on the seashore, we note how the hulls of distant vessels are hidden below the horizon, and how, of still remoter vessels, only the uppermost sails are visible, we *realize* with tolerable clearness the slight curvature of that portion of the sea's surface which lies before us. But when we seek *in imagination* to follow out this curved surface as it actually exists, slowly bending round till all its meridians meet at a point 8,000 miles below our feet, we find ourselves utterly baffled. We cannot *conceive* in its real form and magnitude even that small segment of our globe which extends a hundred miles on every side of us, much less the globe as a whole. . . Yet we habitually speak as though we had an *idea* of the earth—as though we could *think* of it in the same way we think of minor objects. What *conception*, then, do we form of it? the reader may ask. That its name calls up in us some state of consciousness is unquestionable: and if this state of consciousness is *not* a conception properly so-called, what is it? The answer seems to be this: We have learnt by indirect methods that the earth is a sphere; we have formed models approximately representing its shape and the distribution of its parts; generally when the earth is referred to, we either *think*



of an indefinitely extended mass beneath our feet, or else, leaving out the actual earth, we *think* of a body like a terrestrial globe; but when we seek to *imagine* the earth as it really is we join these two *ideas* as well as we can: such *perception* as our eyes give us of the earth's surface we couple with the *conception* of a sphere. And thus we form of the earth not a conception properly so-called, but only a *symbolic conception*. A large proportion of our conceptions, including all those of much generality, are of this order. Great magnitudes, great durations, great numbers, are none of them *actually conceived*, but are all of them conceived more or less symbolically; and so, too, of all those classes of objects of which we predicate some common fact.<sup>2</sup>

He then illustrates by examples the mode of procedure when we wish to think of any class of men—say farmers. 'We are content,' he tells us, 'with *realizing in imagination* some few samples of it, nor do we enumerate *in thought* all those individuals contained in the class.' From a study of his examples he concludes that 'as the number of objects grouped together in *thought* increases, the concept formed of a few typical samples joined with the notion of multiplicity, becomes more and more a mere symbol; not only because it gradually ceases to represent the size of the groups but also because, as the group grows more heterogeneous, the typical samples thought of are less like the average objects which the group contains.'

Before continuing to quote the rest of the passage let us stop for a few brief comments on Mr. Spencer's analysis.

It cannot have escaped our readers that at the very second step he passes from the impossibility of realizing in *imagination* to the impossibility of *conceiving* or having an *idea* of the earth; we cannot *imagine*, therefore we cannot *think*. It is quite true that the mind cannot realize the vast bulk of the earth, for we are only said to realize that of which we have a vivid pictorial representation in the sensitive imagination. Though mathematicians fail to realize in this sense the large numbers they may be dealing with, the absence of such realization in no way lessens their certainty of the results of their processes; nor is truth less true because inadequately represented in imagination. Mr. Spencer's

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<sup>2</sup> *First Principles*, chap. ii.

analysis of the 'state of consciousness' is but a description of what the lower part of the mind effects in attempting to accompany thought proper with a sensitive picture. Yet this picture is not the essential part of knowledge. The mind may know the relative positions and sizes of every country, river, mountain, and sea without being able to represent them all in imagination; nor is it necessary to join *ideas* together in order to be able to *imagine*. When Mr. Spencer concludes that 'great magnitudes, great durations, great numbers are none of them actually conceived,' we must join issue with him. The mind knows the meaning of the symbol, 1,000,000, and it finds no greater difficulty in *conceiving* a million men than it does in thinking of five. The only difficulty experienced is that of *imagining* such a vast crowd. Again, it is not necessary to enumerate samples of a class in order to have a universal idea. Having been told that farmers are men who devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil, I can think of the class 'farmer' without enumerating in thought any single individual of that class. Indeed any such enumeration already presupposes the existence of the idea; how else could individuals be recognised as suitable for classification in the same group? The idea does not represent, even indistinctly, individual farmers; it but represents the notion 'cultivator of the soil,' prescinding entirely from the number of individuals who can be truly thus designated: hence the concept proper is *not* 'formed of a few typical samples joined with the notion of multiplicity;' nor is the idea less representative of the average object which the group contains in proportion to the size of the group of farmers. Even though I may get the notion 'cultivator of the soil' from the consideration of a single typical British farmer, the notion is verified no less fully and truly in cultivators of the soil who differ from my British specimen in everything except their common nature and employment.

But let Mr. Spencer proceed. Passing on to consider the validity of this symbolic concept he concludes that

Those concepts of larger magnitudes and more extensive classes which we cannot make adequate, we still find can be

verified by some indirect measurement or enumeration. Even in the case of such an utterly *inconceivable* object as the solar system, we yet, through the fulfilment of predictions founded on symbolic conception of it, gain the conviction that this symbolic conception stands for an actual existence and, in a sense, truly expresses certain of its constituent relations.

Speaking later of conceptions like that of God he continues :

When, however, our symbolic conceptions are such that no cumulative or indirect processes of thought can enable us to ascertain that there are corresponding actualities, nor any predictions be made whose fulfilment can prove this, then they are *altogether vicious and illusive* and in no way distinguishable from pure fictions.

Starting from this psychological principle Mr. Spencer very naturally concludes that we can know absolutely nothing about God.

Self-existence [he tells us] necessarily means existence without a beginning ; and to form a conception of self-existence is to form a conception of existence without a beginning. Now, by no mental effort can we do this. To conceive existence through infinite past time implies the conception of infinite past time which is an impossibility.

Creation is rejected mainly because 'the non-existence of space cannot by any mental effort be *imagined* ; we are unable to *conceive* its absence either in the past or future. And if the non-existence of space is absolutely inconceivable, then, necessarily its creation is absolutely inconceivable.' The notion of eternity is equally impossible : 'As unlimited duration is inconceivable, all those formal ideas into which it enters are inconceivable.'

In reality Mr. Spencer's ultimate criterion of truth at this period of his work is the capacity of sense to test and prove it. Later, even this criterion fails as he comes to treat of the essential relativity of all—even sense-knowledge. His argument is not unlike that of the scientist who denies the existence of the soul because no chemical analysis has ever reached it, no scalpel disclosed its secret hiding-place. The solution of his difficulties lies in the truth we have been emphasising—that inability to *imagine* is not necessarily inability to *conceive or think*, and that knowledge may be true without



comprehensively exhausting all the intelligibility of the object under consideration, and without reaching the pictorial vividness of realisation in the interior sense. If the existence of creatures which have had a beginning requires the existence of One who is without beginning, the mind is forced to the conclusion that an Eternal exists. Even though the limits of finite thought cannot represent in a single positive note the perfection of eternity, it is capable of uniting the negation of the idea of 'beginning' with the idea of 'existence,' and of predicating this new negative-positive concept '*existence without beginning*' of Him who is postulated by the existence of creatures. Similarly the notions of self-existence and of other attributes of God result logically. The negation of those limits which finite nature imposes on created perfections does not take away *all* the notes which constitute them. The mind can abstract from the finitude of some perfections, just as it can consider one perfection apart from the qualities which inseparably accompany it in real existence. We do not pretend that the mind can ever represent in one positive note all that an infinite perfection involves. Its idea is inadequate and analogous, but that does not hinder it from being true. As physicists can confidently affirm that violet light rays oscillate some 699,000,000,000,000 times a second, though their imagination lags behind in its effort to keep pace with the spiritual activity of the mathematical intellect which truly conceives this large number; as the mind can picture to itself a perfect sphere of gold whose radius is a million miles in length, can reason about such an object and accurately gauge its other dimensions and value at the current standard, though the imagination is helpless in dealing with such a vast object; so the intellect is capable of knowing spiritual truths in spite of the total inability of the lower faculty to attain to them. Why, then, seek to *imagine* the non-existence of space? If space be a reality we can as easily deny existence to it in the past as we do to other realities. If it be no reality why speak of its creation? Mr. Spencer would find it just as difficult to *imagine* his own non-existence as that of space, yet he would not thereby conclude either to his own eternity in the past or the inconceivability of the beginning of his own life.



If *duration* is a positive notion, what prevents the mind, when logically forced to do so, from denying limits to the duration of Him who is self-existent? We know what *duration* is; we know what a limit is: cannot we compound the two notions and truly affirm that the duration of a self-existent being must be limitless, or a self-existent being is Eternal?

Again, let us remind our readers that we are not asserting any capacity in the human mind to know God in precisely the same way that it knows creatures. Man must ever remember the inadequacy of his knowledge. The negative element in his thoughts about God keep him from a too anthropomorphic application to the Infinite of predicates which he recognises as essentially finite in their significance; but his power of abstraction enables him to think of some perfections which remain objects of thought after the note of limit and imperfection has been omitted. 'The power to know' is a perfection which may be considered apart from the infinite or finite. Infinite 'power to know' is an attribute of God. Man thus can prescind from all that makes created perfections incompatible with infinity: the positive residue he predicates of God along with the denial of imperfection.

It is not our purpose to follow Mr. Spencer any further. He is an example of a thinker whose imagination has tripped him on the very threshold of metaphysics. His analysis looks plausible enough but it contains errors and false assumptions at nearly every step in the process. His terminology may be defended on the plea that a founder of a philosophical system has a right to invent terms where those already in existence fail to express his ideas, but in Mr. Spencer's case it is the ideas and conclusions we dissent from primarily. Confused terminology in his case has but clothed an equally confused notion of the processes of thought.

Bishop Berkeley, the Idealist, rejects with greater explicitness the faculty of abstraction, which we believe to be so necessary an endowment of the human mind. Where this power is denied the distinction between the testimony of sense and of intellect cannot be preserved. He writes:

Whether others have this wonderful power of abstracting

their ideas they best can tell ; for myself, I find I have a faculty of *imagining* or representing to myself the ideas of those particular things I have perceived, and of variously compounding and dividing them. I can imagine a man with two heads or the upper parts of a man joined to the body of a horse. I can consider the hand, the eye, the nose—each in itself abstracted and separated from the rest of the body. But then whatever hand or eye I imagine, it must have some particular shape and colour. Likewise, the idea of a man that I frame to myself must be either a white or a black or a tawny, a straight or a crooked, a tall, or a low, or a middle-aged man.

We have here again an analysis which is correct as far as it testifies to the processes which accompany thought ; as an attempt to fully describe thought itself, it is incomplete. Surely, Bishop Berkeley ought to have recognised that permanent notion which is present to consciousness and is the principle by which he recognises the common humanity in the white, black, tawny, straight, crooked, tall, low, and middle sized men, whom his imagination pictured successively as he wrote the words. He might vary almost every sensible constituent of those imaginative pictures and yet recognise a common substratum in the individual objects enumerated. But let him chose as examples more abstract notions. Would he not classify Justice, Mercy, Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance and Faith as *virtues*? Yet, what sensible image could he form to represent a type of these six different qualities? What does he *imagine* when he attaches a meaning to the word ‘virtue.’ If all six are virtues in an equally true sense, the meaning of the word must be no less applicable to one than to the others and must accordingly omit all notes especially characteristic of one to the exclusion of the rest. To the common name corresponds a true universal idea. Without this it would be impossible to apply the term ‘virtue’ with any discrimination. Speech would lose its whole meaning, and would be less reasonable than the songs of the birds or howling of wild beasts. Not merely would the power of philosophising be lost to man were he deprived of his universal ideas, but all else that distinguishes him from the lower animals would be equally destroyed. Law would never enter his consciousness ; conscience—as distinct from

blind instinct—would have no existence for him; moral goodness and evil would never come to his knowledge.

We are far from asserting that those who deny the existence of universal ideas plunge themselves into this intellectual and moral chaos. *Expellas furcâ tamen usque recurret!* In the very page which asserts the impossibility of such ideas evidence of their existence occurs in every second word. No amount of argument about the mode of thought can alter the natural action of the mind. Like the spectacles perched safe upon the nose of the absent-minded student who imagines them lost, these ideas ever help in the search for themselves and enable the philosopher to affirm confidently after a careful scrutiny of the contents of the *imagination*: 'Dear me! certainly they are not there!'

This same fallacy leads Hume to affirm that the results of Geometry are only approximations.

When geometry decides anything concerning the proportions of quantity, we ought not to look for the utmost precision and exactness. None of the proofs extend so far. It takes the dimensions and proportions of figures justly, but roughly and with some liberty. Its errors are never very considerable, nor would it err at all did it not aspire to such absolute perfection.

He here evidently confounds the necessarily inaccurate diagram by which the student steadies his imagination, with those ideal lines, triangles, or surfaces to which Euclid's arguments alone refer, and he would make the accuracy of mathematical truth depend on the capacity of the imagination to picture, or of the hand to trace accurate geometrical figures. Hume's sceptical position is in glaring contradiction to the common sense of mankind. He says: 'In all the incidents of life we ought still to preserve our scepticism. If we believe that fire warms or water refreshes *'tis only because it costs us too much pains to think otherwise.'*

Mills' phenomenal Idealism and the denial of all necessary and analytic truth springs from the same radical fallacy. 'General concepts we have, properly speaking, none.' Hence, as necessary truth deals with general concepts we are incapable of arriving at any but contingent objects of knowledge.

It would be possible to multiply illustrations from philosophers of almost every age, from the early Epicureans down to modern Agnostics, to show that the imagination tends to hamper the mind in the pursuit of abstract truth. In some cases the error which we have been combating seems, at first sight, to be only accidental to a system, but a closer inspection usually reveals it as fundamental.

We close this short paper with some words of Principal Caird, which might fitly be addressed to all who devote themselves to the study of philosophy or theology:

In our scientific or speculative enquiries we are seldom completely emancipated from the tendency to substitute illustration for argument, description for definition, pictorial images addressed to the imagination for pure ideas grasped by the reason. We are thus ever in danger of carrying the conditions that are applicable only to the sensuous form in which all language is steeped, into the sphere of purely spiritual things, and so of ascribing to the latter the relations and limitations that pertain only to things of sense and sight.<sup>3</sup>

FRANCIS WOODLOCK, S.J.

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<sup>3</sup> *Fundamental Ideas of Christianity*, ii., p. 173.



## THE MISSIONARY SPIRIT

IF the cultivation of the supernatural life is the first necessity in a priest, that of the missionary spirit certainly holds the next place. The missionary spirit is the expression of an apostolic vocation, and implies not merely a love for men to which we are all bound, but something more than this, namely, an active longing desire for their spiritual welfare, a thirst for souls which nothing can satisfy, but direct labour and toil, for their salvation. The missionary spirit is quite distinct from intellectual training. The highest intellectual culture, and the most brilliant accomplishments are no guarantee for its possession. It would, therefore, be a matter of most serious regret, if its cultivation were lost sight of, or not sufficiently appreciated in our seminaries, in the strenuous efforts which are now being made to compete with those who strive for the higher standards of proficiency in natural sciences. Where the missionary spirit is not cultivated, *pari passu*, with intellectual culture, the priest's life on the mission is almost sure to prove a failure. Hence experience has shown that in most instances men of high intellectual power have failed to achieve in the missionary field the striking success of priests whose culture has not been above the average, but who have been blessed with the gift of the missionary spirit. This, our subject, is then one of high importance ; but before we touch upon its characteristic features let us cast our eyes on our divine model Jesus Christ, who possessed, as He only could, all the perfections of the priesthood.

Wearied with His journey, He sat down by the well of Jacob. It was about the sixth hour. His disciples had gone into the city of Samaria to buy meats. They had but one thought, and that was to satisfy their natural craving for food, and on their return, judging their divine Master by their own feelings, they prayed Him, saying: 'Rabbi, eat. But He said to them, I have meat to eat which you know not. The disciples, therefore, said to one another: Hath any man brought Him to eat. Jesus said to them: My meat is to do the

will of Him that sent Me, that I may perfect His work' (John iv. 34). Theirs was a natural hunger; His a supernatural one; a divine craving for the fulfilment of the will of His heavenly Father, by the accomplishment of His mission for the salvation of souls. This longing desire, this burning thirst for souls, ever consumed Him from the moment of His birth, and was expressed in the words of the Psalmist: 'Behold I come, in the head of the book it is written of me, that I should do Thy will, O my God I have desired it, and Thy law in the midst of my heart' (Psalm xxxix. 8, 9).

This desire continued with Him all through life, even to His last breath on the cross, when He cried out in His bitter agony: 'I thirst.' His disciples had yet to learn what this thirst was. This hunger for souls they had never felt. This gift was to be imparted to them on the day of Pentecost, when the divine fire would descend upon them, illuminating their intellects, and filling their souls with celestial gifts, together with the missionary spirit. These gifts were not to remain idle and unproductive, but were to be used by them for renewing the face of the earth—the conversion of the world. For the Holy Spirit is active in its operations, and is likened to a river fertilizing with its living waters a barren soil. 'The water that I will give him, shall become in him a fountain of water springing up into life everlasting' (John iv. 14).

Enkindled with this missionary spirit the apostles went forth to undertake this work of the apostolate, becoming fishers of men, as their divine Master called them. 'Come after Me and I will make you to become fishers of men. Venite post me et faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum' (Mark i. 17). Like their divine Master they were to exercise a twofold activity, like fishermen using at one time their nets, at another their hooks to catch their fish. Like Him they were to labour not only for the spiritual welfare of the masses that crowded around them, but also for the salvation of each individual sheep, that had either strayed away from the fold, or had never as yet heard the word of life. In the holy Gospels, our Lord has left recorded for our example many beautiful instances of this latter activity. The centurion had but to ask Him to heal his servant, when He at once offered to go to him. 'I will

come and heal him. *Ego veniam et curabo eum* (Matt. viii. 7). The afflicted father pleads for his daughter, without delay Jesus rises up to follow him. 'And rising up he followed him. *Et surgens sequebatur eum*' (Matt. ix. 19). The paralytic appeals to His loving mercy, when He immediately heals his soul and body, and sends him home with the consoling words: 'Thy sins are forgiven thee. *Remittuntur tibi peccata tua*.' (Matt. ix. 2). He converts the Samaritan woman at the well, and Magdalen at His feet finds a defender against the unkind judgment of Simon. 'Many sins are forgiven her, because she hath loved much' (Luke vii. 47). He is not ashamed to be seen in the company of sinners, and to hear the reproach of the Pharisees. 'And they said, behold a man that is a glutton and a wine-drinker, a friend of publicans and sinners' (Matt. xi. 19). 'And it came to pass as He was sitting at meat in the house, behold many publicans and sinners came and sat down with Jesus and His disciples. And the Pharisees seeing it said to His disciples: Why doth your Master eat with publicans and sinners? But Jesus hearing it, said, They that are in health need not a physician, but they that are ill' (Matt. ix. 10, 11, 12).

Again, the poor blind man Bartimeus, who sat by the roadside begging, has but to raise his voice, and Jesus breaks away from the crowd, to give him the sight of his eyes, together with the light of faith. The woman taken in adultery is forgiven, and He sends her away uncondemned with the words, 'Go and now sin no more' (John viii. 11). He invites Himself to the house of Zacheus to gain his soul. 'Zacheus make haste and come down, for this day I must abide in thy house. This day is salvation come to this house, because he also is a son of Abraham. For the Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost' (Luke xix. 5, 9, 10). It is at night that He receives Nicodemus, and the dying thief on Calvary is absolved in the agony of death. 'Amen, I say to thee, this day thou shalt be with Me in paradise' (Luke xxiv. 43). In Him the distinctive qualities of a good shepherd shine forth, qualities so strikingly described by the prophet Ezechiel. 'For thus saith the Lord God, behold I Myself will seek My sheep and will visit them. As the shepherd visiteth the flock in the day, when

he is in the midst of the sheep that were scattered, so will I visit My sheep, and will deliver them out of all the places where they have been scattered in the cloudy and dark day. And I will bring them out from the peoples, and will gather them out of the countries, and will bring them to their own land, and I will feed them in the mountains of Israel, by the rivers, and in all the habitations of the land. I will feed them in the most fruitful pastures, and their pastures shall be in the high mountains of Israel, there shall they rest on the green grass, and be fed in fat pastures upon the mountains of Israel. I will feed My sheep, and I will cause them to lie down, saith the Lord God. I will seek that which was lost, and that which was driven away I will bring again, and I will bind up that which was broken, and I will strengthen that which was weak, and that which was fat and strong I will preserve, and I will feed them in judgment' (Ezekiel xxxiv. 11-16). How beautifully is here portrayed the twofold activity of the Good Shepherd. His tender care, not only for the whole flock, but for each individual sheep of His fold. So far, then, we have considered our divine Master as our model. Let us now see what are the characteristic features of the missionary spirit.

The first is that of self-sacrifice. 'The good shepherd giveth his life for his sheep. Bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus suis' (John x. 11). That is to say, he gives himself entirely to his work for souls. Being large-hearted and generous in the service of his flock, he never seeks to limit his labour for them by the hard and fast rule of doing only what strict duty demands, or by discharging that duty without relish and only to be clear of the obligation. To act thus is to imitate a hireling, who has no care for the sheep. A priest devoid of the virtue of self-sacrifice, who puts his own comfort and ease before the welfare of his flock is a great sorrow. God by His prophet denounces such a one in forcible terms of reproach. 'Woe to the shepherds of Israel that feed themselves: should not the flocks be fed by the shepherds? You eat the milk and you clothed yourselves with the wool and you killed that which was fat; but My flock you did not feed. The weak you have not strengthened, and that which was sick you have not healed, that which was broken you have not bound



up, and that which was driven away you have not brought again, neither have sought that which was lost ; but you ruled over them with rigour and with a high hand ' (Ezekiel xxxiv. 2, 3, 4). It is not so with the priest of self-sacrifice. He lives to spend himself and to be spent in the service of his flock, for he is not unmindful of the words of the beloved disciple : ' In this we have known the charity of God, because He hath laid down His life for us ; and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren ' (1 John iii. 16).

Father Frassinetti says : ' It would seem that the spirit of divine charity infused into the heart of an apostolic priest, who has been called to the pastoral charge, cannot find a more fitting counterpart than in the love implanted by nature in a mother's breast, which enables her to comply with a mother's duties.' A mother's first thought is for her children : she feeds them, she sacrifices herself for them, she labours and lives for them. Their sufferings and trials are hers ; her happiness is in their happiness ; they are ever the loving objects of her care, and in the hour of danger they naturally fly to her for protection and help. So it is with the true pastor of souls endowed with the missionary spirit. He feels impelled personally to feed his flock, to nourish them with the fruit of the Good Spirit, wherewith he nourishes himself, to excite in them a holy love of a life of grace ; to clothe them with the robes of Christian virtues ; to enrich them with the merits of eternal life ; to wash them from the stains of sin ; to recreate them with the joys and delights of piety, and lastly to provide for their spiritual wants and to defend and to console them in danger and sorrow. Be they rich or poor, rough or gentle, educated or ignorant, it matters not. He looks deeper than the surface, and under the poor raiment of the needy, and the poverty of their surroundings, as well as under the rich attire and refined manners of the wealthy, he sees in all, souls that have been redeemed by the blood of the Lamb ; and all, therefore, are equally dear to him. In his love for souls, he is a man without nationality, of no country, without prejudice ; Jew or Greek, it is the same to him when souls redeemed by Christ are to be saved. As St. Paul the Apostle says so well ' There is no distinction of Jew and

Greek, for the same is Lord over all, rich unto all that call upon Him' (Rom. x. 12).

The second characteristic feature is that of mortification. This is implied in a life of self-sacrifice. The priest blessed with the missionary spirit looks not for ease and comfort in this life. He accommodates himself readily to the circumstances of the place, in which he may be. He is content with humble fare, is not a man of likes and dislikes, and therefore is not fastidious and hard to please in diet. He is temperate in the amount, and modest in the manner of eating and drinking. St. John Chrysostom says, 'That a stomach seething with wine and dainty fare, easily boils over with lust. *Venter mero et cibis exaestuans cito despumat in libidines.*' A priest's life, therefore, should be regulated by the maxim of St. Paul the Apostle: 'All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient. All things are lawful for me, but all things do not edify' (1 Cor. x. 22-23).

Hence in the use of legitimate things, whether it be in reading or study, in his recreation and pastimes, on vacation, at home or abroad, he should never lose sight of the maxim of St. Paul, and thus the priestly character would never be in danger of reproach, but would preach with a silent eloquence to all who see him. The spirit of a mortified priest is at once seen on entering his presbytery, which is in harmony with the injunction of the Fourth Provincial Synod of Westminster, which says: 'The beauty of cleanliness with simplicity should shine forth in the houses of priests, and nothing in their furniture or ornaments should savour of luxury or worldliness; no ludicrous and foolish pictures, or such as are unbecoming to a priest should be seen there; but in each of his rooms there should be an image of our Lord crucified, or of the Most Holy Mother of God, or figures of saints, or pictures illustrating the life of our Saviour or sacred history.' It is sad indeed to see the apartments of a priest made gay with over-mantels laden with photos, nicknacks, and pictures of no religious character; his room set out more in the manner of a young lady's boudoir than that of a priest, whereas his room ought to be not the expression of worldliness, but of the piety of the owner. Again, his dress should be regulated by great propriety. The

Fourth Provincial Synod of Westminster says: 'The dress of ecclesiastics ought to distinguish them from laymen; but not confound them with the heterodox ministers. It should be black or of a dark shade, and they should not under pretext of travelling, return to the ignomy of the secular habit, from which they have been freed.' The missionary spirit should at once shrink from aping the ways of people of the world by going as near as possible to their style and manner of dress. St. Bernard says, 'That to lay aside the livery of the priesthood is a sign of mental and moral deformity. *Deformatis mentis et morum indicium est.*'

The third characteristic of a missionary spirit is a freedom from a hard, strict, and inflexible routine of duty. A priest is a spiritual father, and is addressed as such by his people. Now, the spirit of a father brooks no delay when his children are in danger or call for help. The spiritual wants of his flock are his first thought. Study, meals, recreation, even prayer itself are made subservient to their spiritual interests. No matter when the calls come, whether for a baptism, the confessional, or the sick, even though they come at unseasonable times, they are never met with unkind or hard words on account of the want of consideration on the part of those who bring them: but occasion is used for a kind remonstrance as to their duty in future, and for the exercise of the virtue of patience. People should never be sent away embittered by unkind language. experience has shown that many children have been left without baptism for years because the friends who brought them having come too late, were sent away to come again another day. The inconvenience to the priest of having to repeat the ceremony is not a sufficient reason for so dismissing them, especially in these days, when the spirit of religious indifference is so common even amongst our own people.

The fourth feature of the missionary spirit is detachment from earthly goods, by which a priest is safeguarded from the greed of money. Covetousness is ruinous to a priest, and the cause of great scandal to the people. 'Many have been brought to fall for gold,' says Ecclesiasticus, 'and the beauty thereof hath been their ruin. Blessed is the man that hath not gone after gold, nor put his trust in money nor in treasure'



(Ecclesiasticus xxxi. 6-8). Again in the tenth chapter we read, 'There is not a more wicked thing than to love money; for such a one setteth even his own soul to sale.' The missionary spirit does not regard the priesthood in the light of a trade, or as a means of comfortable living. The thought of hoarding up money for himself, or of spending it on his own comfort, never enters the mind of a priest of detachment, but with a generous hand, he is kind in giving to the poor, and to the works of God. To such a priest, it matters not where he is, he is equally at home and happy in the city, town, or country, wherever obedience may require him to be. The pecuniary side of things is never made an excuse with superiors for refusing an appointment. His filial confidence in God and in His loving providence is his sustaining grace; for he knows full well that God will never fail to prosper His own work, and to bless the efforts of those who labour for His glory. The words of his divine Master to His apostles are his encouragement: 'When went you without purse and scrip and shoes did you want anything? But they said nothing' (Luke xxii. 35, 36). This disinterested detachment God sooner or later is sure to bless with success. Father Frassinetti says, 'that in proportion as we grow in detachment, so we shall see the abundance of God's succour increase.'

The fifth feature of the missionary spirit is the cultivation of the habit of prayer. A priest must be a man of prayer if the blessing of God is to rest upon his work, and the whole tenor of his life should tend to this end. Thus we read in the Acts of the Apostles: 'We [the Apostles] will give ourselves continually to prayer and the ministry of the word' (Acts iv. 4). Therefore, a priest's life ought to be a life of prayer. His meditations, his preparation for holy Mass, the great Sacrifice itself, his visits to the Blessed Sacrament, his Rosary, the Divine Office, and the administration of the Sacraments should all combine to constitute within him a life of intimate union with God—a union from which to draw all his strength, grace, and energy to perform faithfully his many sacred duties. In this way his whole life is made to consist of a blending together of the active with the interior life, which is the expression of the missionary life of his divine Master. By this union he is more—



over constituted the graceful model and ornament of his flock, and fulfils the noble end of his vocation. Cardinal Manning in his *Eternal Priesthood* says, 'It is to be always borne in mind that a priest is ordained *ad exercendam perfectionem*, that is, not only to be perfect, but by his own life and by the action and influence of his life, in word and deed, on others, to exhibit and to impress on them the perfection of his divine Lord. 'Ye are the light of the world,' signifies that as light manifests itself by its own radiance, so the priest must shine by the light of a holy life, revealing a holy mind. 'Ye are the salt of the earth' signifies the personal possession of sanctity which resists corruption, and the communicating of the same resistance to others by contact and influence.' It is then only by such a union, which is the fruit of prayer, that a priest can hope to attain the perfection demanded of him by his vocation as a missionary priest.

The sixth characteristic of the missionary spirit is the tone of conversation. The following are the words of the *Imitation of Christ*, speaking of the priest: 'His conversation should not be with the popular and common ways of men, but with the angels in heaven or with the perfect men on earth.' The priest, therefore, who possesses the missionary spirit has much to say about the interests of his divine Master. He is fluent on all that appertains to his priestly office. His church, his schools, the sick, the poor, the confraternities, the *status animarum* of his people, these form the subject matter of his conversation. Questions of politics, unless they affect the Church or Christian education of the people, have little or no interest for him. His habit of thought is not drawn from newspaper reading, the fiction literature of the day, or the latest society novel. He loves truth rather than fiction, and the pabulum on which he nourishes his mind is drawn from Holy Scripture, the lives of the saints, and standard works that bear the impress of sound Catholic literature.

Such are some of the more prominent features of the missionary spirit. The inspired writer of the Book of Ecclesiasticus says, 'What manner of man the ruler of a city is, such also are they that dwell therein' (Ecclesiasticus x. 2). There is also

a saying, *qualis rex talis grex*. The same may be said of a priest who possesses the missionary spirit. His life is reflected in the life of his people. If he be the ornament of his flock, his character will be manifested in them. The good pastor goes before his sheep, they follow him naturally. 'Ante eos vadit et oves illum sequuntur' (John x. 4). He knows them and they know him. This mutual knowledge begets mutual interest, and a love for one another. It is the holy intimacy in the order of grace between an affectionate father and his spiritual children. Such a priest is as a treasure brought from afar. He rises high above ordinary men in the spirit of his vocation, because he has been endowed with the apostolic missionary spirit. And as his divine Master was the unspotted mirror of God's majesty and the image of His goodness, 'speculum sine macula Dei majestatis, et imago bonitatis illius' (Sap. vii. 20), so the good priest in his own poor measure is the *speculum et imago* to the souls committed to his pastoral care.

The training, therefore, of candidates for the priesthood in the missionary spirit is one of great importance, and one which cannot be too highly appreciated and fostered by the superiors of our seminaries and colleges. It cannot be denied that all priests are not called to the missionary life. Some are better suited, by reason of their brilliant accomplishments and more cultivated intellects, for literary work, or for the professorial chair in our colleges, where they will find a wide field for the exercise of their gifts in the training of students for the work of the apostolate. But there is one thing which should never be forgotten, that all students cannot be educated up to the standard of professors. All minds are not equal to the effort or able to bear the strain. When this is lost sight of, experience has shown, that constitutions have been impaired, health permanently injured, vocations sacrificed, and good men lost to the field of missionary enterprise. Brilliant success in studies is no guarantee of the missionary spirit. The Curé d'Ars, though possessed of very moderate abilities, did more for religion and the salvation of souls than all the learned doctors of the Sorbonne. Father Louis Lallemand says, 'That in the time of St. Bernard, how many bishops were there, how many prelates, and doctors distinguished for their knowledge and

prudence, nevertheless God did not cast His eyes upon them. He went and took the Abbot of Clairvaux in his solitude, to employ him in the highest affairs of the Church.'

The Rev. John Talbot Smith, LL.D., treating of this subject says, 'It is not the duty of the seminary to send forth savants or bookworms but cultured men endowed with the missionary spirit. The savant belongs to the university, and the bookworm to the dust of book shelves.'

There is one other matter in connection with this subject which demands our attention. There is nothing that dries up the spirit of devotion so much and kills the missionary spirit so quickly as over-eagerness in study. Father Lallemand, S.J., in his instructions to teachers of young religious urges them 'not to excite their pupils to too great eagerness in study; next to sin and the passions nothing is so injurious to a soul as over eagerness in study. While you think to push forward these poor children in knowledge, you will cramp the spirit of God within them, and force them to leave His ways, to throw themselves into those of nature, and into a state at once profane and opposed to their vocation.' Great care, therefore, must be taken not to give the preponderance of encouragement in favour of advancement in study. But everything should be done by retreats and conferences to cherish and cultivate the missionary spirit amongst the students. The reading of the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, the *Missionary Record*, *Catholic Missions*, Challoner's *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, and the lives of apostolic men should be encouraged and a habit of mind created among the students which will remain with them in after life, when they enter on their missionary work. The clerical student seldom sees the missionary life but in one light. Everything to him is glowing and bright. A beautiful church, a kind rector or parish priest, grand processions, solemn benedictions, high Mass with rich cope and vestments, crowded congregations, a splendored choir, and if he happen to be musical, himself leading it to the admiration of the congregation and to his own special contentment. These form the vision of the future, which fills the mind of the young priest in the first glow of his ordination. Generally he knows nothing of the trials of missionary life, and is little



prepared to meet its difficulties. It has never occurred to him how great a strain is involved in meeting the liabilities of a poor mission, and how humiliating a task it is to be always begging. It has never occurred to him that he will, perhaps, receive little or no sympathy from his superiors, but plenty of criticism, even from his brother priests, and condemnation without mercy if he does not succeed. To a young priest who has never been trained in the missionary spirit these things act as a great disenchantment, and often lead to despondency, to restlessness, and to discontent.

From what has been said, let us realize how important it is that our clerical students should be brought up with an apostolic missionary spirit, that when they enter on their sphere of labour they may be prepared to cope with the trials and difficulties and disappointments which are sure to beset their path. and as God has been generous to them in the copiousness of grace and in the full knowledge of the mysteries of faith, they in return may give themselves generously to the work of souls; 'Having freely received, they may freely give' (Matt x. 8). Father Lallemant, S.J., says that the words of the beloved disciple, 'He that hath the substance of this world and shall see his brother in need and shall shut up his bowels from him, how doth the charity of Christ abide in him?' (1 John iii. 17), are to be understood also of spiritual goods, and should fill with trembling many religious and ecclesiastics, who having received so large a share of the riches of the science of salvation, and of the knowledge of grace, see millions of souls perishing in ignorance of the truths of faith without being touched by their misery and without imparting to them of their abundance. This consideration affected most powerfully the heart of St. Francis Xavier, as he testified in some of his letters.

Let this consideration quicken within us a new life of zeal, for no matter how prosperous a mission may be, with its church well kept, its schools well attended, with its flourishing confraternities and its crowded confessionals, even so, the missionary spirit is absolutely necessary to a priest who has the cure of souls, and it must never be allowed to die out, unless souls are to be left to perish. Near at hand, even within the



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sound of the church bell, there are scenes of drunkenness and strife, neglect of holy Mass and of Confession and Communion, and children, too, without Christian education, whilst immorality is rampant on every side. To conclude, let us pray the divine Spirit to impart to our candidates for Holy Orders the apostolic missionary spirit, and let us do all in our power to preserve it within ourselves, to the greater glory of God, the salvation of souls, and our own sanctification.

C. J. CANON KEENS.

## SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING INTENTION

WE need not go beyond the words of our Lord in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. vi. 22 ; vii. 17), for a proof of the important bearing of our intention on the morality of our actions. In the sight of God the aim, the intention, with which we perform our actions, is of more importance than what we do. This is a commonplace of theology and of asceticism, and it is admitted by all who profess to guide their conduct by the maxims of the Gospel. But though it be admitted on all hands that the intention is the principal part of our deliberate actions, there is considerable difference of opinion among theologians on several points in the general doctrine of intention. Theologians do not usually discuss these points together, but it may be worth while to consider them together as forming a portion of one body of doctrine, every part of which throws light on every other part. I propose, then, to take St. Thomas principally for my guide, and bring together for the purposes of comparison and mutual illustration a few points in the doctrine of intention.

Intention is nothing more than an efficacious wish or desire of an object ; it is a movement of the will towards an end, with reference to the means which must be taken in order to attain that end.

The ends of our intentions are manifold and various as are human nature and human actions, but there is one which is common to all men, and in regard to which we are not free. Man necessarily desires happiness, and if happiness be taken in the abstract, it forms the object of all our endeavours. The will is attracted only by what seems good ; it is moved only by what seems likely to contribute to our well-being ; in every action, then, we seek for happiness, and cannot do otherwise. If we found ourselves in presence of an object which was wholly good, we could not but love and

desire it; and so when the blessed find themselves face to face with God, the infinite source of all goodness and beauty, they are necessarily ravished with love of Him; they cannot but love Him.

However, as no other object but God is wholly good, and as in this world we cannot see Him face to face, and the attainment of the possession of God is accompanied by labour and difficulty, so while we live on earth, though we necessarily seek happiness, yet we do not seek it necessarily in any one object; in other words, we are free to determine the end of our intentions according to our choice.

If we accept the teaching of St. Thomas, we are under a moral obligation to direct all our actions to the honour and glory of God.<sup>1</sup>

In this sense he interprets the words of St. Paul.<sup>2</sup> However, this must not be understood as imposing on us an obligation to form an actual intention of doing our every action for God. This would be requiring more than man's weakness can bear. It will be sufficient if we refer every action to God virtually. St. Thomas explains his mind very fully and clearly on this point in various places of his works. Thus in *De Caritate*, a. 11, ad 2, he says:

Ad secundum dicendum, quod omnia actu referre in Deum non est possibile in hac vita, sicut non est possibile quod semper de Deo cogitetur, hoc enim pertinet ad perfectionem patriae; sed quod omnia virtute referantur in Deum, hoc pertinet ad perfectionem caritatis ad quam omnes tenentur. Ad cujus evidentiam considerandum est, quod sicut in causis efficientibus virtus primae causae manet in omnibus causis sequentibus, ita etiam intentio principalis finis virtute manet in omnibus finibus secundariis: unde quicumque actu intendit aliquem finem secundarium, virtute intendit finem principalem; sicut medicus dum colligit herbas actu, intendit conficere potionem, nihil fortassis de sanitate cogitans; virtualiter tamen intendit sanitatem propter quam potionem dat. Sic igitur cum aliquis se ipsum ordinat in Deum sicut in finem, in omnibus quæ propter se ipsum facit manet virtute intentio ultimi finis, qui Deus est; unde in omnibus mereri potest, si caritatem habeat. Hoc igitur modo Apostolus præcipit quod omnia in Dei gloriam referantur.

<sup>1</sup> St. Thomas, *Sum.* I.-II., q. 100, a. 10 ad 2

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. x. 31.

In the next paragraph St. Thomas distinguishes a virtual from an habitual intention of pleasing God :

Ad tertium dicendum, quod aliud est habitualiter referre in Deum, et aliud virtualiter. Habitualiter enim refert in Deum et qui nihil agit, nec aliquid actualiter intendit, ut dormiens ; sed virtualiter aliquid referre in Deum, est agentis propter finem ordinantis in Deum. Unde habitualiter referre in Deum, non cadit sub praecepto ; sed virtualiter referre omnia in Deum cadit sub praecepto caritatis, cum hoc nihil aliud sit quam habere Deum ultimum finem.

It is then necessary and sufficient, according to St. Thomas, to refer all our actions to God virtually. What he means by *virtually* is clear enough from the passages just quoted, but he explains his meaning more fully and more clearly in other places, especially in his commentary on the Second Book of the Sentences, Dist. xl., q. 1, a. 5. There we read the following passages :

Ad sextum dicendum, quod non sufficit omnino habitualis ordinatio actus in Deum : quia ex hoc quod est in habitu nullus meretur, sed ex hoc quod actu operatur. Nec tamen oportet quod intentio actualis ordinans in finem ultimum sit semper conjuncta cuilibet actioni quae dirigitur in aliquem finem proximum ; sed sufficit quod aliquando actualiter omnes illi fines in finem ultimum referantur ; sicut fit quando aliquis cogitat se totum ad Dei dilectionem dirigere : tunc enim quidquid ad seipsum ordinat, in Deum ordinatum erit. Et si quaeratur quando oporteat actum referre in finem ultimum hoc nihil aliud est quam quaerere quando oportet habitum caritatis exire in actum, quia quandocumque habitus caritatis in actum exit, fit ordinatio totius hominis in finem ultimum, et per consequens omnium eorum quae in ipsum ordinantur ut bona sibi.

Ad tertium dicendum, quod non solum actus caritatis est meritorius, sed etiam actus aliarum virtutum, secundum quod gratia informantur ; licet meritorii esse non possint, nisi secundum quod reducuntur in finem caritatis. Non autem oportet quod semper actus in finem illum reducantur ; sed sufficit ad efficaciam merendi quod in fines aliarum virtutum actu reducantur ; qui enim intendit castitatem servare, etiamsi nihil de caritate cogitet, constat quod meretur, si gratiam habet. Omnis autem actus in aliquod bonum tendens, nisi inordinate in illud tendat, habet pro fine bonum alicujus virtutis, eo quod virtutes sufficienter perficiunt circa omnia quae possunt esse bona hominis.



It is clear, then, that St. Thomas teaches that it is of obligation to refer all our actions to God, our last end. However, this obligation is sufficiently fulfilled by one who acts from any motive that is not bad ; for in thus acting he intends something which he sees to be good, as every human act is either good or bad, according to St. Thomas. But in directing his intention to something that is good, he is necessarily, though only virtually, not actually, directing his intention to God, his last end ; for the very notion of moral goodness implies conformity to man's last end.

St. Thomas further teaches that in him who is in the grace of God, in him who fulfils all the obligations which bind him under pain of grave sin, every act that is ethically good is also meritorious of life eternal. For among our other obligations there is the positive precept of charity, by which we are bound at times to think of God, and elicit an act of love towards Him. By this act of charity we have referred ourselves and all our actions to God, and so unless it be recalled by one that is contrary to it, or by mortal sin, which destroys the bond of friendship between God and the soul, it continues to exert its influence on our subsequent actions, and informs them with the spirit of charity. It thus makes them supernatural and meritorious of a crown of glory in heaven.

The precept of charity obliges us to love God with all our heart, mind, and strength, but our condition here on earth does not permit us to be always engaged in actually thinking of God and forming acts of love towards Him. The limitations of our nature and the necessities of life, as a rule, only permit us to observe this greatest of all commandments by never doing anything directly contrary to it, and by fulfilling it virtually, that is, by virtually directing our every action towards God in the sense explained by St. Thomas. However we are bound at all events occasionally to think of God explicitly, and to give Him the service of our explicit love and affection. This St. Thomas teaches, as we have already seen, and it is certain doctrine, approved and enforced by the Church. Nevertheless, it seems impossible to say when and how often we are bound under pain of sin to form explicit

acts of the love of God. St. Thomas<sup>3</sup> teaches that at least when a man begins to have the use of reason he then begins to think about his last end, and that he is then bound under pain of mortal sin to refer his whole being and all his actions to God. If he do this, he thereby obtains the sanctifying grace of God if he was still in original sin; if he fail to do it he commits his first sin, so that one who is still in original sin cannot commit venial sin before he has committed mortal sin.

Although this opinion of St. Thomas has always had its supporters, especially among his followers, yet it does not seem ever to have won the common assent of theologians. The opinion seems not sufficiently grounded in revelation, reason, or experience. At some time, indeed, after coming to the use of reason, and after learning his obligations towards God, his Creator and Lord, every man is bound to give himself to the service of God by an act of love; but other theologians think that the particular time when this obligation must be fulfilled under pain of grave sin cannot be so exactly determined as St. Thomas lays down. All are agreed that we must frequently during our lives form explicit acts of the love of God, but it seems impossible to determine more accurately at what intervals this obligation must be fulfilled under pain of sin.

Intimately connected with the obligation of referring our actions to our last end is the question concerning the influence of our intention on the moral quality of our actions. Some early Christian writers misled by a false interpretation of the words of our Lord in the Sermon on the Mount, taught that the intention with which we perform our actions is everything, the actions themselves are of no moral quality. Thus the unknown author of the *Opus imperfectum* on St. Matthew, generally published with the works of St. Chrysostom, says:

Ergo servus Dei non potest facere malum; et si videtur tibi aliquando quod male fecit, considera caute ipsum malum ejus, et invenies eum ab intus esse bonum. Nam ex proposito bono, etiam quod videtur malum, bonum est, quia propositum bonum

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<sup>3</sup> *Sum.* I.-II., q. 89, a. 6.

malum opus excusat ; malum autem opus bonum propositum non condemnat.<sup>4</sup>

Cassian, too, in his *Collationes* writes :

Non enim Deus verborum tantum actuumque nostrorum discussor et iudex, sed etiam propositi ac destinationis inspector est. Qui si aliquid causa salutis aeternae ac divinae contemplationis intuitu ab unoquoque vel factum viderit vel promissum, tametsi hominibus durum atque iniquum esse videatur, ille tamen intimam cordis inspiciens pietatem, non verborum sonum, sed votum dijudicat voluntatis, quia finis operis et affectus considerandus est perpetrantis, quo potuerunt quidam, ut supra dictum est, etiam per mendacium justificari, et alii per veritatis assertionem, peccatum perpetuae mortis incurrere.<sup>5</sup>

Peter Lombard had perhaps these and other authors in mind when he wrote in the Second Book of the Sentences :

Sed quaeritur, utrum omnia opera hominis ex affectu et fine sint bona vel mala. Quibusdam ita videtur esse, qui dicunt, omnes actus esse indifferentes, ut nec boni nec mali per se sint ; sed ex intentione bona bonus, et ex mala malus sit omnis actus.<sup>6</sup>

As it is clear from these extracts, the doctrine that the end justifies the means had its supporters in very early times among Christian writers ; it was indignantly and triumphantly refuted by the great St. Augustine, whom St. Thomas and orthodox teachers in the Church have always followed on this point.

In order to have a clear notion of what influence the intention has on the morality of an action, it may be worth while briefly to summarise St. Thomas's doctrine on the point.

He first of all examines the human act in its totality,<sup>7</sup> and teaches that it derives its moral quality from the object, the end, and the circumstances. The object is that about which the human faculty is engaged when the action is produced, or it is that which the faculty produces or does ; it is the substance of the action considered in the abstract, and apart from its circumstances. Thus, in the act of theft, the object is the taking away of something which belongs to another, and if this be considered in relation to right reason, it is obvious that it is an act which is contrary to it ; or theft is morally wrong because the object of the action is against right reason, which is the rule of human actions.

<sup>4</sup> Hom. xix.

<sup>5</sup> *Collat.* xvii., c. 17.

<sup>6</sup> *Dist.* xl.

<sup>7</sup> *Sum.* I.-II., q. 18.



The end, on which the morality of an action also depends, is the motive of the action, the reason why it is done. It is obvious from what has been said above that the moral quality of an act depends on its motive or on the intention with which it is done ; it is bad to steal, it is worse to steal in order to be able to commit adultery, according to the well-worn illustration.

Finally, the circumstances which accompany an action give it its moral quality, as well as the object and the end. It is wrong to steal, but to steal the Church plate, or the pittance on which a poor man depends for the support of himself and his family is worse. To play in the field at the proper time is right, to play in church is wrong. After laying down these principles about the morality of human acts in general, St. Thomas considers in detail the morality of the two chief component parts of a complete and consummated act, the interior act of the will and the exterior act. When a theft is committed, the thief first of all determines to commit the crime, and then sets about its execution. The crime morally considered is one completed human action, but physically it is composed of many, both interior and exterior acts. The will determines upon the theft, and then sets the external faculties in action to accomplish it. We are chiefly concerned with the interior act of the will.

The will is set in motion by some object or end which it wishes to attain. Thus one may come to know of a case of distress, and natural good feeling prompts the desire to relieve it. The relieving of distress in the case is the object towards which the will tends, and which causes the will to form the intention of giving relief. This object, therefore, is the cause of the action of the will, it is the term from which the action starts, and it is the goal towards which the action is directed. And as all motion is specified by the term to which it is directed, so the motion of the will, which we call intention, receives its moral quality from the object or aim to which it tends. So the intention to relieve distress is an act of virtue, and an intention to do an injury is vicious. In other words, the morality of the intention depends upon the object or end in view.



When the will has formed the intention of relieving the case of distress, the next step is to discover the means. If the means are not at hand, it is necessary to work to obtain them, the work undertaken for so charitable a purpose will be coloured by the object for which it is undertaken, and itself become an act of charity. The means are desired for the sake of the end, they become the object of the will because of their connection with the end, they therefore put on the moral quality of the end. In the same way, if the end be bad, means, though good in themselves, taken with a view to attain such an end, become corrupted and bad. And so to work in order to obtain money to indulge in debauchery is itself wrong and wicked.

And here we touch upon the celebrated question whether a good end justifies wrongful means. In the sphere of politics there is too much reason to suppose that the view that the end does justify the means is largely acted upon by statesmen of all parties and nationalities. Macchiavelli, who has given his name to the theory, lays down the principle with the utmost candour :

A prince, therefore, is not obliged to have all the forementioned good qualities in reality, but it is necessary he have them in appearance ; nay, I will be bold to affirm, that having them actually, and employing them upon all occasions, they are extremely prejudicial, whereas having them only in appearance, they turn to better accompt ; it is honourable to seem mild, and merciful, and courteous, and religious, and sincere, and indeed to be so, provided your mind be so rectified and prepared that you can act quite contrary upon occasion. And this must be premised, that a prince, especially if he come but lately to the throne, cannot observe all those things exactly which make men be esteemed virtuous, being oftentimes necessitated for the preservation of his State to do things inhumane, uncharitable, and irreligious ; and therefore it is convenient his mind be at his command, and flexible to all the puffs and variations of his fortune : Not forbearing to be good, whilst it is in his choice, but knowing how to be evil when there is a necessity. . . . Let a prince therefore do what he can to preserve his life, and continue his supremacy, the means which he uses shall be thought honourable, and be commended by everybody, because the people are always taken with the appearance, and event of things, and the greatest part of the world consists of

the people: those few who are wise, taking place when the multitude has nothing else to rely upon.<sup>8</sup>

More briefly, but perhaps still more to the point, he says in his *Discourses on Livy*:

And this ought to be considered and observed by every man whose office it is to advise for the good of his country; for where the safety of that is in question no other consideration ought to be coincident, as whether the way be just or unjust, merciful or cruel, honourable or dishonourable, but postponing all other respects, you are to do that which shall procure the safety of your country, and preservation of its liberty.<sup>9</sup>

It is by no means an uncommon thing to meet with an almost equally explicit approval of the doctrine that the end justifies the means in the daily Press and in modern periodical literature. Such approvals are specially frequent in more or less appreciative accounts of the careers of such men as Bismarck and Rhodes. But Macchiavellianism is not confined to politicians, nor of course did unscrupulousness first appear in the days of the crafty Florentine. As we have already seen there are traces of the doctrine that the end justifies the means in several writers of the early ages of the Church.

However, with a few obscure exceptions, theologians have constantly rejected the view. They point out with St. Thomas that an action is not morally good merely because the end or intention is good; it must be good in all particulars; *Bonum ex integra causa, malum ex quocumque defectu*, was the axiom applied in the case. And so if a man steals in order to relieve a case of distress, he does wrong though his intention be never so praiseworthy. It is wrong to steal, and it remains wrong though the theft be committed with a good intention, and the otherwise good action of relieving distress is vitiated by the wrongful means employed to do it, for the will to relieve distress by robbery is a vicious will. As the Society of Jesus is constantly being attacked on this point, it may not be out of place to quote the words in which Vasquez, one of its greatest divines, sums up the doctrine which it has always taught:

Ad testimonia auctoris imperfecti in Matthaeum et Cassiani,

<sup>8</sup> *The Prince*, c. 18.

<sup>9</sup> Book iii., c. 41.

dicimus, hos Patres excusari non posse ab errore in quem ignorantia lapsi sunt; existimarunt enim opus alioquin natura sua malum reddi posse bonum ex bono fine; intelligere autem videntur, etiamsi ex bono fine non mutetur natura objecti, et aliarum circumstantiarum, ex quibus malitia alias oriretur: et hac ratione defendit Cassianus licitum esse mentiri ob aliquem honestum finem, et necessitatem: quam sententiam late impugnat Augustinus in lib. contra mendacium ad Consentium, praesertim cap. 7, ubi etiam haereticam appellat. Multa etiam congerit contra illam Gratianus 22 q 2, estque manifeste contra Paulum ad Romanos 3, ubi damnat eos, qui dicebant, faciamus mala, ut veniant bona, quorum damnationem dicit esse justam. Recte igitur docet Augustinus omnia opera, quae constat esse peccata, bene fieri non posse, etiamsi fiant ex recta alias intentione, alia vero opera, quae ex se peccata non sunt, recta effici ex recta intentione.<sup>10</sup>

Although a good intention cannot make a bad action good, yet it may sometimes so change the circumstances that the action is no longer forbidden. Thus, to take away a pistol from a would-be homicide in order to prevent him from committing a crime is a good action, while it would not be justifiable without a good intention. Some authors, with Vasquez, on the same grounds defend the opinion that one may lawfully intend to kill an unjust assailant of life or limb in self-defence. All admit that it is lawful to kill the assailant in such a case, if this be necessary for self-defence; many theologians, however, with St. Thomas, teach that the object of the intention should be self-defence, and not the killing of one's adversary. For directly to take away human life, even the life of a criminal, is only lawful when done by public authority; it is never permitted, they say, to private individuals. It is, however lawful to defend oneself, and if in doing this the aggressor is slain, his death must be imputed to him, it was not directly intended. The point is somewhat fine, and perhaps not very practical, but certainly this view seems to be more in harmony with principles admitted by all theologians.

Another point much controverted among theologians is whether the intention can make an external act formally unjust, which without the intention would not be so. Thus

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<sup>10</sup> In I.-II. S. Thomæ, Disp. 68, c. 2.



theologians discuss the question whether a thief would be bound to compensate another who was accused of the theft committed by him, when the thief foresaw and intended that the other should be accused of the crime. All agree that he would be so bound, if in any way he procured the accusation of the other. The question concerns the case in which he did nothing to cause the imputation except commit the crime. Similarly, would a man *in foro conscientiae* and before being condemned to do so by lawful authority, be obliged to make reparation to a neighbour who had been injured by falling into a man-trap, set in a retired corner where no one was likely to go, but with the intention that anyone who did go there should be caught? Here it is conceded that there would be no obligation of making restitution for the injury done, if it had not been intended; the question is whether the intention changes the case, and imposes the obligation.

It must be admitted that the intention to do harm to another is sinful, and that it is an internal sin against justice. For a desire or intention of doing evil is of the same species as the external act intended. But the obligation of making restitution does not arise from a merely internal act of injustice, it is created only by loss being effectively caused by the unjust action of another. That unjust action must have of itself the effect of causing harm; the harm must follow from it as from its efficient cause, not as from a mere occasion, otherwise there will be no obligation of making restitution. But the intention cannot give efficacy to an external act which it has not of itself. I may intend ever so much to do something, but unless I take effective means, the thing will never be done. The intention cannot change the objective nature of the means employed, and so it cannot make that an effective cause of injustice, which is not an effective cause without the intention. And so in both of the examples above, the answer should be in the negative.

Closely connected with this is another question as to whether he is bound to restitution who, in intending to do harm to one, through mistake does harm to another.

Although great names can be quoted for the opinion that there is no obligation of making restitution in such a case



on the ground that no formal injury was caused to the person who suffered loss, that the injustice as regards him was involuntary ; still, it would seem that this opinion is wrong ; the intention does not change the nature of the external act. That act, as a matter of fact, causes harm ; the agent has no right to put it ; he foresees the harm that will be done ; he is therefore bound in justice to abstain from the action, and if he does not do so, he is bound to repair the harm he has wilfully caused. The fact that he intended the injury for another does not weaken the effectiveness of his action, it does not cause it to be harmless, it does not then release him from the obligation of repairing the loss caused ; it was sufficient to impose the burden of making restitution if the harm was foreseen. In such circumstances the injury is formal, although not intended as against this particular person ; for whenever a man's property is knowingly and unjustly destroyed, a formal injury is committed against him although the injury was intended for another. The thief rarely has any direct intention of injuring the man whose goods he steals ; if he could only get the goods without injuring their owner he would in general be perfectly satisfied ; he is very sorry for the inconvenience he causes, he does not desire it, but few would agree that these dispositions prevent the injury which he does the owner by taking his goods from being formal injustice.

T. SLATER, S.J.

# Notes and Queries

## THEOLOGY

### ABSOLUTION FROM PAPAL RESERVED CASES—THE OBLIGATION OF SUBSEQUENTLY WRITING TO ROME

REV. DEAR SIR,—By a decree of the Congregation of the Inquisition, dated November 9th, 1898, we are told that when, in the case contemplated by the well-known decree of June 23rd, 1886, neither the penitent nor the confessor to whom he goes, can communicate with the Sacred Penitentiary by letter, as required by the latter decree, and when the penitent finds it difficult (*durum*) to go to another confessor who could write to Rome, the confessor to whom the penitent goes can absolve him from certain cases reserved to the Holy See, without the obligation of writing to the Sacred Penitentiary. But a difficulty seems to arise if we try to apply the decree of 1898 in practice, inasmuch as it is not easy to imagine the case in which the confessor at least could not write to Rome. Another decree of September 5th, 1900, tells us that when the penitent, who has been absolved and who cannot himself write to Rome, finds that he cannot go to the confessor who has absolved him and that it is difficult (*durum*) to go to another confessor, he can feel free from the obligation of writing, even though the confessor who has absolved him could write to the Sacred Penitentiary, if his penitent could reach him. It would appear that this decree is intended as an interpretation of the decree of 1898, as may be gathered from the context of the query which drew it forth, but yet the words of the decree of 1898 seem to touch the case *before* the giving of absolution, telling when the priest may give it (*licet confessario, etc.*), while the decree of 1900 rather, it seems, bears on the releasing of the penitent from the obligation of writing *after* he has been absolved. What are we to think of the practical application of the decree of 1898, and of its relations to the decree of 1900?

Your opinion will greatly oblige.

DUBITANS.

According to the Rescript of 23rd June, 1886, a penitent,

whose absolution cannot be deferred without grave inconvenience, may be absolved directly by any confessor from cases reserved to the Holy See. Within a month, however, (*facto nomine*) the penitent must refer his case to the Penitentiary, stating that he has been already absolved, and professing his readiness to accept any penance that may be imposed by the Congregation. Naturally, the confessor who gave the absolution is the proper person to communicate with the Sacred Congregation, and that seems to have been the course directly contemplated by the Decree of 1886. But if that course be inconvenient, the penitent himself may address the Congregation or he may get another confessor to write on his behalf. Whether the application is made to the Sacred Congregation by the penitent or by a confessor, the usual practice of the Penitentiary is to send a Rescript, *in forma commissoria*, which must be *executed or applied to the penitent by a confessor in actu sacramentalis confessionis*. The Congregation might, of course, send a Rescript *in forma gratiosa*, which would not require execution, or it might send a Rescript which could be executed *extra confessionem*. The practice of the Congregation, however, is to send a Rescript *in forma commissoria*; and this it is which, sometimes, gives rise to difficulty.

For it may happen in a particular case that it is, on the one hand, impossible, or, at all events, useless, for the penitent or the confessor who absolved him to write to Rome, and that, on the other hand, the penitent cannot or will not use his right to have the application to the Penitentiary made, or the Rescript of the Congregation executed, by another confessor. Sometimes the penitent himself does not know how to write to the Congregation. The confessor who absolved him, knows, of course, how to write to the Congregation, but then, the circumstances may be such that the confessor would not have an opportunity of executing *in actu confessionis* the Rescript for which he is to apply. It may be, for example, that the absolution is given during a mission or a retreat, and that the confessor will never meet his penitent again. Finally, the penitent, having now confessed his sin to one confessor, may very naturally be reluctant to repeat that confession to another.

These difficulties were raised in the following questions put to the Sacred Congregation in 1898 :—

I. Utrum decretum datum sub die 23 Junii 1886 intelligendum sit tantum de iis, qui *corporaliter* S. Sedem adire nequeunt ; vel etiam de iis, qui ne per litteras quidem per se neque per confessarium, ad S. Sedem recurrere valent?

II. Et quatenus decretum praedictum extendi debeat etiam ad eos, qui ne per litteras quidem ad S. Sedem recurrere valent, quomodo se gerere debet confessarius.

To these questions, the Congregation, 9th November, 1898, sent the following important reply, to which our correspondent refers :—

Ad I. et II. Quando neque confessarius neque poenitens epistolam ad S. Sedem mittere possunt et durum sit poenitenti adire alium confessarium, in hoc casu liceat confessario poenitentem absolvere etiam a casibus S. Sedi reservatis absque onere mittendi epistolam, facto verbo cum Sanctissimo.

We may observe in passing that the same Congregation declared, 3rd June, 1899, that the reply just quoted, was not to be taken to cover the case in which the penitent absolved was a priest.

From the reply of 9th November, 1898, it appears that if application to Rome be impossible on the part of the penitent and useless on the part of the confessor who absolved, and if the penitent finds it hard to invoke the assistance of another confessor, then absolution may be given without any obligation to write to Rome. It is clearly conveyed, however, that if the penitent consents to have recourse to another confessor, the confessor who absolved him should impose the obligation of writing to Rome.

Our correspondent feels a difficulty in applying this Decree in practice. He urges that 'it is not easy to imagine a case in which the confessor at least could not write to Rome.' Quite true. But his writing to the Congregation will be useless, if he is to get back a Rescript which must be executed *in actu confessionis*, and if the penitent will never confess to him again and refuses to go to another confessor. The examples which we have given above show that cases may frequently arise in which it would be useless for the confessor to write to the Penitentiary.



It might seem, however, that there is still a way out of the difficulty, without liberating the penitent from the obligation of writing to Rome. For, though the penitent himself may be unable to write, and though he cannot return to his present confessor and refuses to call in the aid of another confessor, is it not still possible for his present confessor to write to the Congregation and request that the Rescript in reply be made applicable *extra confessionem*; or it might be sent *in forma gratiosa* to the penitent directly, so that the intervention of any confessor would be unnecessary? When the penitent is a priest, and when, therefore, the reply of 1898 is not available, it is *de facto* necessary to have recourse to one of these expedients in order to comply with the Decree of 23rd June, 1886. Is the same true when the penitent is a layman?

To clear up this doubt, apparently, the following query was put in 1899:—

An ut onus epistolam mittendi cesset, scribendi impedimentum adstringere debeat confessarium simul et poenitentem; vel sufficiat, sicuti aliqui interpretati sunt, quod poenitens scribendi impar, eidem confessario a quo vi decreti 1886 et 1897 absolutus fuerit, se praesentare nequeat, et ipsi durum sit alium confessarium adire; licet confessarius absolvens, pro poenitente epistolam ad S. Sedem mittere possit.

The bishop who formulated this question thought possibly, like our correspondent, that the confessor could always write to the Holy See and that he could ask for—and therefore might be bound to ask for—a Rescript to be sent directly to the penitent *in forma gratiosa*, and therefore not requiring execution, or a Rescript which might be communicated to the penitent *extra confessionem*—through the post, for example, if that were possible.

A reply was given to these questions, 5th September, 1900, in the following terms:—

Negative ad primam partem: affirmative ad secundam.

In other words, where a Rescript of the ordinary form is useless, because the penitent cannot return to the same confessor and finds it inconvenient to go to another confessor, a lay penitent is not bound *aut per se aut per confessarium* to

write for a Rescript *in forma gratiosa* or in any unusual form. A confessor may absolve such a penitent without any obligation whatever to write to Rome.

From what we have said, our correspondent will see that the reply of 9th November, 1898, does not, in practice, present the difficulty that he seemed to discover in it. He will also observe that the reply of 5th September, 1900, clears up at least one point that may have appeared untouched by the reply of 9th November, 1898.

#### CLANDESTINE SPONSALIA—VALID IN IRELAND

A CORRESPONDENT asks:—

1. Whether a written agreement or any special formalities are necessary for valid sponsalia in Ireland; and, 2, whether there has been any recent legislation on this subject.

According to the common law of the Church sponsalia are valid, whether they be solemn or private, *i.e.*, whether they be entered into with or without the intervention of ecclesiastical authority; whether they be public or clandestine, *i.e.*, whether they can be legally proved or not *in foro externo*. No special formalities, no writing, no witnesses are necessary in order that the agreement to enter into a future contract of marriage should be valid; and nothing but such a valid agreement is necessary, in order that the impedient and diriment matrimonial impediments attaching to sponsalia should arise.

At the same time it is evident that clandestine sponsalia are open to the gravest objections. *In foro externo*, the existence of sponsalia must be proved; it will not be assumed. If the existence or validity of the contract be disputed by either party, legal proof by two witnesses or by an authentic document should be forthcoming. No legal proof, however, is available in case of clandestine sponsalia, and the result is that *in foro externo* they will be regarded as null and void. But *in foro interno* the validity of the sponsalia and the existence of the consequent impediments—impedient and diriment—are in no way affected by the absence of legal proof.

To obviate the inconveniences of clandestine sponsalia, it has often been suggested that certain formalities should be

made necessary for valid sponsalia, just as the Council of Trent made various formalities essential for a valid marriage. This matter seems to have been mooted at the Council of Trent; it was one of the questions to come before the Vatican Council; and, from time to time, diocesan synods or individual bishops urged upon the Holy See the desirability of legislating upon the question. But, probably owing to the difficulty of finding a suitable remedy for the evil, the common law remains to-day precisely what it was when the matter came before the Council of Trent.

No one but the Roman Pontiff has the right to require any conditions for valid sponsalia beyond those required by the natural law. The common law of the Church regards clandestine sponsalia valid and attaches to them the diriment impediment of public propriety (*publica honestas*). No bishop or local synod has a right to abrogate the common law which attaches a diriment impediment of marriage to clandestine sponsalia.

Examples are not wanting, indeed, where bishops or diocesan synods attempted to prescribe certain conditions not required by the common law for the validity of sponsalia. At one synod it was enacted that sponsalia to be valid should be entered into in presence of the parish priest, or other public official, and witnesses, and that the contract should be in writing and signed by the witnesses and the parish priest or other official before whom the contract was made. But a decision of the bishop of the diocese, based on this synodal decree and confirmed on appeal to the archbishop, was reversed by the Roman authorities, and the bishop was informed that the synodal decree giving the bishop power to annul sponsalia *sine solemnitatibus contracta* was *ultra vires*.<sup>1</sup>

In the diocesan statutes promulgated in 1847, by Dr. Walsh, Bishop of Cloyne and Ross, we find the following:

In posterum nulli sacerdoti liceat sponsalia celebrare sine nostra expressa licentia: et non solum illicita sed etiam nulla declaramus omnia promissa de futuro matrimonio inter viros et mulieres, etiamsi juramento firmentur nisi aut ab utraque parti admittantur aut ab uno saltem teste fide digno confir-

<sup>1</sup> *Conf. Gasparri, De Matrimonio, i., p. 25, 1893.*

mentur. Praecipimus, ut hanc nostram constitutionem suis Parochianis inter Missarum solemnias, saltem bis in anno promulgari curent.<sup>2</sup>

This statute requires certain conditions most useful for proving the contract *in foro externo*. But, if the intention were, without the express or tacit consent of the Holy See, to annul *in foro interno* sponsalia, contracted without a witness and afterwards disputed by one of the parties, the statute was invalid.

So far we have spoken of the common law. Like other laws, the law of the Church regarding sponsalia may be modified by local custom sanctioned by the requisite authority of the Holy See. In Spain we find that, in virtue of a legitimate custom, sponsalia contracted *sine publica scriptura* are invalid. The custom dates from 1803, when Charles III. made a law annulling sponsalia contracted in his dominions, unless the contract was entered into in writing before a public notary. The law was at first resisted by the bishops as an infringement of ecclesiastical authority. Later on the ecclesiastical authorities seem to have acquiesced in the arrangement made by the civil law. And in 1880 the Sacred Congregation of the Council formally decided that in Spain, by reason of the long-established custom (tacitly approved, no doubt, by the Holy See), sponsalia contracted *sine scriptura publica* are invalid in the eyes of the Church. In a question put to the Congregation the Spanish custom based on the civil law was explained, and the Congregation was asked:—

I. An sponsalia quae in Hispania contrahuntur absque publica scriptura sint valida. Et quatenus negative. II. An publicam scripturam supplere queat instrumentum in curia conflatum pro dispensatione super aliquo impedimento.

The reply was:—

Ad primum et secundum, Negative.

Until quite recent times Spain was the only country, so far as we know, in which the Holy See recognised a departure from the common law affecting the validity of sponsalia. A

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<sup>2</sup> Statuta Diocesana a R. D. Davidi Walsh, Eps. Cloynensi et Rossensi, edita et promulgata mensi Septembri, A.D. 1847 ut a clero utriusque Dioecesis ad amussim observanda, Corcagiae, 1848.



few years ago, however, the Spanish local law on this matter was extended to Latin America. Among the decrees of the Plenary Council of Latin America, held in 1899, we find the following:—

Cum sponsalia gravem inducant obligationem celebrandi congruo tempore matrimonium, parochi adolescentes commendent, ne inconsiderate, et temere ineant sponsalia; sed lumen a Deo assiduus precibus efflagitent, consilium prudentium virorum exquirant et non sine testibus ea contrahant.<sup>3</sup>

And in a footnote appended to this decree we read:—

Patribus Concilii Plenarii expedire visum fuit a SS. D. N. Leone, Papa XIII. postulare extensionem ad Americam Latinam declarationis S. C. Concilii pro Hispania editae die 31 Jan., 1880, ideoque: *Sponsalia quae contrahuntur in regionibus nostris absque publica scriptura invalida esse et publicam scripturam supplere non posse informationem matrimoniale neque instrumentum in Curia diocesana vel alibi conflatum pro dispensatione super aliquo impedimento, ex quo inferri possit promissio serio facta contrahendi matrimonium. Et Sanctissimus benique annuit et praefatam extensionem concessit.*

In Latin America, therefore, as in Spain, an authentic written contract is now essential to the validity of sponsalia; and, as a consequence, a promise of future marriage, given without that formality, even though it may be binding in conscience, will not give rise to the diriment impediment of public propriety.

We have not come across any evidence to show that, the common law of the Church affecting sponsalia has been similarly modified in Ireland either by custom or by express enactment of the Holy See.

D. MANNIX.

## LITURGY

### METHOD OF ADMINISTERING COMMUNION TO THE SICK

REV. DEAR SIR,—In giving Holy Communion in a private house to a person *in no danger* of death, but for some reason unable to go to the Church or station, should the priest observe the same ceremonies, and say the same prayers as if the Sacrament administered in the church *extra missam*, or should he follow the directions of the Ritual for administering Communion to the sick with the ordinary form, and not *per modum Viatici*?

<sup>3</sup> Vide Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Americae Latinae, p. 592.

O'Kane says in n. 820 that with the exception of the *form*, and perhaps the '*Misereatur Vestri*,' all the prayers and ceremonies prescribed for the administration of the Viaticum remain unchanged when the sick communicate in the ordinary way. Does this rule apply to my case? If so, then it should follow that after Communion the prayer '*Domine Sancte*' should be said, and Benediction given with the Pixis; whereas if the Communion is administered as it is in the Church *extra missam*, the '*O Sacrum Convivium*' should be said, and the blessing given with the hand.

Will you kindly say which method should be followed? I have not been able to make up my mind that the old, the lame, and the blind whom the priest is called upon to attend at their homes after the station, and who remain fasting, should be regarded as 'the sick' to whom O'Kane refers. I am therefore inclined to regard their Communion as simply *extra missam*, though in practice, in deference to the opinion of experienced men, I act differently. As there does not seem to be a uniformity of practice among priests in this matter, I trouble you for your opinion. I may add that some who follow the *Ritus Communicandi Infirmum* give the Benediction with the hand, and not with the Pixis, and they use the plural form 'vos.' Is this correct?

I will thank you for an early reply.

NEO-SACERDOS.

Three well-defined classes of cases are contemplated in these Rubrics of the Ritual that regulate the distribution of Holy Communion *scil.*, where it is given *intra missam*, where it is given *extra missam* and in the church, and where it is given *extra missam* but in the sick room. The section dealing with the last class is entitled *De Communione Infirmorum*, and covers all cases in which the Blessed Eucharist is administered to the sick, whether the infirmity be one likely to prove fatal or a mere indisposition that prevents the person from going to the church. So that, the ceremonies prescribed for communicating those at the point of death and those less seriously indisposed are identical except in so far as they are modified by the Ritual itself. Now, the only changes thus explicitly introduced have regard to the form. It seems but reasonable also that where Communion is not given *per modum Viatici*, the *Misereatur*, etc., and *Indulgentiam*, etc.,

should be said in the plural. For the peculiar reason why the singular should be used for the dying, does not hold in the case of those not in danger of death. With regard to the prayers *Exaudi nos*, etc., and the *Domine Sancte*, etc., the matter is put beyond all doubt by a decree of the Congregation of Rites,<sup>1</sup> which directs them to be said in the case of those 'qui, licet gravi morbo non laborant, ad Ecclesiam tamen accedere nequeunt.' It follows then that the *Ritus Communicandi Infirmum* should be used when giving Communion to all those who are prevented by sickness of any kind from receiving it in the church, and that the blessing at the end of the ceremony should be given with the pixis when there is a consecrated particle remaining.

**ARRANGEMENT OF SANCTUARY LAMP. SPECIAL MASSES IN CONVENTS. ANTIPHON OF THE LITANY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN AT BENEDICTION OF THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT. BLESSING OF CANDLES IN PRIVATE ORATORIES. SACRED MINISTERS TO BE EMPLOYED IN CERTAIN PONTIFICAL FUNCTIONS. HOW CELEBRANT SHOULD DESCEND ALTAR STEPS AFTER MASS. COMMUNION ON HOLY THURSDAY.**

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly answer the following points in the I. E. RECORD:—

1. Is it lawful to keep the lamp, burning before the Blessed Sacrament, resting on the table of the altar and in front of the tabernacle?

2. May chaplains to nuns, that have some Masses proper to their own order, say these proper Masses?

3. When the Litany of the B.V.M. is sung at Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament, is it rubrical for the celebrant, immediately before the choir begins the Litany, to sing the antiphon, 'Sub tuum praesidium confugimus,' etc.?

4. Is it lawful on February 2nd to have the blessing of candles in a private oratory?

5. The Forty Hours' Devotion begins with a High Mass, 'coram pontifice parato,' on the First Sunday of Advent. After the High Mass the celebrant retires, and the bishop continues the function. Is it the 'assistant deacons at the throne' who ought to now accompany the bishop? If so, what vestments ought they put on and what colour?

<sup>1</sup> Dec. Auth. Cong. Rit., 3769 ad ii. (Nov. Ed).

6. In a Low Mass, is it lawful for the celebrant after the last Gospel to descend the shortest way to the foot of the altar?

7. In a convent where you have no Mass on Holy Thursday, would it be lawful to give Communion *extra missam*, provided you do so before the High Mass in the Cathedral of the diocese?

SACERDOS.

1. There are two recognised methods of arranging the lamp that burns before the Blessed Sacrament. It may be suspended by chains or cords fitted with a pulley contrivance in front of the altar, or it may be supported on a bracket that is fixed to one of the side-walls of the sanctuary.<sup>2</sup> But it is forbidden so to adjust the lamp that it directly overhangs or rests upon the table of the altar. 'Nec lumina,' says the Congregation of Rites, 'nisi cerea, vel supra mensam altaris, vel eidem quomodo, eunque imminetia adhibeantur.'<sup>3</sup> The principal grounds of this prohibition, are, it seems, the danger of soiling the altar linens, and the inconvenience of having to remove the lamp each time Mass is celebrated.

2. Much valuable information in this connection will be found in past issues of the I. E. RECORD, where the recent decrees dealing with the subject are exhaustively explained.<sup>4</sup> Assuming, as the query seems to warrant us in doing, that the nuns in question have no calendar of their own, the Directory of the convent will be that of the diocese in which the institution is situated. And this the chaplain is bound to follow subject to the modifications allowed by the decree of the Congregation of Rites, dated July 9th, 1895, when the office of the local 'Ordo' is of semidouble rite. With these exceptions the chaplain cannot depart from the directions of the Diocesan Calendar, unless the nuns have obtained by Apostolic Indult requisite permission for the celebration of particular Masses on special occasions. If any Masses have been so granted, they may be said by the chaplain.

3. Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament being a strictly Liturgical function it is required that all the hymns and

<sup>2</sup> Vide Dale, *Sacristan's Manual*, p. 35; Dec. Auth. Cong. Rit., n. 3576 (Ed. Nova).

<sup>3</sup> Vide I. E. RECORD, April, 1881.

<sup>4</sup> Vide I. E. RECORD, November, 1896; December, 1897.



prayers employed on the occasion should have the episcopal sanction. 'Preces et orationes recitandae,' says Martinucci,<sup>5</sup> 'recognitae et adprobatae ab episcopo, vel ab ejus Vicario Generali esse debent.' Now the antiphon, 'Sub tuum, etc.,' forms no part of the Litany of the B.V.M., and its recitation in the manner mentioned can scarcely be regarded as contrary to the Rubrics especially if we may presume that the custom is known to the Bishop and therefore approved of by him either expressly or tacitly. At the same time, it is much to be desired that a strict uniformity of usage in regard to liturgical functions and ceremonies should prevail, where feasible, in all the churches of the same diocese. And, it is felt, the same is the wish of the Bishop, so that, where it does not exist, the practice ought not be introduced without his permission.

4. Private oratories may be divided into two classes, viz., those which exist in Religious houses and other kindred Institutions, and those which are set up in private houses. The former class is now generally regarded as semi-public, and according to the common law all those functions may be exercised in them which do not prejudice the rights of the parish priest, or interfere with the 'Jura Parochialia.' It has been decided<sup>6</sup> that the blessing of candles is not one of these, and consequently it may be performed in private oratories of the first kind. As to domestic oratories—those that are private in the strict sense—they enjoy a lesser degree of distinction, and it is generally maintained by Canonists and Theologians that the ceremony we contemplate cannot lawfully be enacted in them.<sup>7</sup> For, the Council of Trent reserves to the Holy See the power of permanently erecting oratories in private houses, and the Indult of Concession (in which are set forth the conditions under which the right may be exercised), being against the common law of the Church, must be strictly interpreted. So that no sacred ceremony may be performed that is not expressly sanctioned. There is also another ground

<sup>5</sup> *Manuale Ceremonialium*, lib. iii., p. 74.

<sup>6</sup> Dec. Auth. Cong. Rit., n. 2098 (Nov. Ed.).

<sup>7</sup> Vide Gattici, *De Oratoriis Domesticis*, cap. xxvii: De Bonis *De Oratoriis Privatis*, etc.

for this prohibition. These oratories are never consecrated, and rarely, if ever, blessed, except with the *benedictio loci*. Now, it is foreign to the mind and intention of the Church that in such places sacred ceremonies should be enacted to which no small degree of solemnity is attached. And that a special degree of solemnity attaches to the blessing of candles on the Feast of the Purification is clear, whether we look to the character of the rite employed or to the symbolical meaning of the entire Festival.

5. The Bishop should be assisted by the Deacon and Sub-deacon of the Mass, who will wear the same vestments, *minus* the maniples, that they wore during the Mass, but of a white colour.<sup>8</sup> It is only where the Benediction is regarded as forming one function with the Mass that the use of vestments other than white is permitted, and this unity is not preserved in the circumstances.

6. The celebrant should always go to the centre of the altar, salute the cross and then descend.<sup>9</sup> There is no sanction in the Rubrics for any contrary custom. But when the Blessed Sacrament is exposed on the altar, he is directed so to descend as to avoid turning his back directly on the Sacred Host.

7. Yes. The prohibition as regards the administration of Holy Communion covers the interval between the end of the Cathedral Mass on Holy Thursday and the beginning of the Solemn Mass on Holy Saturday. Outside this period the ordinary rules permitting, *ex rationabile causa*, the distribution of Holy Communion *extra missam*, apply. The clergy alone are now obliged to receive Communion on Holy Thursday morning from the hands of the Bishop, in commemoration of the Apostolic Communion administered by our Divine Lord at the Last Supper.

P. MORRISROE.

<sup>8</sup> Martinucci, *Manuale Ceremonialum*, lib. vi., xxxix.

<sup>9</sup> De Herdt, *Sac. Lit. Praxis*, vol. i., p. 395.

## DOCUMENTS

### THE FEAST OF THE HOLY FAMILY IN THE DIOCESE OF DUBLIN

*Beatissime Pater,*

Gulielmus, Archiepiscopus Dublinensis, ad pedes Sanctitatis Tuæ provolutus, humiliter petit ut a Clero Saeculari suae Dioecesis Festum S. Familiae Nazarenæ Dominica III. post Epiphaniam sub ritu Duplicis Majoris quotannis recolere valeat, cum Officio et Missa approbata: facta potestate idem Festum transferendi in primam subsequentem diem liberam juxta rubricam, quoties enuntiata Dominica impedita occurrerit.

*Ex Audientia SSmi. habita die 27 Octobris, 1902.*

SSmus. D. N. Leo Div. Prov. PP. XIII., referente infrascripto S. Congnis. de Propag. Fide Secrio., benigne adnuere dignatus est pro gratia, juxta preces. Contrariis quibuscunque non obstantibus. Datum Romae ex Aed. S. C. de Prop. Fide die et anno ut supra.

ALOISIUS VECCIA, *Secrius.*

### PRAYER TO OUR LADY OF LOURDES

CONCEDITUR INDULG. 300 DIERUM RECITANTIBUS INFRASCRIPPTAM  
PRECEM IN HONOREM NOSTRAE DOMINAE LAPURDENSIS

LEO PAPA XIII.

*Ad per petuam rei memoriam.*

Oblatis Nobis ab Antistite Tarbiensi precibus benigne annuentes, de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac BB. Petri et Pauli App. eius auctoritate confisi per praesentes, omnibus et singulis fidelibus ex utroque sexu qui corde saltem contrito et devote orationem quoties recitent quocumque idiomate, dummodo versio fidelis sit, exaratam in honorem Nostrae Dominae Lapurdensis, cuius exemplar latine inscriptum atque legitima auctoritate probatum verbis incipit: ' Sancta Maria Mater Dei...' ac desinit in verba ' in hac vita Iesum Christum et in aeternitate, amen ' in Tabulario Secretariae Nostrae Brevium

asservari iussimus in forma Ecclesiae consueta, toties tercentos de poenali numero dies expungimus ac largimur iisdem liceat si malint partiali hac indulgentia labes poenasque Functorum vitâ expiare. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuis valituris temporibus. Volumus vero ut praesentium litterarum authenticum exemplar tradatur ad Congregationem Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositam ut harum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis manu alicuius notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur, quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub anulo Piscatoris die xxiii. Junii MDCCCCH Pontificatus Nostri anno Vigesimo Quinto.

Pro Dno. Card. MACCHI,

N. MARINI, *Sub.*

Praesentium exemplar litterarum delatum fuit die 28 Iunii 1902, ad hanc Secretariam S. Cong. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae. In quorum fidem, etc.

Datum Romae ex eadem Secria. die 28 Iunii 1902.

L. ✠ S.

Ios. M. Can. COSELLI, *Substitutus.*

AD DOMINAM NOSTRAM LOURDENSEM

### ORATIO.

Sancta Maria Mater Dei, quae apud Lourdes oppidum visibilem te ostendere dignata es, ut hominum fidem renovares, eosque adduceres ad divinum Filium tuum Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum ; Tu quae ad secreta misericordiae tuae manifestanda humilem puellam elegisti, quo clarius materna animi tui sensa effulgerent, nostrisque cordibus sperandorum bonorum adderes fiduciam ; Tu quae effata es : '*Immaculata Conceptio ego sum*' ut innocentiae pretium infinitum, idemque divinae amicitiae, pignus ostenderes ; Tu quae, instauratis duodeviginti apparitionibus, actis verbisque orandi et poenitendi necessitatem perpetuo commendasti, quibus praesidiis unice placabilem Deum conciliare possumus, eiusque iusta supplicia detorquere ; Tu cuius suavissimae invitationes, toto orbe personantes, ad tuum Specum prodigiosum turbas innumerabiles filiorum tuorum acciverunt ; ecce o pia Domina nostra Lourdensis, ad pedes tuos procumbimus, et absque dubitatione bona



cuncta et coelestia munera consequi confidimus te intercedente, cuius preces apud Deum nunquam irritae dilabi possunt.

Qui te diligunt, o Iesu Christi Mater et Mater hominum divina, id prae ceteris donis enixe petunt, uti scilicet Deo fideliter in terris serviant, quo mereantur in coelis eum amare in aeternum. Audi nos, quaesumus, supplicantes hac die ; ' ab inimicis salutis nostrae defende nos, imo etiam a nostra humana infirmitate ; et una cum venia peccatorum elapsae vitae, nobis impetra usque ad exitum non peccandi propositum perseverans.

Te deprecamur etiam ut in tuam tutelam parentes nostros recipias, coniunctos, amicos, beneficos ; speciali autem cura eos qui a debitis religionis officiis misere desciverunt. Utinam resipiscant, et tuis fidelibus servis adnumerentur !

Nostram denique patriam suppliciter tibi commendamus, uti ei bene facias. Multa quiden sunt quorum venia genti nostrae est imploranda. At vero, etsi in plurimus offendimus, nunquam tamen optimi quique nostrorum asserere destiterunt Te unam et Matrem et Reginam nostram esse et fore : Tuque patriae nostrae signa praeclara charitatis rependisti ; nec eam, uti confidimus, unquam deseres, postquam illam praecipuo favore tantisque beneficiis cumulasti.

Dum corda nostra, nostrasque preces ante pedes tuos effundimus, o Domina nostra Lourdensis, o Immaculata Virgo, oblivisci nos nullo pacto possumus Sancti Patris nostris summique Pontificis, tum eiusdem ipsius, tum etiam Ecclesiae catholicae, quam Filius tuus divinus ei demandavit regendam in via salutis aeternae. Uti nos, ipse quoque in te spem omnem posuit. Ipsum protege, bona Virgo, fausta ei cuncta concede, in tot aerumnis positum robora et consolare, viresque adde regno summi Dei amplificando.—O Mater misericordiae estò nobis ' Causa laetitiae,' ostende nobis et dona in hac vita Iesum Christum et in aeternitate. Amen.

#### INDULGENCES OF THE ORDER OF PREACHERS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM  
OMNES INDULGENTIAE, ORDINI PRAEDICATORUM CONCESSAE,  
ANIMABUS DEFUNCTORUM APPLICABILES REDDUNTUR

*Beatissime Pater,*

Fr. Hyacinthus Maria Cormier, Procurator Generalis Ordinis Praedicatorum, ad osculum S. Pedis humiliter provolutus, a Beatitudine Vestra postulat, ut omnes Indulgentiae, quocumque

modo Ordini Praedicatorum decursu temporum a Romanis Pontificibus concessae, animabus etiam defunctorum per modum suffragii applicari valeant.

Et Deus, etc.

S. Congregatio Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita, utendo facultatibus a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leone Papa XIII. sibi specialiter tributis benigne annuit pro gratia iuxta preces. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 17 Februarii 1902.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

Pro R. P. D. FRANC., *Archiep. Amid., Secr.*

IOSEPHUS F. Canonicus COSELLI, *Substitutus.*

#### THE DECREE 'PERPENSIS TEMPORIBUS'

DUBIA CIRCA INTERPRETATIONEM DECRETI 'PERPENSIS TEMPORUM ADIUNCTIS,' QUOAD VOTA SIMPLICIA, SOLEMNIBUS PRAEMITTENDA

Cum applicatio Decreti *Perpensis temporum adiunctis* a S. Congregatione Episcoporum et Regularium, opportunissimo consilio, nuper editi, nonnullis dubiis videatur obnoxia, infra-scriptus Cardinalis Archiepiscopus Bononien. pro iis dirimendis, ad Eandem S. Congregationem, maximo cum obsequio, recurrit, et authenticam responsionem exposcit.

#### I. QUAESTIO.

Quaelibet Instituta monialium habent caeremoniale seu rituale, pro admittendis novitiis ad religiosam professionem. Ritus autem praescriptus generatim unicus est, cum unica fere ubique, antehac extiterit professio. Iam quaeritur, utrum ille ritus servandus deinceps erit pro prima aut pro secunda aut pro utraque professione. Quod si duplex ratio sacram functionem celebrandi, deinceps erit inducenda, pro duplici nempe professione votorum Simplicium et votorum Solemnium, spectabitne ad Episcopos (aut ad Superiores Generales quoad monasteria exempta) caeremonias servandas et formulam a profitentibus exprimendam determinare? Quatenus *affirmative*, quāenam in praxi erit norma generatim sequenda? Quatenus *negative*, *coeremoniale* seu *rituale* erit ne impetrandum ab ista S. Congregatione aut a Congregatione Sacrorum Rituum?

## II. QUAESTIO.

In numero VIII. Decreti recognoscitur capitulum monialium pro admittendis ad professionem Solemnem illis, quae congruo tempore in professione votorum Simplificium permanserunt. Porro, huiusmodi capitulum eritne necessario faciendum illis in Communitatibus in quibus de acceptatione, de vestitione et de professione alumnarum capitulariter agitur? Quod si fieri absolute debeat, sufficientne pro aliqua a professione excludenda quod moniales capitulares secreto suffragia contraria conferant, aut necesse erit ut quaelibet monialis suffragii contrarii rationem expresse declaret, exponendo nempe *graves causas quae dimissionem suadere seu exigere videantur*, S. Sedis iudicio subiiciendas? Ratio dubitandi ex eo oritur, quod peracta professione simplici, Communitas religiosa non est amplius libera retinendi aut dimittendi alumnam, sed res, pleno iure ad supremam Ecclesiae auctoritatem spectat.

## III. QUAESTIO.

Num. VII. Decreti, declaratur professas votorum Simplificium choro interesse debere; quatenus vero legitime impediantur, quominus choro intersint, ad privatam officii recitationem non obligari. Quid vero si qua a Choro abstineat absque legitimo impedimento? Quae ita se gerat, negligentiae notam coram sororibus, et, quod magis est, culpa maculam coram Deo videtur incurrere. At obligata ne erit Divinum Officium privatim recitare?

## IV. QUAESTIO.

Num. X. Decreti statuitur dotem esse solvendam ante professionem votorum simplicium.—Num. VII. professis votorum simplicium omnes favores spirituales indulgentur quae competunt professis votorum solemnum, nec non omnia suffragia si morte praeveniantur. Num. XII. decernitur ad dimittendas a Monasterio votorum simplicium professas, recurrendum esse in singulis casibus ad S. Sedem. Quae hisce in locis sanciantur nullam difficultatem praeseferunt pro iis Ordinibus aut Institutis, in quibus hucusque unica observata est votorum professio. Ast adsunt Religiosae Familiae quae, iuxta regulas adprobatae a S. Sede, duplici professione, simplici et solemni, utuntur. Quid sane si ad tramites Constitutionum huiusmodi Institutorum, aut dos solvenda esset ante professionem solemnem, aut privilegia

(praesertim pia post mortem suffragia) pro monialibus votorum simplicium essent minora, aut (quod potius videtur) Superiorissa Generalis haberet facultatem dimittendi professam votorum simplicium? Quae in praefatis numeris enunciantur, suntne *praeceptiva* pro omnibus omnino Institutis votorum solemnium, aut exceptionem patiuntur relate ad Ordines seu Instituta quae speciales dispositiones quoad praedicta habent sive in regula sive in Constitutionibus?

Sacra Congregatio Emorum. ac Revmorum. S. R. E. Cardinalium negotiis et consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium praeposita super praemissis dubiis respondet prout sequitur :

‘Ad I. ritum seu coeremoniale in unoquoque monasterio receptum adhibendum esse in emittenda prima professione, pro qua consuetae formulae, suppressis, si adsint, verbis solemnitatem exprimentibus, adiiciatur, novitiam nuncupare vota simplicia iuxta decretum a S. Congregatione EE. et RR. die 3 Maii, 1902 editum : professionem autem secundam emitti posse privatim in Choro sive in Oratorio interiori, coram Communitate, in manibus Superiorissae, praevia approbatione Ordinarii, seu Praelati Regularis, quoad monasteria exempta.

‘Ad II. Capitulum habendum esse etiam in praefatis casibus ; eius tamen votum esse mere consultivum : locum quoque fieri posse discussioni super qualitatibus candidatae ; scrutinium vero per secreta suffragia peragendum esse. Porro si omnia vel pleraque suffragia contraria forent admissioni ad solemnem professionem, ita ut, attento etiam articulo IV. ipsius Decreti, ageretur de dimittenda sorore a monasterio, res subiicienda esset iudicio S. Sedis, ad quam proinde Ordinarius vel, pro monasteriis exemptis, Praelatus Regularis, distinctam omnium relationem transmittet.

‘Ad III. professas votorum simplicium ad recitationem divini officii extra Chorum non teneri.

‘Ad IV. recurrendum esse in casibus particularibus.’

Romae 28 Iulii 1902.

Fr. H. M. Card. GOTTI, *Praef.*

PH. GIUSTINI, *Secret.*



## MISSIONARY FRANCISCAN NUNS

DECRETUM. INSTITUTUM SORORUM TERTIARIARUM FRANCISCALIAM A  
MISSIONIBUS EIUSQUE CONSTITUTIONES DEFINITIVE APPRO-  
BANTUR

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Divina Providentia PP. XIII, attenta ubertate salutarium fructuum quos iugiter tulit Institutum Sororum Tertiariarum Franciscalium a Missionibus Cordubae in America domum principem habentium attentisque praesertim commendatitiis litteris Antistitum locorum, in quibus enunciatae Sorores commorantur, in audientia habita ab infra-scripto Cardinali S. Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium Praefecto die 14 Februarii 1902 Institutum ipsum iam amplissime laudatum et commendatum, uti Congregationem votorum simplicium sub regimine Moderatricis generalis, approbare et commendare dignatus est: praeterea eiusdem Instituti Constitutiones prout continentur in hoc exemplari, cuius autographum in archivio praefatae S. Congregationis asservatur, benigne approbavit ac confirmavit, prout praesentis Decreti tenore, tum Institutum, tum Constitutiones des quibus supra approbantur et confirmantur, salva Ordinariorum iurisdictione ad formam sacrorum Canonum, et Apostolicarum Constitutionum.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria S. Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium, die 12 Martii 1902.

Fr. HIERONYMUS M. Card. GOTTI, *Praef.*

L. BUDINI, *Subsecret.*

## THE CONFESSIONS OF REGULARS

E SACRA POENITENTIARIA. NONNULLA MAGNI MOMENTI SOLVUNTUR  
DUBIA CIRCA CONFESSARIOS REGULARIUM

Titio, sacerdoti approbato ad audiendas Confessiones, non raro contigit confessiones excipere regularium variorum Ordinum. Quare, quo prudentiore agat ratione, ab hoc sacro Tribunali enixe postulat solutionem dubiorum quae statim proponuntur hic infra:

I. Caius, sacerdos regularis, sub vesperum accessit ad Titium, facturus exomologesim. Interrogatus de recepta a Superiore facultate, respondit Superiorem domo abesse nec eodem reversurum die, nullum autem alium in Conventu adesse praesentem sacerdotem. Potuit-ne, in hac domestici Confessarii inopia, a Titio valide et licite absolvi?

II. Inter facultates quas S. Poenitentiaria pro foro interno cum confessariis communicare solet legitur, N. VIII, facultas 'absolvendi religiosos cuiuscumque Ordinis, dummodo apud te legitimam habuerint licentiam peragendi Confessionem sacramentalem . . . etiam a casibus et censuris in sua religione reservatis.' Valetne illa facultas ad casus quolibet modo reservatos? Soliti enim sunt in religionibus casus reservari alii Superiori immediato, alii Provinciali, alii Generali. Ista tamen observare distinctiones Confessario extraneo valde fuerit difficile. Suadet igitur expeditus facultatis usus ut omnes comprehendat casus religionis proprios. Prudens ceterum Confessarius non omittet ea imperare quibus Ordinis bono vel iuri satis sit cautum.

III. Utrum Confessario regulari praefata facultate uti licet, cum Confessionem excipit religiosi eiusdem Ordinis ad quem pertinet ipse, ita ut in reservata proprii Ordinis polleat iurisdictione non formaliter a Superiore accepta, an contra coercetur usus ad religiosos extraneos?

IV. Utrum Superior qui Confessionem permittit, addita conditione, v. gr. 'Dummodo pro reservatis serves Ordinis consuetudinem' impedire valeat praefatae facultatis usum; an contra, semel concessa confitendi licentia, electus confessarius habeat vi facultatis Poenitentiariae potestatem in reservata a voluntate Superioris plane independentem?

V. Num dicta n. IV. omnino transferenda sunt in religiosum *itinerantem*, qui ad adeundum Confessarium extraneum expressa Superioris facultate non habuit opus?

Sacra Poenitentiaria, mature perpensis expositis, ad proposita dubia respondet: ad I<sup>um</sup>. Si Superior domus alique confessarii tamdiu absint saltem per unum diem ut grave sit religioso poenitenti toto eo tempore carere absolutione sacramentali, is licite et valide absolvitur ab extraneo confessario idoneo h. e. approbato.

—Ad II<sup>um</sup>. *Affirmative*—ad III<sup>um</sup>. Dummodo Confessarius regularis approbatus sit ad recipiendam Confessionem religiosi proprii ordinis *affirmative* ad primam partem, *negative* ad secundam.—Ad IV<sup>um</sup>. *Negative* ad primam partem, *affirmative* ad secundam.—Ad V<sup>um</sup>. Si Confessarius extraneus habeat a S. Sede facultatem absolvendi religiosos a casibus reservatis in eorum Ordine, *affirmative*, secus, *negative*.

Datum Romae, in Sacra Poenitentiaria, die 14 Maii 1902.

B. POMPII, S. P. *Datarius*.

J. PALICA, S. P. *Subst.*

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

### THE IRISH DOMINICANS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

By Father John O'Heyne, O.P. First published at Louvain in 1706. Reprinted with an English Translation and an Appendix, containing Historical Sketches of all the Ancient Dominican Foundations in Ireland. By Rev. Ambrose Coleman, O.P., M.R.I.A. Dundalk. 1902.

It is with sincere pleasure we welcome this new edition of the work of Father John O'Heyne, which gives us a vivid picture of the condition of the Irish Dominicans in the seventeenth century, and incidentally lets in so much light on the religious history of Ireland during the period with which it deals. The Irish sons of St. Dominick, hunted, persecuted, exiled, have a glorious history, and it is pleasant to read the passages of it dealt with by Father O'Heyne in the simple language, so full of humility and unselfishness, of one of the exiles themselves. Every chapter of the little book breathes the indomitable spirit of Catholic faith.

When shall we see all these 'gesta,' those imperishable monuments of the past, these records of great deeds and great ages, brought together in one vast collection, like the '*Monumenta Germania Historica*,' where scholars will find within a narrow compass all the documents that are at the foundation of that history? Here is a work worthy of Catholic scholars, worthy of Catholic Ireland. Who will take it in hand? Who will organize it? See what the '*Goërresgesellschaft*' and the '*Bonifatius Verein*' are doing in Germany. See what a Vigouroux and a Duchesne are doing for France. Look at the huge works of the Jesuits and Benedictines in Belgium and of the Dominicans in Switzerland! Perhaps it is as well that such projects should not be undertaken until a University has been at work amongst us for some time. How many things depend on a University! Meanwhile, Father Coleman has been keeping the torch alive. Besides the text and a free translation of O'Heyne, this volume supplies a very interesting series of historical sketches of the old Dominican foundations in Ireland, as well as those of Louvain, Lisbon and Rome, and the new

foundations in Drogheda, Tallaght, Newry, Trinidad and South Australia. Father Coleman has certainly made a very useful addition to Irish historical literature.

J. F. H.

SUMMA THEOLOGIAE MORALIS. Scholarum usui accommodavit. H. Noldin, S.J. Vol. I. De Principiis Theologiae Moralis. Oeniponte, Typis et Sumptibus Fel. Ranch. M. 3.50.

THIS volume completes a compendious course of moral theology for the use of students.<sup>1</sup> Within the small compass of less than 350 pages, vol. i. treats of human acts, laws, conscience, virtues, and sins. It is elementary and simple, written methodically, and, on the whole, clearly, except where occasional clearness is somewhat sacrificed to brevity. The alterations of large and small type are well regulated, and make for facility in reading the book and grasping the important principles.

The ground covered by these early portions of moral theology does not admit so much of casuistry as philosophical exposition, and the impression left on us from reading the book is that the author is much more at home in the application of received principles than in stating and proving and discussing them. The treatment of such fundamental notions as the *finis ultimus*, *beatitudo hominis*, *essentia moralitatis*, etc., might be a little more explicit and argumentative. Unless these great primary questions and principles receive adequate treatment and due prominence, the science of moral theology becomes a mere collection of mechanical rules and laws—a mere system of casuistry. Of course, if they are satisfactorily discussed in dogmatic theology or—what is more likely—in natural ethics, they may be lightly passed over as *praesupposita* by the student of moral theology. What is essential is that he get a thorough grasp of them *somewhere*, if his work in the confessional is to be sound and intelligent. Such a comprehensive grasp he will scarcely succeed in getting from Father Noldin's presentation of them alone. As far as the latter goes, however, it is good, and will, no doubt, prove serviceable to students.

We notice some instances of ambiguity of language and confusion of thought. Sometimes, too, reasons are given which—

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii., *De Praeceptis*, 851 pages, and vol. iii., *De Sacramentis*, 564 pages, together with a separate brochure of 90 pages, *De Sexto Praecepto et de Usu Matrimonii*, have been already published.



well, perhaps, they may be dignified with the name of *rationes congruae* in a wide sense ; but, then, that ought to be mentioned instead of stating them as serious arguments, meant to convince. There are seven chief virtues, three theological and four cardinal. We find this alleged as a reason why there are seven gifts of the Holy Ghost also ; though of the former two only reside in the intellect, five in the will, while of the latter four reside in the intellect, three in the will. We had thought, too, by the way, that there is no real foundation for the seven-fold gift, in Isaias xi. 2, 3. Then, too, the author uses some highly technical terms which—to us, at least—convey no meaning, so long as they are left unexplained. In what sense, for example, can one virtue be called a ‘ pars subjectiva ’ or ‘ pars integralis ’ of another? Better drop such obscure terminology altogether or make an attempt to explain what it means. The conditions for the liceity of doing a thing from which two effects, a good and a bad, follow, are not satisfactorily set forth nor sufficiently explained. The consequent danger is that they will leave wrong impressions and lead to false results. We are told categorically that the good effect must follow ‘ saltem aequae immediate ’ with the bad. If I kill an unjust aggressor to save my own life, does not the good effect follow *through* the bad one? It is rather confusing also to tell us without further explanation that we are not allowed to *intend* to do the very thing that we are allowed to *do*. Then the real kernel of this question seems to be scarcely touched upon. What canon is to guide us in estimating what is and what is not a ‘ ratio proportionate gravis ’? Dr. Walsh, in his *Tractatus de Actibus Humanis*, at least honestly tackles the question and offers a solution when he says, ‘ Censetur adesse [ratio proportionate gravis] quum, perpensis utriusque partis commodis et incommodis, perspicitur incommodum oriturum ex imponenda obligatione [abstinendi ab actione] majus esse quam cui aequivaleret bonum seu commodum quod ex eadem proveniret; haec enim est ratio dijudicandi an magis expediat bono humani generis, actionem, de qua agatur a Deo permitti au prohiberi, seu, aliis verbis, dijudicandi an actio illa reipsa a Deo permittatur an prohibeatur.’ That is at least an intelligible and tangible principle. It is something to work upon. But the question remains, is it universally true? Is the ‘ bonum humani generis ’ the guiding principle in all cases? Will it, to mention only one instance, forbid to tell the slightest lie even to save the whole human race?

It is usually laid down in this connection that 'major ratio excusans requiritur, si agens, omittendo actionem, malum effectum impedire potest, quam si malum nihilominus aliunde secuturum est.' While not finding fault with this principle we are inclined to think that it is not to be over-rated. On the contrary, it should emphatically be pointed out that the present-day familiar excuse, 'If I don't do it others will,' is no justification for half the shadowy conduct that is carried on under its ægis.

Such reservations as these will not, however, substantially detract from the usefulness of Father Noldin's theology. We have no hesitation in recommending it as a handy and commodious and serviceable book for students.

P. C.

DE PULCHRITUDINE DIVINA. Libri tres. Auctore, Henrico Krug, S.T.D. Freiburg im Breisgau: B Herder. Cloth, 4s.; bound, 5s. 10d.

IN the 250 octavo pages of this volume we have a novel and interesting contribution to theological literature. It is an exhaustive and learned enquiry into the traditional teaching of the Church—especially of the early Greek and Latin Fathers—on a divine attribute which receives but scant recognition from modern writers. Our concept of the beautiful is complex and difficult to analyse, much more so than our simpler notions of the good and the true. Yet, surely, its investigation must prove interesting. To the philosopher it will open up many psychological questions about our perception of the beautiful. The theologian will find in the discussion of it much from natural reason and much from revelation to define for him the limits of the creature's knowledge and of the Creator's knowableness. Both alike will learn from a perusal of the present treatise that the exploration of æsthetics as a department of the mind's activity is by no means a modern development, but was pursued with care and diligence by early Catholic writers.

The author's point of view is historical and theological rather than philosophical. Yet the first book—which deals with the nature and divisions of *pulchritudo*, with the two main schools of thought that would approximate the beautiful to the good and to the true respectively—is, of course, also philosophical. The second book deals with the special divine attribute, the third with its appropriation to the Son of God.

The book is a monument of laborious research, displays

great erudition, abounds in exhaustive quotations from the original sources and in the original texts, and will, therefore, prove a real *locus theologicus* to future explorers in the same field.

P. C.

# FROM HEARTH TO CLOISTER, IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

By Frances Jackson. London: Burns and Oates, Ltd.

THE story is novel and interesting, and throws a new light on the period of history of which it treats. Nothing will surprise the general reader more than the discovery that the Church of England, in the Second Charles's time, professed belief in the same doctrines that the Catholic Church believed; denying, indeed, Papal supremacy, while it admitted the primacy (*sic*) of the Pope, as Bishop of Rome. Nor is it less worthy of note that staunch and bigot Protestants still cling to so many Catholic practices—fasts and mortifications, meditation and vigils; and these among the nobility. Hence, Lady Warner could appreciate the perfection of conventual life, and Sir John resolved to join that Church in which even the Protestants 'allowed salvation.'

The work is a recast of an old narrative of this famous conversion, by Rev. E. Scarisbrook, S.J. It possesses the merit of retaining much of the simplicity and quaint style of the original, though the author's meaning is not quite on the surface in a few places. It seems an attempt after a popular spiritual biography, and an attempt not altogether unsuccessful. It has this advantage over most spiritual books: it retains the interest till the very last page, so that one puts down the book with a feeling of regret, as for a pleasure past. In the words of Ruskin, quoted in the epilogue: 'The two ignored powers—the Providence of heaven and the virtue of men—have ruled and rule the world, not invisibly.' These two are the theme of the book, nor is the book entirely unworthy of the theme.

D. D.

SERMONS. By Rev. James M'Kernan, of the diocese of Trenton, N.J. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet and Co.

THIS little volume, intended 'to meet objections of the present day,' touches upon many important points in Catholic theology. Its forty-five sermons deal with some of the chief



questions in faith, morals and discipline, against which opponents have directed their attacks. They range from the great Creator, through the angelic world, down to man and all his concerns. The usual proofs of the existence of God open the book. The Blessed Trinity and the Holy Ghost are separately treated of. Many sermons, as is natural, are about the Author of our religion: He is the Messiah of the Prophets: His holy name must be revered: His Birth; the Adoration of the Magi, the Flight to Egypt, the Lord's Supper, the Ascension, are each separately considered. The Infallibility of the Pope, the Church of Pentecost and the Church of to-day, Confession of Sins, the Mass, are subjects concerned with Christ's Kingdom. Three discourses are given to the angels, seven to the Queen of Angels. All the rest are, roughly speaking, on man, whose 'novissima' deserve and receive a prominent place.

The general plan of the sermons is good, the reasoning clear and forcible, the style simple and suitable. What is perhaps their greatest excellence is the abundance of apt quotations from Sacred Scripture that they contain; the Old and New Testament, tradition, theological reason, are all laid under contribution.

The forty-five sermons cover only 291 pages. Full justice could not be done to subjects so numerous, so various, and so difficult in so short a space. Nevertheless, the author has managed to lay down the general principles on which the doctrine in hand rests, and from which the solution of all difficulties may easily be drawn. A fuller treatment of so important and so practical a subject as the Authority of the Bible would be desirable. It is difficult to draw a convincing proof of Inspiration from the structure, contents, sublimity, etc., of the sacred volume. The only reliable argument for the Divine authorship of all the books of both Testaments and all their parts seems to be the authority of the Infallible Church. It were better more stress had been laid on this proof rather than on intrinsic grounds or on arguments that could only prove the authority of particular portions of the sacred text.

Every Catholic is sure to peruse these sermons with profit. While elevating and instructing, they will enable him to give 'a reason for the faith that is in him.' Preachers, too, might derive advantage from this little work. In it some of the great burning religious questions of the day are concisely dealt with. Most of the sermons are dogmatic, which is much needed at the present time.

F. J. D.



VETERA ET NOVA. By the Rev. N. Walsh, S.J., author of 'Cardinal Franzelin,' 'The Comparative Number of the Saved and Lost.' Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son. 1902.

A WARM welcome will, we are sure, be given by the Irish clergy to this volume. It comes to them from one who has worked amongst them all his life, who in the fullest sense of the word is one of themselves, and whose right and authority to speak to them they will readily acknowledge. There are few Irish priests, we venture to say, who at one time or another have not heard words of wisdom from the lips of Father Nicholas Walsh. They will be glad to learn that a good deal of the substance of what they heard from him has been consigned to these pages, and may now be found in permanent form in this volume. The book, however, is not by any means exclusively intended for priests; but we think it will prove as useful to them as to others. It is a work of enlightened piety and of solid learning. The earnestness and sincerity of the writer are stamped on every page of every one of its chapters.

The principal subjects dealt with by the author are: 'The Causes of Evil,' 'The Remedies,' 'Meditation and its Difficulties,' 'Prayer,' 'The Sufferings of Our Lord,' 'The Blessed Sacrament,' 'Frequent Communion,' 'Grace,' 'Temptations,' 'Devotions,' 'The Young,' 'The Rich.'

In all these papers there is nothing like straining after effect, no pretention to style, no affectation of ornament. It is the plain and direct speaking of one who is convinced of the truth of what he says. It is the result of the experience of a life-time and of the life-time of one who had exceptional experience of the spiritual condition of Ireland. It is evidently the fruit of long reflection, of serious study, of the application to the lives and thoughts of men of principles drawn with care and caution from the highest and surest sources.

Nor does the work offer us any startling theory of spirituality. We have read with care several of these papers. Others we have examined somewhat more rapidly; but we have failed to discover anything that is not based on the authority of the best theologians and of the safest spiritual guides. What is old is the doctrine: what is new is the presentation of it, the directness, the reality, the earnestness of the writer. It is the work of one whose words are well considered, whose judgment is ripe and sound, whose love of the Irish people and clergy is

well known. We are glad that such a work has been placed at the disposal of the public. We could only have wished that Father Walsh had found a different title for his volume. As it stands, his book may be confounded with one written some time ago by a colleague of his in the English province.

J. F. H.

COMMENTARII DOGMATICI DE SACRAMENTIS IN SPECIE  
EXCEPTA SS. EUCHARISTIA. Auctore, Joanne  
MacGuinness, C.M., in Collegio Hibernorum, Parisiensi,  
Theologiae Professore. Dublinii: apud M. H. Gill.

WE welcome yet another volume of Father MacGuinness' theological course. Our readers by this time know well and favourably the previous volumes that have come from the same busy pen. We are, consequently, freed from the necessity of describing at length the many excellent qualities of our author. The same clearness which pervades the other volumes is found here. The same conciseness which distinguished them distinguishes this. We need add no further mark of approbation to show our readers the value of the present volume. For schools and for missionary priests it will be found a very useful work.

This being our expressed opinion of Father MacGuinness' work, our readers will not misunderstand us if we point out one or two things which seem to us to be defects. We regret, for instance, that Father MacGuinness has not discussed in his tract on Baptism the question which divided the Scotists and Thomists on the power of the Christian State to order the baptism of the children of its infidel subjects. This is a very interesting question which throws a good deal of light on the general question of the power of the State to interfere in spiritual affairs. Again, we regret that Father MacGuinness has not said a little more about the supernatural nature of contrition in his tract on Penance. He does not mention the opinion of very many theologians who maintain that the motive of contrition need not be known by the assent of faith in order to have a supernatural sorrow for sin.

We welcome very heartily the volume of Father MacGuinness, and hope that our readers will soon become personally acquainted with it.

J. M. H.

PRINCIPIA THEOLOGIAE MORALIS. By Thomas Slater, S.J.  
London: Burns and Oates.

FOR the student of moral theology there is nothing so important as a good grasp of the principles that underlie his science; it is upon principles, too, that the working priest must generally fall back for the solution of a pressing case. In the volume before us a different or a more fundamental statement of principles might be sometimes called for. At the same time, the author has succeeded in producing a treatise at once brief and clear, likely to impart 'non mediocrem cognitionem sat brevi tempore'; the principles are on the whole well stated, merely dialectical questions are lightly and summarily touched, and the examples or cases selected always strike one as those that are likely to turn up on the mission. We notice, too—and it enhances the value of the volume very considerably—that the author devotes particular attention to the English law and the special circumstances of the country, when dealing with the questions in Justice and in the Particular States.

Many believe that the theological training of the 'average,' as distinct from the 'over-average' or brilliant student, might well be shortened, and at the same time be rendered more effective for the ordinary missionary work. If this be so, it would be attained by a course of specially-prepared lectures, or by the adoption of a text book like this volume of Father Slater's.

J. W. M.

SUNDAYS AND FESTIVALS WITH THE FATHERS OF THE  
CHURCH. By Rev. D. G. Hubert. London: R. and T.  
Washbourne & Co.

IT has been said that the last thing a preacher should read is a book of sermons. Whatever truth there may be in this, we have found the present volume readable and instructive. It shows the immortality of Catholic dogma and morality; the homilies of Chrysostom, Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, contain the self-same doctrines that constitute the Catholic faith of to-day. It shows, too, that the thought and teaching of the Fathers, their insight into the needs and failings of human nature, was indeed a thought, a teaching, and an insight true and for all time.

The aim of the author was 'to render, in a simple and natural style, the sublime and forcible eloquence of the holy Fathers without weakening their thoughts'; and in our opinion he has been successful. We are not quite sure whether we should agree with him in giving old spiritual works such a decided superiority over modern ones. The Church, be it remembered, has in every age her holy and learned men, whose writings may be specially suited to the conditions of their own time.

J. W. M.

PRACTICAL PREACHING FOR PRIESTS AND PEOPLE. By Father Clement Holland. London: Thomas Baker, Soho Square.

THERE are so many books of sermons coming from the press, and all claiming attention, that after a while one is puzzled to say what exactly is the special excellence of each in style, structure, or treatment. The present volume consists of twenty-five sermons, all on useful subjects, and, like many other books of sermons that we know, it is written throughout clearly and solidly. Some of the subjects are quite up to date; for example, 'The Reunion of Christendom,' 'Indifferentism to Religion,' 'Indifferentism in Religion,' 'Do Catholics read the Bible?' 'The Modern Woman,' 'The Modern Pharisee.' There is also a synopsis prefixed to each sermon, which will present the points that are developed to anyone who has not the time or the inclination to read the whole discourse.

[The list of Irish Martyrs promised in our last number will be ready for the New Year.—ED. I. E. RECORD.]













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